

# DIOGENES LAERTIUS

LIVES OF EMINENT PHILOSOPHERS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES

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## PREFACE

A NEW translation of this author, though long overdue, may yet appear premature at the present moment when new editions of the text are promised. However, a most valuable portion of the work, the *Epistles* of Epicurus, has appeared in a new recension; and the text of the biographies is hardly likely to undergo radical reconstruction. There is substantial agreement that the mss. are late; that the scribe of the best, the Borbonicus, did not know Greek; that the mistakes which all share most likely came from their common archetype. To reconstruct the text of an author from such sources would have been in any case difficult; the difficulty is increased by the misfortune that the Editio Princeps was printed, not from the Borbonicus or Parisiensis, but from a worthless interpolated later ms.

The efforts of early editors to remove the grossest blunders lasted more than a century and resulted in the edition of Marcus Meibomius, which has the commentary of Aegidius Menagius. After the publication of this edition our author fell into neglect until the nineteenth century brought fuller study of better mss., initiated by Cobet and carried on especially by Usener for Book X. If anyone hold that the present is too early a time for a translator who has not first revised the text of the author, I

# ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΛΑΕΡΤΙΟΥ

ΒΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΝΩΜΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΙ ΕΤΔΟΚΙ-  
ΜΗΣΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΔΕΚΑ ΤΟ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ

## ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ

- 1 Τὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἔργον ἔνιοι φασιν ἀπὸ βαρβάρων ἄρξαι. γεγενῆσθαι γὰρ παρὰ μὲν Πέρσαις Μάγους, παρὰ δὲ Βαβυλωνίοις ἢ Ἀσσυρίοις Χαλδαίους, καὶ Γυμνοσοφιστὰς παρ' Ἰνδοῖς, παρὰ τε Κελτοῖς καὶ Γαλάταις τοὺς καλουμένους Δρυΐδας καὶ Σεμνοθέους, καθά φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Μαγικῷ καὶ Σωτίων ἐν τῷ εἰκοστῷ τρίτῳ τῆς Διαδοχῆς. Φοῖνικά τε γενέσθαι Μῶχον, καὶ Θράκα Ζάμολξιν, καὶ Λίβυν Ἀτλαντα. Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν γὰρ Νεῖλον γενέσθαι παῖδα Ἡφαίστου, ὃν ἄρξαι φιλοσοφίας, ἧς τοὺς προ-  
2 εστῶτας ἱερέας εἶναι καὶ προφῆτας. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα ἐτῶν εἶναι μυριάδας τέσσαρας καὶ ὀκτακισχίλια ὀκτακόσια ἐξήκοντα τρία· ἐν οἷς ἡλίου μὲν ἐκλείψεις γενέσθαι τριακοσίας ἐβδομήκοντα τρεῖς, σελήνης δὲ ὀκτακοσίας τριάκοντα δύο.

\* The alteration of the numeral from 23 to 13 is supported by what little we know of Sotion's work: see Introduction, p. xxiv. It was from a similar source that Clement of

# ΔΙΟΓΕΝΕΣ ΛΑΕΡΤΙΟΥΣ

LIVES AND OPINIONS OF EMINENT  
PHILOSOPHERS IN TEN BOOKS

## BOOK I

## PROLOGUE

THERE are some who say that the study of philosophy had its beginning among the barbarians. They urge that the Persians have had their Magi, the Babylonians or Assyrians their Chaldaeans, and the Indians their Gymnosophists; and among the Celts and Gauls there are the people called Druids or Holy Ones, for which they cite as authorities the *Magicus* of Aristotle and Sotion in the twenty-third \* book of his *Succession of Philosophers*. Also they say that Mochus was a Phoenician, Zamolxis a Thracian, and Atlas a Libyan.

If we may believe the Egyptians, Hephaestus was the son of the Nile, and with him philosophy began, priests and prophets being its chief exponents. Hephaestus lived 48,863 years before Alexander of Macedon, and in the interval there occurred 373 solar and 832 lunar eclipses.

Alexandria must have taken what we find in *Strom.* i. 71 concerning Chaldaeans, Druids, Magians, Gymnosophists, and other barbarian philosophers.



Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Μάγων, ὧν ἄρξαι Ζωροάστρην τὸν Πέρσην, Ἑρμόδωρος μὲν ὁ Πλατωνικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ μαθημάτων φησὶν εἰς τὴν Τροίαν ἀλῶσιν ἔτη γεγονέναι πεντακισχίλια· Ξάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς εἰς τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζωροάστρου ἑξακισχίλια φησι, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν γεγονέναι πολλοὺς τινὰς Μάγους κατὰ διαδοχὴν, Ὅστανος καὶ Ἀστραμψύχους καὶ Γωβρύας καὶ Παζάτας, μέχρι τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καταλύσεως.

3 Λανθάνουσι δ' αὐτοὺς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατορθώματα, ἀφ' ὧν μὴ ὅτι γε φιλοσοφία, ἀλλὰ καὶ γένος ἀνθρώπων ἤρξε, βαρβάρους προσάπτοντες. ἰδοὺ γοῦν παρὰ μὲν Ἀθηναίοις γέγονε Μουσαῖος, παρὰ δὲ Θηβαίοις Λίνος. καὶ τὸν μὲν Εὐμόλπου παῖδά φασι, ποιῆσαι δὲ Θεογονίαν καὶ Σφαῖραν πρῶτον· φάναι τε ἐξ ἐνὸς τὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι καὶ εἰς ταῦτόν ἀναλύεσθαι. τοῦτον τελευτῆσαι Φαληροῖ, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπιγεγράφαι τὸδε τὸ ἐλεγεῖον·

Εὐμόλπου φίλον υἱὸν ἔχει τὸ Φαληρικὸν οὐδας,  
Μουσαῖον, φθιμένον σῶμ', ὑπὸ τῷδε τάφῳ.

ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Μουσαίου καὶ Εὐμολπίδαι καλοῦνται παρ' Ἀθηναίους.

4 Τὸν δὲ Λίνον παῖδα εἶναι Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Μούσης Οὐρανίας· ποιῆσαι δὲ κοσμογονίαν, ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης πορείαν, καὶ ζώων καὶ καρπῶν γενέσεις. τούτῳ ἀρχὴ τῶν ποιημάτων ἦδε·

ἦν ποτέ τοι χρόνος οὗτος, ἐν ᾧ ἅμα πάντ' ἐπέφυκει.

ὅθεν λαβὼν Ἀναξαγόρας πάντα ἔφη χρήματα

The date of the Magians, beginning with Zoroaster the Persian, was 5000 years before the fall of Troy, as given by Hermodorus the Platonist in his work on mathematics; but Xanthus the Lydian reckons 6000 years from Zoroaster to the expedition of Xerxes, and after that event he places a long line of Magians in succession, bearing the names of Ostanas, Astrampsycho, Gobryas, and Pazatas, down to the conquest of Persia by Alexander.

These authors forget that the achievements which they attribute to the barbarians belong to the Greeks, with whom not merely philosophy but the human race itself began. For instance, Musaeus is claimed by Athens, Linus by Thebes. It is said that the former, the son of Eumolpus, was the first to compose a genealogy of the gods and to construct a sphere, and that he maintained that all things proceed from unity and are resolved again into unity. He died at Phalerum, and this is his epitaph<sup>a</sup>:

Musaeus, to his sire Eumolpus dear,  
In Phalerean soil lies buried here;

and the Eumolpidae at Athens get their name from the father of Musaeus.

Linus again was (so it is said) the son of Hermes and the Muse Urania. He composed a poem describing the creation of the world, the courses of the sun and moon, and the growth of animals and plants. His poem begins with the line:

Time was when all things grew up at once;

and this idea was borrowed by Anaxagoras when he

<sup>a</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 615.

## DIODEGENES LAERTIUS

γεγονέναι ὁμοῦ, νοῦν δὲ ἐλθόντα αὐτὰ διακοσμήσαι.  
τὸν δὲ Λίνον τελευτῆσαι ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τοξευθέντα ὑπ'  
Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπιγεγράφθαι.

ἦδε<sup>1</sup> Λίνον Θηβαῖον ἐδέξατο γαῖα θανόντα,  
Μούσης Οὐρανίης υἱὸν εὖστεφάνου.

καὶ ὦδε μὲν ἀφ' Ἑλλήνων ἦρξε φιλοσοφία, ἥς καὶ  
αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνομα τὴν βάρβαρον ἀέστραπται προσ-  
ηγορίαν.

<sup>5</sup> Οἱ δὲ τὴν εὖρεσιν διδόντες ἐκείνοις παράγουσι  
καὶ Ὀρφέα τὸν Θρᾷκα, λέγοντες φιλόσοφον γεγο-  
νέναι καὶ εἶναι ἀρχαιότατον. ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ τὸν περὶ  
θεῶν ἐξαγορεύσαντα τοιαῦτα χρὴ φιλόσοφον καλεῖν  
οὐκ οἶδα, <οὐδὲ><sup>2</sup> τίνα δεῖ προσαγορεύειν τὸν πᾶν  
τὸ ἀνθρώπειον πάθος ἀφειδούνα τοῖς θεοῖς προσ-  
τρίψαι, καὶ τὰ σπανίως ὑπὸ τινων ἀνθρώπων  
αἰσχροργούμενα τῷ τῆς φωνῆς ὄργάνῳ. τοῦτον  
δὲ ὁ μὲν μῦθος ὑπὸ γυναικῶν ἀπολέσθαι φησί· τὸν  
δ' ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐπίγραμμα, κεραυνω-  
θῆναι αὐτόν, λέγον οὕτως·

Θρήϊκα χρυσολῦρην τῇδ' Ὀρφέα Μοῦσαι ἔθαψαν,  
ὃν κτάνεν ὑψιμέδων Ζεὺς πολέεντι βέλει.

<sup>6</sup> Οἱ δὲ φάσκοντες ἀπὸ βαρβάρων ἄρξαι φιλο-  
σοφίαν καὶ τὸν τρόπον παρ' ἐκάστοις αὐτῆς ἐκ-  
τίθενται· καὶ φασὶ τοὺς μὲν Γυμνοσοφιστὰς καὶ  
Δρυῖδας αἰνιγματωδῶς ἀποφθεγγόμενους φιλο-  
σοφῆσαι, σέβειν θεοὺς καὶ μηδὲν κακὸν δρᾶν καὶ  
ἀνδρείαν ἀσκεῖν. τοὺς γοῦν Γυμνοσοφιστὰς καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἦδε] ὦδε Anth. Pal. vii. 616.

<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲ addidit Apelt.

## I. 4-6. PROLOGUE

declared that all things were originally together  
until Mind came and set them in order. Linus died  
in Euboea, slain by the arrow of Apollo, and this is  
his epitaph<sup>a</sup>:

Here Theban Linus, whom Urania bore,  
The fair-crowned Muse, sleeps on a foreign shore.

And thus it was from the Greeks that philosophy  
took its rise: its very name refuses to be translated  
into foreign speech.

But those who attribute its invention to barbarians  
bring forward Orpheus the Thracian, calling him a  
philosopher of whose antiquity there can be no  
doubt. Now, considering the sort of things he said  
about the gods, I hardly know whether he ought to  
be called a philosopher; for what are we to make of  
one who does not scruple to charge the gods with  
all human suffering, and even the foul crimes wrought  
by the tongue amongst a few of mankind? The  
story goes that he met his death at the hands of  
women; but according to the epitaph at Dium in  
Macedonia he was slain by a thunderbolt; it runs  
as follows<sup>b</sup>:

Here have the Muses laid their minstrel true,  
The Thracian Orpheus whom Jove's thunder slew.

But the advocates of the theory that philosophy  
took its rise among the barbarians go on to explain  
the different forms it assumed in different countries.  
As to the Gymnosophists and Druids we are told  
that they uttered their philosophy in riddles, bidding  
men to reverence the gods, to abstain from wrong-  
doing, and to practise courage. That the Gymno-

<sup>a</sup> Anth. Pal. vii. 616.

<sup>b</sup> Anth. Plan. ii. 99.

## DIODENES LAERTIUS

θανάτου καταφρονεῖν φησι Κλείταρχος ἐν τῇ  
δωδεκάτῃ· τοὺς δὲ Χαλδαίους περὶ ἀστρονομίαν  
καὶ πρόρρησιν ἀσχολεῖσθαι· τοὺς δὲ Μάγους περὶ  
τε θεραπείας θεῶν διατρίβειν καὶ θυσίας καὶ εὐχάς,  
ὡς αὐτοὺς μόνους ἀκουομένους· ἀποφαίνεσθαι τε  
περὶ τε οὐσίας θεῶν καὶ γενέσεως, οὓς καὶ πῦρ  
εἶναι καὶ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ· τῶν δὲ ξοάνων κατα-  
γινώσκειν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν λεγόντων ἄρρενας  
7 εἶναι θεοὺς καὶ θηλείας· περὶ τε δικαιοσύνης  
λόγους ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ἀνόσιον ἡγεῖσθαι πυρὶ  
θάπτειν· καὶ ὅσιον νομίζειν μητρὶ ἢ θυγατρὶ μι-  
γρῆσθαι, ὡς ἐν τῷ εἰκοστῷ τρίτῳ φησὶν ὁ Σωτῖων·  
ἀσκεῖν τε μαντικὴν καὶ πρόρρησιν, καὶ θεοὺς  
αὐτοῖς ἐμφανίζεσθαι λέγοντας· ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰδιώλων  
πλήρη εἶναι τὸν ἀέρα, κατ' ἀπόρροϊαν ὑπ' ἀναθυ-  
μιάσεως εἰσκρινομένων ταῖς ὄψεσι τῶν ὀξυδερκῶν·  
προκοσμήματά τε καὶ χρυσοφορίας ἀπαγορεύειν·  
τούτων δὲ ἐσθῆς μὲν λευκὴ, στιβάς δὲ εὐνή, καὶ  
λάχανον τροφή, τυρός τε καὶ ἄρτος εὐτελής, καὶ  
κάλαμος ἢ βακτηρία, ᾧ κεντοῦντες, φασί, τοῦ  
τυροῦ ἀνηροῦντο καὶ ἀπήσθιον·  
8 Τὴν δὲ γοητικὴν μαγείαν οὐδ' ἔγνωσαν, φησὶν  
Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Μαγικῷ καὶ Δεύνων ἐν τῇ  
πέμπτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν· ὃς καὶ μεθερμηνευόμενον  
φησι τὸν Ζωροάστρην ἀστροβύτην εἶναι· φησὶ δὲ

\* Compare Pliny, *N.H.* xx. 11. 242: Zoroaster lived in the wilderness on cheese (*cf. Yasht*, xxii. 18 "Spring butter is the ambrosia of the blessed"). For fuller comments on §§ 7-9 see J. H. Moulton's *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 410-418.

<sup>b</sup> This popular etymology, though wide-spread, is erroneous, the true form of the prophet's name being Zarathustra, almost certainly derived from *zarath*="old"

## I. 6-8. PROLOGUE

sophists at all events despise even death itself is affirmed by Clitarchus in his twelfth book; he also says that the Chaldaeans apply themselves to astronomy and forecasting the future; while the Magi spend their time in the worship of the gods, in sacrifices and in prayers, implying that none but themselves have the ear of the gods. They propound their views concerning the being and origin of the gods, whom they hold to be fire, earth, and water; they condemn the use of images, and especially the error of attributing to the divinities difference of sex. They hold discourse of justice, and deem it impious to practise cremation; but they see no impiety in marriage with a mother or daughter, as Sotion relates in his twenty-third book. Further, they practise divination and forecast the future, declaring that the gods appear to them in visible form. Moreover, they say that the air is full of shapes which stream forth like vapour and enter the eyes of keen-sighted seers. They prohibit personal ornament and the wearing of gold. Their dress is white, they make their bed on the ground, and their food is vegetables, cheese,<sup>a</sup> and coarse bread; their staff is a reed and their custom is, so we are told, to stick it into the cheese and take up with it the part they eat.

With the art of magic they were wholly unacquainted, according to Aristotle in his *Magicus* and Dinon in the fifth book of his *History*. Dinon tells us that the name Zoroaster, literally interpreted, means "star-worshipper"<sup>b</sup>; and Hermodorus agrees

(a) Zend stem, parallel to *γέρων*-) and *ustra*="camel." *Cf. J. H. Moulton, op. cit.* p. 426, and, for star-lore in the Avesta, *ib.* p. 210.

τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ἑρμόδωρος. Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν  
 πρώτῳ Περὶ φιλοσοφίας καὶ πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι  
 τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ δύο κατ' αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἀρχάς,  
 ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα καὶ κακὸν δαίμονα· καὶ τῷ μὲν  
 ὄνομα εἶναι Ζεὺς καὶ Ὀρομάσδης, τῷ δὲ Ἄδης  
 καὶ Ἀρειμάνιος. φησὶ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Ἑρμιππος ἐν  
 τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ Μάγων καὶ Εὐδόξος ἐν τῇ Περιόδῳ  
 καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν.  
 9 ὃς καὶ ἀναβιώσσεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς Μάγους φησὶ τοὺς  
 ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἀθανάτους ἔσσεσθαι, καὶ τὰ ὄντα  
 ταῖς αὐτῶν ἐπικλήσεσι διαμενεῖν. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ  
 Εὐδήμος ὁ Ῥόδιος ἱστορεῖ. Ἐκαταῖος δὲ καὶ  
 γενητοὺς τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι κατ' αὐτούς. Κλέαρ-  
 χος δὲ ὁ Σολεὺς ἐν τῷ Περὶ παιδείας καὶ τοὺς  
 Γυμνοσοφιστὰς ἀπογόνους εἶναι τῶν Μάγων φησὶν·  
 ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐκ τούτων εἶναι. πρὸς  
 τούτοις καταγινώσκουσιν Ἡροδότου οἱ τὰ περὶ  
 Μάγων γράψαντες· μὴ γὰρ ἂν εἰς τὸν ἥλιον βέλη  
 Ξέρξην ἀκοντίσαι, μηδ' εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν πέδας  
 καθεῖναι, θεοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Μάγων παραδεδομένους.  
 τὰ μέντοι ἀγάλματα εἰκότως καθαιρεῖν.  
 10 Τὴν δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων φιλοσοφίαν εἶναι τοιαύτην  
 περὶ τε θεῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης. φάσκειν τε  
 ἀρχὴν μὲν εἶναι τὴν ὕλην, εἶτα τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα  
 ἐξ αὐτῆς διακριθῆναι, καὶ ζῶα παντοῖα ἀπο-

"In this clause the word ἐπικλήσεσι is usually taken as equivalent to ὀνόμασι (names). The meaning then would be: "What exists now will exist hereafter under its own present name." Diels would alter ἐπικλήσεσι to περιεπικλήσεσι, thus obtaining something very like the Heraclitean union of opposites: "the things which are will continue to be through all their revolutions." But ἐπικλήσεσι like ἐπικαλεῖσθαι can be used of prayer, and there is some

with him in this. Aristotle in the first book of his dialogue *On Philosophy* declares that the Magi are more ancient than the Egyptians; and further, that they believe in two principles, the good spirit and the evil spirit, the one called Zeus or Oromasdes, the other Hades or Arimanius. This is confirmed by Hermippus in his first book about the Magi, Eudoxus in his *Voyage round the World*, and Theopompus in the eighth book of his *Philippica*. The last-named author says that according to the Magi men will live in a future life and be immortal, and that the world will endure through their invocations.<sup>a</sup> This is again confirmed by Eudemus of Rhodes. But Hecataeus relates that according to them the gods are subject to birth. Clearchus of Soli in his tract *On Education* further makes the Gymnosophists to be descended from the Magi; and some trace the Jews also to the same origin. Furthermore, those who have written about the Magi criticize Herodotus. They urge that Xerxes would never have cast javelins at the sun nor have let down fetters into the sea, since in the creed of the Magi sun and sea are gods. But that statues of the gods should be destroyed by Xerxes was natural enough.

The philosophy of the Egyptians is described as follows so far as relates to the gods and to justice. They say that matter was the first principle, next the four elements were derived from matter, and thus living things of every species were produced.

evidence that Avestan religion fully recognized the efficacy of prayers and spells. The testimony of Theopompus, who wrote in the fourth century, to the Zoroastrian doctrine of immortality is regarded by J. H. Moulton as specially important: cf. *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 177 sq. and 416.

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τελεσθῆναι. θεοὺς δ' εἶναι ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην, τὸν μὲν Ὅσιριν, τὴν δ' Ἴσιιν καλουμένην· αἰνίττεσθαί τε αὐτοὺς διὰ τε κανθάρου καὶ δράκοντος καὶ ἱέρακος καὶ ἄλλων, ὥς φησι Μανέθως ἐν τῇ τῶν Φυσικῶν ἐπιτομῇ καὶ Ἐκαταῖος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ Περὶ Αἰγυπτίων φιλοσοφίας. κατασκευάζειν δὲ <καὶ> ἀγάλματα καὶ τεμένη τῷ μὴ εἰδέναι τὴν 11 τοῦ θεοῦ μορφήν. τὸν κόσμον γενητὸν καὶ φθαρτὸν καὶ σφαιροειδῆ· τοὺς ἀστέρας πῦρ εἶναι, καὶ τῇ τούτων κράσει τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς γίνεσθαι· σελήνην ἐκλείπειν εἰς τὸ σκίασμα τῆς γῆς ἐμπίπτουσαν· τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ἐπιδιαμένειν καὶ μετεμβαίνειν· ἔτους κατὰ ἀέρος τροπὴν ἀποτελεῖσθαι· τὰ τε ἄλλα φυσιολογεῖν, ὥς Ἐκαταῖος τε καὶ Ἀρισταγόρας ἰστοροῦσιν. ἔθεσαν δὲ καὶ νόμους ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης, οὓς εἰς Ἑρμῆν ἀνήνεγκαν· καὶ τὰ εὐχρηστα τῶν ζώων θεοὺς ἐδόξασαν. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ὡς αὐτοὶ γεωμετρίαν τε καὶ ἀστρολογίαν καὶ ἀριθμητικὴν ἀνεύρον. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς εὐρέσεως ὧδε ἔχει.

12 Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ πρῶτος ὠνόμασε Πυθαγόρας καὶ ἑαυτὸν φιλόσοφον, ἐν Σικυνῶνι διαλεγόμενος Λέοντι τῷ Σικυνωνίων τυράννῳ ἢ Φλιασίῳ, καθά φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός ἐν τῇ Περὶ τῆς ἀπνου· μηδὲνα γὰρ εἶναι σοφόν [ἀνθρώπων] ἀλλ' ἢ θεόν. θάπτον δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο σοφία, καὶ σοφὸς ὁ ταύτην ἐπαγγελλόμενος, ὃς εἴη ἂν κατ' ἀκρότητα ψυχῆς ἀπηκριβωμένος, φιλόσοφος δὲ ὁ σοφίαν ἀσπαζόμενος. οἱ δὲ σοφοὶ καὶ σοφισταὶ ἐκαλοῦντο· καὶ

\* This is confirmed by Clement, *Strom.* i. 61, who also repeats (*Strom.* i. 24) the statement that σοφιστής = σοφός.

## I. 10-12. PROLOGUE

The sun and the moon are gods bearing the names of Osiris and Isis respectively; they make use of the beetle, the dragon, the hawk, and other creatures as symbols of divinity, according to Manetho in his *Epitome of Physical Doctrines*, and Hecataeus in the first book of his work *On the Egyptian Philosophy*. They also set up statues and temples to these sacred animals because they do not know the true form of the deity. They hold that the universe is created and perishable, and that it is spherical in shape. They say that the stars consist of fire, and that, according as the fire in them is mixed, so events happen upon earth; that the moon is eclipsed when it falls into the earth's shadow; that the soul survives death and passes into other bodies; that rain is caused by change in the atmosphere; of all other phenomena they give physical explanations, as related by Hecataeus and Aristagoras. They also laid down laws on the subject of justice, which they ascribed to Hermes; and they deified those animals which are serviceable to man. They also claimed to have invented geometry, astronomy, and arithmetic. Thus much concerning the invention of philosophy.

But the first to use the term, and to call himself a philosopher or lover of wisdom, was Pythagoras; \* for, said he, no man is wise, but God alone. Heraclides of Pontus, in his *De mortua*, makes him say this at Sicyon in conversation with Leon, who was the prince of that city or of Phlius. All too quickly the study was called wisdom and its professor a sage, to denote his attainment of mental perfection; while the student who took it up was a philosopher or lover of wisdom. Sophists was another name for

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οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ σοφισταί, καθὰ καὶ Κρατῖνος ἐν Ἀρχιλόχοις τοὺς περὶ Ὅμηρον καὶ Ἡσίοδον ἐπαινῶν οὕτως καλεῖ.

- 13 Σοφοὶ δὲ ἐνομίζοντο οὕδε· Θαλῆς, Σόλων, Περὶ-  
ανδρος, Κλεόβουλος, Χείλων, Βίας, Πιττακός.  
τούτοις προσαριθμοῦσιν Ἀνάχαρσιν τὸν Σκύθην,  
Μύσωνα τὸν Χηνέα, Φερεκύδην τὸν Σύριον,  
Ἐπιμενίδην τὸν Κρήτα· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ Πεισίστρατον  
τὸν τύραννον. καὶ οἱ μὲν σοφοί.

Φιλοσοφίας δὲ δύο γεγονόασιν ἀρχαί, ἥ τε ἀπὸ  
Ἀναξίμανδρου καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου· τοῦ μὲν  
Θαλοῦ διακηκούτος, Πυθαγόρου δὲ Φερεκύδης καθ-  
ηγῆσατο. καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ μὲν Ἰωνικὴ, ὅτι Θαλῆς  
Ἰωνῶν, Μιλήσιος γάρ, καθηγῆσατο Ἀναξίμανδρου·  
ἡ δὲ Ἰταλικὴ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου, ὅτι τὰ πλεῖστα  
14 κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐφιλοσόφησεν. καταλήγει δὲ  
ἡ μὲν εἰς Κλειτόμαχον καὶ Χρύσιππον καὶ Θεό-  
φραστον [ἢ Ἰωνικὴ]· ἡ δὲ Ἰταλικὴ εἰς Ἐπίκουρον.  
Θαλοῦ μὲν γάρ Ἀναξίμανδρος, οὗ Ἀναξίμενης,  
οὗ Ἀναξαγόρας, οὗ Ἀρχέλαος, οὗ Σωκράτης ὁ  
τὴν ἠθικὴν εἰσαγαγών· οὗ οἱ τε ἄλλοι Σωκρατικοὶ  
καὶ Πλάτων ὁ τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἀκαδημειάν συ-  
στησάμενος· οὗ Σπεύσιππος καὶ Ξενοκράτης, οὗ  
Πολέμων, οὗ Κράντωρ καὶ Κράτης, οὗ Ἀρκεσίλαος  
ὁ τὴν μέσσην Ἀκαδημειάν εἰσηγησάμενος· οὗ Λακύδης

<sup>a</sup> Compare Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 59. His authority includes another candidate for admission to the Seven, Acusilaus of Argos, but makes no mention of Pisistratus.

<sup>b</sup> See iv. 59-61, where Lacydes is made the founder of the New Academy, although other authorities, e.g. Sext.

## I. 12-14. PROLOGUE

the wise men, and not only for philosophers but for the poets also. And so Cratinus when praising Homer and Hesiod in his *Archilochi* gives them the title of sophist.

The men who were commonly regarded as sages were the following: Thales, Solon, Periander, Cleobulus, Chilon, Bias, Pittacus. To these are added Anacharsis the Scythian, Myson of Chen, Pherecydes of Syros, Epimenides the Cretan; and by some even Pisistratus the tyrant. So much for the sages or wise men.<sup>a</sup>

But philosophy, the pursuit of wisdom, has had a twofold origin; it started with Anaximander on the one hand, with Pythagoras on the other. The former was a pupil of Thales, Pythagoras was taught by Pherecydes. The one school was called Ionian, because Thales, a Milesian and therefore an Ionian, instructed Anaximander; the other school was called Italian from Pythagoras, who worked for the most part in Italy. And the one school, that of Ionia, terminates with Clitomachus and Chrysippus and Theophrastus, that of Italy with Epicurus. The succession passes from Thales through Anaximander, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Archelaus, to Socrates, who introduced ethics or moral philosophy; from Socrates to his pupils the Socratics, and especially to Plato, the founder of the Old Academy; from Plato, through Speusippus and Xenocrates, the succession passes to Polemo, Crantor, and Crates, Arcesilaus, founder of the Middle Academy, Lacydes,<sup>b</sup>

Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp. i. 220, say the Third or New Academy began with Carneades. But the claim of Lacydes is supported by *Ind. Acad.* pp. 76. 37 sq. Mekler, and the article s.v. in Suidas, which comes from Hesychius.

ὁ τὴν νέαν Ἀκαδημίαν φιλοσοφῆσας· οὗ Καρνεάδης,  
οὗ Κλειτόμαχος. καὶ ὧδε μὲν εἰς Κλειτόμαχον.  
15 Εἰς δὲ Χρύσιππον οὕτω καταλήγει· Σωκράτους  
Ἀντισθένης, οὗ Διογένης ὁ κύων, οὗ Κράτης ὁ  
Θηβαῖος, οὗ Ζήνων ὁ Κιτιεύς, οὗ Κλεάνθης, οὗ  
Χρύσιππος. εἰς δὲ Θεόφραστον οὕτως· Πλάτωνος  
Ἀριστοτέλης, οὗ Θεόφραστος. καὶ ἡ μὲν Ἰωνικὴ  
τοῦτον καταλήγει τὸν τρόπον.

Ἡ δὲ Ἰταλικὴ οὕτω· Φερεκύδους Πυθαγόρας, οὗ  
Τηλαύγης ὁ υἱός, οὗ Ξενοφάνης, οὗ Παρμενίδης,  
οὗ Ζήνων ὁ Ἐλεάτης, οὗ Λεύκιππος, οὗ Δημό-  
κριτος, οὗ πολλοὶ μὲν, ἐπ' ὀνόματος δὲ Ναυσифάνης  
[καὶ Ναυκύδης], ὧν Ἐπίκουρος.

16 Τῶν δὲ φιλοσόφων οἱ μὲν γεγόνασι δογματικοί,  
οἱ δ' ἐφεκτικοί· δογματικοὶ μὲν ὅσοι περὶ τῶν  
πραγμάτων ἀποφαίνονται ὡς καταληπτῶν· ἐφ-  
εκτικοὶ δὲ ὅσοι ἐπέχουσι περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς ἀκατα-  
λήπτων. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν κατέλιπον ὑπομνήματα,  
οἱ δ' ὅλως οὐ συνέγραψαν, ὥσπερ κατὰ τινες Σω-  
κράτης, Στίλπων, Φίλιππος, Μενέδημος, Πύρρων,  
Θεόδωρος, Καρνεάδης, Βρύσων· κατὰ τινες Πυθ-  
αγόρας, Ἀρίστων ὁ Χίος, πλὴν ἐπιστολῶν ὀλίγων·  
οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ ἓν σύγγραμμα· Μέλισσος, Παρμενίδης,  
Ἀναξαγόρας· πολλὰ δὲ Ζήνων, πλείω Ξενοφάνης,  
πλείω Δημόκριτος, πλείω Ἀριστοτέλης, πλείω  
Ἐπίκουρος, πλείω Χρύσιππος.

\* This succession (Pythagoras, Telauges, Xenophanes, Parmenides) does not exactly agree with what is said in the lives of Xenophanes and Parmenides, ix. 18, 21, where Parmenides, not Xenophanes, is made a pupil of the Pythagoreans. The arrangement followed in i. 12-15 treats the Italian school as a true succession, whereas in Book IX.

founder of the New Academy, Carneades, and Clitomachus. This line brings us to Clitomachus.

There is another which ends with Chrysippus, that is to say by passing from Socrates to Antisthenes, then to Diogenes the Cynic, Crates of Thebes, Zeno of Citium, Cleanthes, Chrysippus. And yet again another ends with Theophrastus; thus from Plato it passes to Aristotle, and from Aristotle to Theophrastus. In this manner the school of Ionia comes to an end.

In the Italian school the order of succession is as follows: first Pherecydes, next Pythagoras, next his son Telauges, then Xenophanes, Parmenides,<sup>a</sup> Zeno of Elea, Leucippus, Democritus, who had many pupils, in particular Nausiphanes [and Naucydes], who were teachers of Epicurus.

Philosophers may be divided into dogmatists and sceptics: all those who make assertions about things assuming that they can be known are dogmatists; while all who suspend their judgement on the ground that things are unknowable are sceptics. Again, some philosophers left writings behind them, while others wrote nothing at all, as was the case according to some authorities with Socrates, Stilpo, Philippus, Menedemus, Pyrrho, Theodorus, Carneades, Bryson; some add Pythagoras and Aristo of Chios, except that they wrote a few letters. Others wrote no more than one treatise each, as Melissus, Parmenides, Anaxagoras. Many works were written by Zeno, more by Xenophanes, more by Democritus, more by Aristotle, more by Epicurus, and still more by Chrysippus.

many of them are regarded as sporadic thinkers, according to the view expressed in viii. 91.

- 17 Τῶν δὲ φιλοσόφων οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ πόλεων προσ-  
 ηγορεύθησαν, ὡς οἱ Ἡλιακοὶ καὶ Μεγαρικοὶ καὶ  
 Ἐρετρικοὶ καὶ Κυρηναῖκοι· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τόπων, ὡς οἱ  
 Ἀκαδημαῖκοι καὶ Στωϊκοί· καὶ ἀπὸ συμπτωμάτων  
 δέ, ὡς οἱ Περιπατητικοί, καὶ ἀπὸ σκωμμάτων, ὡς  
 οἱ Κυνικοί· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ διαθέσεων, ὡς οἱ Εὐδαι-  
 μονικοί· τινὲς ἀπὸ οἰήσεως, ὡς οἱ Φιλαλήθεις καὶ  
 Ἐλεγκτικοὶ καὶ Ἀναλογητικοί· ἔνιοι δ' ἀπὸ τῶν  
 διδασκάλων, ὡς οἱ Σωκρατικοὶ καὶ Ἐπικούρειοι,  
 καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ φύσιν  
 πραγματείας φυσικοί· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἦθη  
 σχολῆς ἠθικοί· διαλεκτικοὶ δὲ ὅσοι περὶ τὴν τῶν  
 λόγων τερθρεῖαν καταγίνονται.
- 18 Μέρη δὲ φιλοσοφίας τρία, φυσικόν, ἠθικόν, δια-  
 λεκτικόν· φυσικόν μὲν τὸ περὶ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν  
 αὐτῷ· ἠθικόν δὲ τὸ περὶ βίου καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς·  
 διαλεκτικόν δὲ τὸ ἀμφοτέρων τοὺς λόγους πρε-  
 σβεῦον· καὶ μέχρι μὲν Ἀρχελάου τὸ φυσικόν ἦν  
 εἶδος· ἀπὸ δὲ Σωκράτους, ὡς προεῖρηται, τὸ  
 ἠθικόν· ἀπὸ δὲ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἐλεάτου τὸ δια-  
 λεκτικόν· τοῦ δὲ ἠθικοῦ γεγόνασιν αἱρέσεις δέκα,  
 Ἀκαδημαϊκὴ, Κυρηναϊκὴ, Ἡλιακὴ, Μεγαρικὴ,  
 Κυνικὴ, Ἐρετρικὴ, Διαλεκτικὴ, Περιπατητικὴ,  
 Στωϊκὴ, Ἐπικούρειος.
- 19 Ἀκαδημαϊκῆς μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀρχαίας προέστη  
 Πλάτων, τῆς μέσης Ἀρκεσίλαος, τῆς νέας Λακύδης·  
 Κυρηναϊκῆς Ἀρίστιππος ὁ Κυρηναῖος, Ἡλιακῆς  
 Φαῖδων ὁ Ἠλεῖος, Μεγαρικῆς Εὐκλείδης Μεγα-  
 ρεύς, Κυνικῆς Ἀντισθένης Ἀθηναῖος, Ἐρετρικῆς

Some schools took their name from cities, as the Elians and the Megarians, the Eretrians and the Cyrenaics ; others from localities, as the Academics and the Stoics ; others from incidental circumstances, as the Peripatetics ; others again from derisive nicknames, as the Cynics ; others from their temperaments, as the Eudaemonists or Happiness School ; others from a conceit they entertained, as Truth-lovers, Refutationists, and Reasoners from Analogy ; others again from their teachers, as Socratics, Epicureans, and the like ; some take the name of Physicists from their investigation of nature, others that of Moralists because they discuss morals ; while those who are occupied with verbal jugglery are styled Dialecticians.

Philosophy has three parts, physics, ethics, and dialectic or logic. Physics is the part concerned with the universe and all that it contains ; ethics that concerned with life and all that has to do with us ; while the processes of reasoning employed by both form the province of dialectic. Physics flourished down to the time of Archelaus ; ethics, as we have said, started with Socrates ; while dialectic goes as far back as Zeno of Elea. In ethics there have been ten schools : the Academic, the Cyrenaic, the Elian, the Megarian, the Cynic, the Eretrian, the Dialectic, the Peripatetic, the Stoic, and the Epicurean.

The founders of these schools were : of the Old Academy, Plato ; of the Middle Academy, Arcesilaus ; of the New Academy, Lacydes ; of the Cyrenaic, Aristippus of Cyrene ; of the Elian, Phaedo of Elis ; of the Megarian, Euclides of Megara ; of the Cynic, Antisthenes of Athens ; of the Eretrian, Menedemus



Μενέδημος Ἐρετριεύς, Διαλεκτικῆς Κλειτόμαχος Καρχηδόnius, Περιπατητικῆς Ἀριστοτέλης Σταγειρίτης, Στωϊκῆς Ζήνων Κιτιεύς· ἡ δὲ Ἐπικούρειος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κέκληται Ἐπικούρου.

Ἱππόβοτος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ αἵρέσεων ἐννέα φησιν αἵρέσεις καὶ ἀγωγὰς εἶναι· πρώτην Μεγαρικὴν, δευτέραν Ἐρετρικὴν, τρίτην Κυρηναϊκὴν, τετάρτην Ἐπικούρειον, πέμπτην Ἀννικέριον, ἕκτην Θεοδώρειον, ἑβδόμην Ζηνώνειον τὴν καὶ Στωϊκὴν, ὀγδόην Ἀκαδημαϊκὴν τὴν ἀρχαίαν, ἐνάτην Περιπατητικὴν· οὐτε δὲ Κυνικὴν γὰρ Πυρρώνειον οὐδ' οἱ Διαλεκτικὴν. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Πυρρώνειον οὐδ' οἱ πλείους προσποιούνται διὰ τὴν ἀσάφειαν· ἔνιοι δὲ κατὰ τι μὲν αἵρεσις εἶναι φασιν αὐτὴν, κατὰ τι δὲ οὐ. δοκεῖ δὲ αἵρεσις εἶναι. αἵρεσις μὲν γὰρ λέγομεν τὴν λόγῳ τινὶ κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον ἀκολουθοῦσαν ἢ δοκοῦσαν ἀκολουθεῖν· καθ' ὃ εὐλόγως ἂν αἵρεσις τὴν Σκεπτικὴν καλοῖμεν. εἰ δὲ αἵρεσις νοοῖμεν πρόσκλισην δόγμασι· ἀκολουθίαν ἔχουσαν, οὐκέτ' ἂν προσαγορεύοιτο αἵρεσις· οὐ γὰρ ἔχει δόγματα. αἶδε μὲν ἀρχαὶ καὶ διαδοχαὶ καὶ τοσαῦτα μέρη καὶ τόσαι φιλοσοφίας αἵρέσεις.

21 Ἐτι δὲ πρὸ ὀλίγου καὶ ἐκλεκτικὴ τις αἵρεσις εἰσήχθη ὑπὸ Ποτάμιωνος τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως, ἐκλεξα-

\* The separation of the followers of Anniceris from the Cyrenaic school was made by the author whom Clement of Alexandria followed in ii. 130. This author may have been Antiochus of Ascalon. Strabo x. 837 s.f. supports the same view: Ἀννικερίης ὁ δοκῶν ἐπανορθῶσαι τὴν Κυρηναϊκὴν αἵρεσιν, καὶ παραγαγεῖν ἀντ' αὐτῆς τὴν Ἀννικερίαν.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. the distinction drawn by Sextus Empiricus in *Pyrrh. Hyp.* i. 16, 17. If by rules for conduct dogmas are implied, then the Pyrrhonians are not a sect, i.e. a dogmatic school.

\* Certainly not the same as the person mentioned by

of Eretria; of the Dialectical school, Clitomachus of Carthage; of the Peripatetic, Aristotle of Stagira; of the Stoic, Zeno of Citium; while the Epicurean school took its name from Epicurus himself.

Hippobotus in his work *On Philosophical Sects* declares that there are nine sects or schools, and gives them in this order: (1) Megarian, (2) Eretrian, (3) Cyrenaic, (4) Epicurean, (5) Annicerian,<sup>a</sup> (6) Theodorean, (7) Zenonian or Stoic, (8) Old Academic, (9) Peripatetic. He passes over the Cynic, Elian, and Dialectical schools; for as to the Pyrrhonians, so indefinite are their conclusions that hardly any authorities allow them to be a sect; some allow their claim in certain respects, but not in others. It would seem, however, that they are a sect, for we use the term of those who in their attitude to appearance follow or seem to follow some principle; and on this ground we should be justified in calling the Sceptics a sect. But if we are to understand by "sect" a bias in favour of coherent positive doctrines, they could no longer be called a sect,<sup>b</sup> for they have no positive doctrines. So much for the beginnings of philosophy, its subsequent developments, its various parts, and the number of the philosophic sects.

One word more: not long ago an Eclectic school was introduced by Potamo of Alexandria,<sup>c</sup> who

Porphry in his *Life of Plotinus*, 9, 11, for Polemo, not Potamo, is the correct form of the name in that place. Potamo is said by Suidas (s.v. Ποτάμιων ἈΛ.) to have lived shortly before and contemporary with Augustus, whence it follows that Diogenes has taken without alteration a statement by an earlier writer who might truthfully say "not long ago" of the reign of Augustus. Suidas, whose article αἵρεσις agrees closely with our text, naturally omits πρὸ ὀλίγου.

μένου τὰ ἀρέσκοντα ἐξ ἐκάστης τῶν αἰρέσεων.  
ἀρέσκει δ' αὐτῷ, καθά φησιν ἐν τῇ Στοιχειώσει,  
κριτήρια τῆς ἀληθείας εἶναι· τὸ μὲν ὡς ὑφ' οὗ  
γίνεται ἡ κρίσις, τουτέστι τὸ ἡγεμονικόν· τὸ δὲ  
ὡς δι' οὗ, οἷον τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην φαντασίαν.  
ἀρχὰς τε τῶν ὄλων τὴν τε ὕλην καὶ τὸ ποιοῦν,  
ποιότητά τε καὶ τόπον· ἐξ οὗ γὰρ καὶ ὑφ' οὗ καὶ  
ποιῶ καὶ ἐν ᾧ. τέλος δὲ εἶναι ἐφ' ὃ πάντα ἀνα-  
φέρεται, ζῶην κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν τελείαν, οὐκ ἄνευ  
τῶν τοῦ σώματος κατὰ φύσιν καὶ τῶν ἐκτός.

Λεκτέον δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ πρῶτόν  
γε περὶ Θαλοῦ.

Κεφ. α'. ΘΑΛΗΣ

- 22 Ἦν τοίνυν ὁ Θαλῆς, ὡς μὲν Ἡρόδοτος καὶ  
Δοῦρις καὶ Δημόκριτος φασί, πατὴρ μὲν Ἐξαμῶν,  
μητὴρ δὲ Κλεοβουλίνης, ἐκ τῶν Θηλιδῶν,<sup>1</sup> οἱ εἰσι  
Φοίνικες, εὐγενέστατοι τῶν ἀπὸ Κάδμου καὶ  
Ἀγήνορος. ἤν δὲ τῶν ἐπτὰ σοφῶν, καθὰ καὶ  
Πλάτων φησί· καὶ πρῶτος σοφὸς ὠνομάσθη ἀρχον-  
τος Ἀθήνησι Δαμασίου, καθ' ὃν καὶ οἱ ἐπτὰ σοφοὶ  
ἐκλήθησαν, ὡς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῇ  
τῶν ἀρχόντων Ἀναγραφῇ. ἐπολιτογραφήθη δὲ ἐν  
Μιλήτῳ, ὅτε ἦλθε σὺν Νείλεω ἐκπεσόντι Φοινίκης·  
ὡς δ' οἱ πλείους φασίν, ἰθαγενὴς Μιλήσιος ἦν καὶ  
γένους λαμπροῦ.

<sup>1</sup> Θηλιδῶν] Νηλιδῶν Bywater.

<sup>a</sup> Nelidae, if Bywater's emendation is correct.

<sup>b</sup> 582 B.C.

made a selection from the tenets of all the existing  
sects. As he himself states in his *Elements of*  
*Philosophy*, he takes as criteria of truth (1) that  
by which the judgement is formed, namely, the  
ruling principle of the soul; (2) the instrument  
used, for instance the most accurate perception.  
His universal principles are matter and the efficient  
cause, quality, and place; for that out of which  
and that by which a thing is made, as well as the  
quality with which and the place in which it is  
made, are principles. The end to which he refers  
all actions is life made perfect in all virtue, natural  
advantages of body and environment being in-  
dispensable to its attainment.

It remains to speak of the philosophers themselves,  
and in the first place of Thales.

CHAPTER 1. THALES (*floruit circa 585 B.C.*,  
the date of the eclipse)

Herodotus, Duris, and Democritus are agreed  
that Thales was the son of Examyas and Cleobulina,  
and belonged to the Thelidae <sup>a</sup> who are Phoenicians,  
and among the noblest of the descendants of Cadmus  
and Agenor. As Plato testifies, he was one of the  
Seven Sages. He was the first to receive the name  
of Sage, in the archonship of Damasias <sup>b</sup> at Athens,  
when the term was applied to all the Seven Sages,  
as Demetrius of Phalerum mentions in his *List of*  
*Archons*. He was admitted to citizenship at Miletus  
when he came to that town along with Nileos, who  
had been expelled from Phoenicia. Most writers,  
however, represent him as a genuine Milesian and  
of a distinguished family.

23 Μετὰ δὲ τὰ πολιτικά τῆς φυσικῆς ἐγένετο θεωρίας. καὶ κατὰ τινὰς μὲν σύγγραμμα κατέλιπεν οὐδέν· ἢ γὰρ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένη Ναυτικὴ ἀστρολογία Φώκου λέγεται εἶναι τοῦ Σαμίου. Καλλίμαχος δ' αὐτὸν οἶδεν εὔρετὴν τῆς ἄρκτου τῆς μικρᾶς, λέγων ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις οὕτως·

καὶ τῆς ἀμάξης ἐλέγετο σταθμήσασθαι  
τοὺς ἀστερίσκους, ἢ πλέουσι Φοίνικες.

κατὰ τινὰς δὲ μόνον δύο συνέγραψε, Περὶ τροπῆς καὶ Ἰσημερίας, τὰ ἄλλ' ἀκατάληπτα εἶναι δοκίμασας. δοκεῖ δὲ κατὰ τινὰς πρῶτος ἀστρολογῆσαι καὶ ἡλιακὰς ἐκλείψεις καὶ τροπὰς προειπεῖν, ὥς φησιν Εὐδημος ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν Ἀστρολογουμένων ἱστορίᾳ· ὅθεν αὐτὸν καὶ Ξενοφάνης καὶ Ἡρόδοτος θαυμάζει. μαρτυρεῖ δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ Δημόκριτος.

24 Ἐνιοὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν πρῶτον εἰπεῖν φασιν ἀθανάτους τὰς ψυχὰς· ὧν ἐστὶ Χοιρίλος ὁ ποιητής. πρῶτος δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τροπῆς ἐπὶ τροπὴν πάροδον εὔρε, καὶ πρῶτος τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου μέγεθος <τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ κύκλου ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ τῆς σελήνης μέγεθος> τοῦ σεληναίου ἑπτακοσιοστὸν καὶ εἰκοστὸν μέρος ἀπεφῆνατο κατὰ τινὰς. πρῶτος δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑστάτην ἡμέραν τοῦ μηνὸς τριακάδα εἶπε. πρῶτος δὲ καὶ περὶ φύσεως διελέχθη, ὥς τινες.

Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ καὶ Ἰππίας φασὶν αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς ἀψύχοις μεταδιδόναι ψυχῆς, τεκμαιρόμενον ἐκ τῆς λίθου τῆς μαγνήτιδος καὶ τοῦ ἡλέκτρου.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Simplicius, *In Phys.* i. 23, 29-33 D.

<sup>b</sup> Greek mariners steered by the Great Bear, the Phoenicians by the Little Bear, as Ovid states, *Tristia*, iv. 3. 1, 2.

After engaging in politics he became a student of nature. According to some he left nothing in writing; for the *Nautical Astronomy*<sup>a</sup> attributed to him is said to be by Phocus of Samos. Callimachus knows him as the discoverer of the Ursa Minor; for he says in his *Iambics* :

Who first of men the course made plain  
Of those small stars we call the Wain,  
Whereby Phoenicians sail the main.<sup>b</sup>

But according to others he wrote nothing but two treatises, one *On the Solstice* and one *On the Equinox*, regarding all other matters as incognizable. He seems by some accounts to have been the first to study astronomy,<sup>c</sup> the first to predict eclipses of the sun and to fix the solstices; so Eudemos in his *History of Astronomy*. It was this which gained for him the admiration of Xenophanes and Herodotus and the notice of Heraclitus and Democritus.

And some, including Choerilus the poet, declare that he was the first to maintain the immortality of the soul. He was the first to determine the sun's course from solstice to solstice, and according to some the first to declare the size of the sun to be one seven hundred and twentieth part of the solar circle, and the size of the moon to be the same fraction of the lunar circle. He was the first to give the last day of the month the name of Thirtieth, and the first, some say, to discuss physical problems.

Aristotle<sup>d</sup> and Hippias affirm that, arguing from the magnet and from amber, he attributed a soul or life even to inanimate objects. Pamphila states that,

<sup>c</sup> See Sir T. L. Heath, *Aristarchus of Samos*, pp. 12-23.

<sup>d</sup> *De anima*, A 2, 405 a 19.

παρά τε Αἰγυπτίων γεωμετερεῖν μαθόντα φησὶ  
 Παμφίλῃ πρῶτον καταγράψαι κύκλου τὸ τρίγωνον  
 25 ὀρθογώνιον, καὶ θύσαι βοῦν. οἱ δὲ Πυθαγόραν  
 φασίν, ὃν ἔστιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ λογιστικός.  
 οὗτος προήγαγεν ἐπὶ πλείστον, ἃ φησι Καλλίμαχος  
 ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις Εὐφωρβὸν εὐρεῖν τὸν Φρύγα, οἷον  
 "σκαληνὰ καὶ τρίγωνα" καὶ ὅσα γραμμικῆς  
 ἔχεται θεωρίας.

Δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἄριστα βεβου-  
 λεῦσθαι. Κροίσου γοῦν πέμψαντος πρὸς Μιλησίους  
 ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ ἐκώλυσεν ὅπερ Κύρου κρατήσαντος  
 ἔσωσε τὴν πόλιν. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ φησιν, ὡς Ἡρα-  
 κλείδης ἱστορεῖ, μονήρῃ αὐτὸν γεγονέναι καὶ ἰδια-  
 30 στήν. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ γῆμαι αὐτὸν καὶ Κύβισθον υἱὸν  
 σχεῖν· οἱ δὲ ἀγαμὼν μείναι, τῆς δὲ ἀδελφῆς τὸν  
 υἱὸν θέσθαι. ὅτε καὶ ἐρωτηθέντα διὰ τί οὐ τεκνο-  
 ποιεῖ, "διὰ φιλοτεκνίαν" εἰπεῖν. καὶ λέγουσιν  
 ὅτι τῆς μητρὸς ἀναγκαζούσης αὐτὸν γῆμαι, "[νῆ  
 Δία]," ἔλεγεν, "οὐδέπω καιρὸς." εἰτα, ἐπειδὴ  
 παρήβησεν ἐγκειμένης, εἰπεῖν, "οὐκέτι καιρὸς."  
 φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἱερώνυμος ὁ Ῥόδιος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ  
 Τῶν σποράδην ὑπομημάτων, ὅτι βουλόμενος  
 δεῖξαι ῥάδιον εἶναι πλουτεῖν, φορᾶς μελλούσης  
 ἐλαιῶν ἔσεσθαι, προνοήσας ἐμισθώσατο τὰ ἐλαιουρ-  
 γεῖα καὶ πάμπλειστα συνεῖλε χρήματα.

27 Ἀρχὴν δὲ τῶν πάντων ὕδωρ ὑπεστήσατο, καὶ  
 τὸν κόσμον ἔμψυχον καὶ δαιμόνων πλήρη. τὰς τε

<sup>a</sup> i.e. a theory concerned with lines, γραμμαί, which of  
 course include curves as well as straight lines.

<sup>b</sup> Namely, in a dialogue. Cf. viii. 4.

<sup>c</sup> Because, having created a monopoly, he could charge  
 what he pleased. See Aristotle's version of the story, *Pol.*  
 i. 11, 1259 a 6-18.

having learnt geometry from the Egyptians, he was  
 the first to inscribe a right-angled triangle in a circle,  
 whereupon he sacrificed an ox. Others tell this tale  
 of Pythagoras, amongst them Apollodorus the arith-  
 metician. (It was Pythagoras who developed to  
 their furthest extent the discoveries attributed by  
 Callimachus in his *Iambics* to Euphorbus the  
 Phrygian, I mean "scalene triangles" and whatever  
 else has to do with theoretical geometry.<sup>a</sup>)

Thales is also credited with having given excellent  
 advice on political matters. For instance, when  
 Croesus sent to Miletus offering terms of alliance,  
 he frustrated the plan; and this proved the salvation  
 of the city when Cyrus obtained the victory. Hera-  
 clides makes Thales himself<sup>b</sup> say that he had always  
 lived in solitude as a private individual and kept  
 aloof from State affairs. Some authorities say that  
 he married and had a son Cybisthus; others that  
 he remained unmarried and adopted his sister's son,  
 and that when he was asked why he had no children  
 of his own he replied "because he loved children."  
 The story is told that, when his mother tried to  
 force him to marry, he replied it was too soon, and  
 when she pressed him again later in life, he replied  
 that it was too late. Hieronymus of Rhodes in the  
 second book of his *Scattered Notes* relates that, in  
 order to show how easy it is to grow rich, Thales,  
 foreseeing that it would be a good season for olives,  
 rented all the oil-mills and thus amassed a fortune.<sup>c</sup>

His doctrine was that water is the universal  
 primary substance, and that the world is animate  
 and full of divinities. He is said to have discovered

ὥρας τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ φασιν αὐτὸν εὑρεῖν καὶ εἰς τριακοσίας ἐξήκοντα πέντε ἡμέρας διελεῖν.

Οὐδεὶς δὲ αὐτοῦ καθηγήσατο, πλὴν ὅτι εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐλθὼν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι συνδιέτριψεν. ὁ δὲ Ἰερώνυμος καὶ ἐκμετρήσαι φησιν αὐτὸν τὰς πυραμίδας ἐκ τῆς σκιᾶς, παρατηρήσαντα ὅτε ἡμῖν ἰσομεγέθης ἐστίν. συνεβίω δὲ καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ Μιλησίῳ τυράννῳ, καθά φησι Μινύης.

Τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα φανερά τὸν εὑρεθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλίων καὶ διαπεμφθέντα τοῖς σοφοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Μιλησίων. φασὶ γὰρ Ἰωνικοὺς τινὰς νεανίσκους βόλον ἀγοράσαι παρὰ Μιλησίων ἀλίων. ἀνασπασθέντος δὲ τοῦ τρίποδος ἀμφισβήτησις ἦν, ἕως οἱ Μιλησιοὶ ἔπεμψαν εἰς Δελφούς· καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν οὕτως·

ἔκγονε Μιλήτου, τρίποδος πέρι Φοῖβον ἐρωτᾷς;  
τίς σοφίῃ πάντων πρῶτος, τούτου τρίποδ' αὐδῶ.

διδούσιν οὖν Θαλῇ· ὁ δὲ ἄλλω καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλω ἕως Σόλωνος. ὁ δὲ ἔφη σοφίᾳ πρῶτον εἶναι τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Δελφούς. ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Καλλίμαχος ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις ἄλλως ἱστορεῖ, παρὰ Μαϊανδρίῳ λαβὼν τοῦ Μιλησίου. Βαθυκλέα γάρ τινα Ἀρκάδα φιάλῃν καταλιπεῖν καὶ ἐπισκῆψαι “δοῦναι τῶν σοφῶν ὀνηίστω.” ἐδόθη δὲ Θαλῇ  
29 καὶ κατὰ περίοδον πάλιν Θαλῇ· ὁ δὲ τῷΔ ἰδυμεί

\* *Anth. Plan.* vi. 51.

† Or in prose: “Offspring of Miletus, do you ask Phoebus concerning the tripod? Whoso in wisdom is of all the first, to him the tripod I adjudge.”

‡ Although disguised as Leandrius, the writer meant is Maeandrius, who is known (*Inscr. Gr.* no. 2905) to have

the seasons of the year and divided it into 365 days.

He had no instructor, except that he went to Egypt and spent some time with the priests there. Hieronymus informs us that he measured the height of the pyramids by the shadow they cast, taking the observation at the hour when our shadow is of the same length as ourselves. He lived, as Minyas relates, with Thrasybulus, the tyrant of Miletus.

The well-known story of the tripod found by the fishermen and sent by the people of Miletus to all the Wise Men in succession runs as follows. Certain Ionian youths having purchased of the Milesian fishermen their catch of fish, a dispute arose over the tripod which had formed part of the catch. Finally the Milesians referred the question to Delphi, and the god gave an oracle in this form<sup>a</sup>:

Who shall possess the tripod? Thus replies  
Apollo: “Whosoever is most wise.”<sup>b</sup>

Accordingly they give it to Thales, and he to another, and so on till it comes to Solon, who, with the remark that the god was the most wise, sent it off to Delphi. Callimachus in his *Iambics* has a different version of the story, which he took from Maeandrius of Miletus.<sup>c</sup> It is that Bathycles, an Arcadian, left at his death a bowl with the solemn injunction that it “should be given to him who had done most good by his wisdom.” So it was given to Thales, went the round of all the sages, and came back to Thales again. And he sent it

written a local history of Miletus. Such histories, *e.g.* of Sicyon, Megara, Samos, Naxos, Argolis, Epirus, Thessaly, abounded in the Alexandrian age.

## DIODENES LAERTIUS

Ἀπόλλωνι ἀπέστειλεν, εἰπὼν οὕτω κατὰ τὸν  
Καλλιμάχον·

Θαλῆς με τῷ μεδεῦντι Νείλω δῆμον  
δίδωσι, τοῦτο δις λαβὼν ἀριστεῖον.

τὸ δὲ πεζὸν οὕτως ἔχει· “Θαλῆς Ἐξαμίου Μιλήσιος  
Ἀπόλλωνι Δελφινίῳ Ἑλλήνων ἀριστεῖον δις λα-  
βὼν.” ὁ δὲ περινεγκὼν τὴν φιάλην τοῦ Βαθυ-  
κλέους παῖς Θυρίων ἐκαλεῖτο, καθὰ φησιν Ἑλευσις  
ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἀχιλλέως καὶ Ἀλέξων ὁ Μύνδιος ἐν  
ἐνάτῳ Μυθικῶν.

Εὐδοξος δ' ὁ Κνίδιος καὶ Εὐάνθης ὁ Μιλήσιος  
φασὶ τῶν Κροίσου τινὰ φίλων λαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ  
βασιλέως ποτήριον χρυσοῦν, ὅπως δῶ τῷ σοφωτάτῳ  
τῶν Ἑλλήνων· τὸν δὲ δοῦναι Θαλῆν.

30 Καὶ περιελθεῖν εἰς Χίλωνα, ὃν πυνθάνεσθαι τοῦ  
Πυθίου τίς αὐτοῦ σοφώτερος· καὶ τὸν ἀνελεῖν<sup>1</sup>  
Μύσωνα, περὶ οὗ λέξομεν. (τοῦτον οἱ περὶ τὸν  
Εὐδοξον ἀντὶ Κλεοβούλου τιθέασιν, Πλάτων δ' ἀντὶ  
Περσάνδρου.) περὶ αὐτοῦ δὴ τάδε ἀνείλεν<sup>2</sup> ὁ  
Πύθιος·

Οἰταῖόν τινα φημι Μύσων' ἐνὶ Χηνὶ γενέσθαι  
σοῦ μᾶλλον πραπίδεσσιν ἀρρότα πευκαλίμηναι.

ὁ δ' ἐρωτήσας ἦν Ἀνάχαρσις. Δαΐμαχος δ' ὁ  
Πλατωνικός καὶ Κλέαρχος φιάλην ἀποσταλῆναι  
ὑπὸ Κροίσου Πιττακῷ καὶ οὕτω περινεχθῆναι.

<sup>1</sup> ἀνελεῖν vulg.; corr. H. Richards.

<sup>2</sup> ἀνείλεν vulg.; corr. H. Richards.

## I. 29-30. THALES

to Apollo at Didyma, with this dedication, according  
to Callimachus :

Lord of the folk of Neleus' line,  
Thales, of Greeks adjudged most wise,  
Brings to thy Didymaeon shrine  
His offering, a twice-won prize.

But the prose inscription is :

Thales the Milesian, son of Examyas [dedicates this]  
to Delphinian Apollo after twice winning the prize from  
all the Greeks.

The bowl was carried from place to place by the  
son of Bathycles, whose name was Thyryon, so it is  
stated by Eleusis in his work *On Achilles*, and Alexo  
the Myndian in the ninth book of his *Legends*.

But Eudoxus of Cnidos and Euanthes of Miletus  
agree that a certain man who was a friend of Croesus  
received from the king a golden goblet in order to  
bestow it upon the wisest of the Greeks ; this man  
gave it to Thales, and from him it passed to others  
and so to Chilon.

Chilon laid the question “Who is a wiser man  
than I ?” before the Pythian Apollo, and the god  
replied “Myson.” Of him we shall have more to  
say presently. (In the list of the Seven Sages  
given by Eudoxus, Myson takes the place of Cleo-  
bulus ; Plato also includes him by omitting Peri-  
ander.) The answer of the oracle respecting him  
was as follows<sup>a</sup> :

Myson of Chen in Oeta ; this is he  
Who for wiseheartedness surpasseth thee ;

and it was given in reply to a question put by  
Anacharsis. Daïmachus the Platonist and Clearchus  
allege that a bowl was sent by Croesus to Pittacus  
and began the round of the Wise Men from him.

"Ανδρων δ' ἐν τῷ Τρίποδι Ἀργείους ἄθλον ἀρετῆς τῷ σοφωτάτῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τρίποδα θείναι· κριθῆναι δὲ Ἀριστοδήμον Σπαρτιάτην, ὃν παρα-  
 31 χωρήσαι Χίλωνι. μέμνηται τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου καὶ Ἀλκαῖος οὕτως·

ὥς γὰρ δὴ ποτ' Ἀριστόδαμόν φασ' οὐκ ἀπάλαμνον  
 ἐν Σπάρτῃ λόγον  
 εἰπεῖν· χρήματ' ἀνὴρ, πενιχρὸς δ' οὐδεὶς πέλετ'  
 ἐσλός.

ἐνιοι δὲ φασιν ὑπὸ Περιάνδρου Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ Μιλησίων τυράννῳ πλοῖον ἔμπορον ἀποσταλῆναι· τοῦ δὲ περὶ τὴν Κῶαν θάλασσαν ναυαγῆσαντος, ὕστερον εὑρεθῆναι πρὸς τινων ἀλιέων τὸν τρίποδα. Φανόδικος δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων θάλασσαν εὑρεθῆναι καὶ ἀνεχεθῆντα εἰς ἄστυ γενομένης  
 32 ἐκκλησίας Βίαντι πεμφθῆναι· διὰ τί δέ, ἐν τῷ περὶ Βίαντος λέξομεν.

"Ἄλλοι φασὶν ἡφαιστότευκτον εἶναι αὐτὸν καὶ δοθῆναι πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ Πέλοπι γαμοῦντι· αὐτὸς τε εἰς Μενέλαον ἔλθειν καὶ σὺν τῇ Ἑλένῃ ἀρπασθέντα ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ριφῆναι εἰς τὴν Κῶαν θάλασσαν πρὸς τῆς Λακαίνης, εἰπούσης ὅτι περιμάχητος ἔσται. χρόνῳ δὲ Λεβεδίων τινων αὐτόθι γρίφον ὠνησαμένων καταληφθῆναι καὶ τὸν τρίποδα, μαχομένων δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀλιεῖς γενέσθαι τὴν ἀνοδὸν ἕως τῆς Κῶ· καὶ ὥς οὐδὲν ἦνυτον, τοῖς Μιλησίοις μητροπόλει οὔσῃ μηνύουσιν. οἱ δ' ἐπειδὴ διαπρεσβεύομενοι ἡγογούντο, πρὸς τοὺς Κῶους πολεμοῦσι· καὶ πολλῶν ἐκατέρωθεν πιπτόντων ἐκίπτει χρη-

<sup>a</sup> Andron of Ephesus (§ 119) is known to have written in the life-time (or at least before the death) of Theopompus,

The story told by Andron<sup>a</sup> in his work on *The Tripod* is that the Argives offered a tripod as a prize of virtue to the wisest of the Greeks; Aristodemus of Sparta was adjudged the winner but retired in favour of Chilon. Aristodemus is mentioned by Alcaeus thus<sup>b</sup>:

Surely no witless word was this of the Spartan, I deem,  
 "Wealth is the worth of a man; and poverty void of esteem."

Some relate that a vessel with its freight was sent by Periander to Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus, and that, when it was wrecked in Coan waters, the tripod was afterwards found by certain fishermen. However, Phanodicus declares it to have been found in Athenian waters and thence brought to Athens. An assembly was held and it was sent to Bias; for what reason shall be explained in the life of Bias.

There is yet another version, that it was the work of Hephaestus presented by the god to Pelops on his marriage. Thence it passed to Menelaus and was carried off by Paris along with Helen and was thrown by her into the Coan sea, for she said it would be a cause of strife. In process of time certain people of Lebedus, having purchased a catch of fish thereabouts, obtained possession of the tripod, and, quarrelling with the fishermen about it, put in to Cos, and, when they could not settle the dispute, reported the fact to Miletus, their mother-city. The Milesians, when their embassies were disregarded, made war upon Cos; many fell on both sides, and an oracle pronounced that the tripod

who is accused of having plagiarized from *The Tripod*: Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* x. 3, 7.

<sup>b</sup> Fr. 49 Bergk; cf. *Schol. Pindar, Isthm.* ii. 17.

## DIODENES LAERTIUS

σμός δοῦναι τῷ σοφωτάτῳ· καὶ ἀμφοτέρω συνήνεσαν  
Θαλῇ. ὁ δὲ μετὰ τὴν περίοδον τῷ Διδυμεῖ τίθησιν  
33 Ἀπολλωνί. Κῶοις μὲν οὖν τοῦτον ἐχρήσθη τὸν  
τρόπον·

οὐ πρότερον λήξει νεῖκος Μερόπων καὶ Ἰώνων,  
πρὶν τρίποδα χρύσειον, ὃν Ἡφαίστος βάλε πόντῳ,  
ἐκ πόλιος πέμψητε καὶ ἐς δόμον ἀνδρὸς ἱκῆται,  
ὅς σοφὸς ἦ τὰ ἔοντα τὰ τ' ἐσόμενα πρό τ' ἔοντα.

Μιλησίοις δέ·

ἔκγονε Μιλήτου, τρίποδος περὶ Φοῖβον ἐρωτᾷς;

καὶ ὡς προεῖρηται. καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως.

Ἑρμῖππος δ' ἐν τοῖς Βίοις εἰς τοῦτον ἀναφέρει  
τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τινων περὶ Σωκράτους. ἔφασκε  
γάρ, φασί, τριῶν τούτων ἕνεκα χάριν ἔχειν τῇ  
Τύχῃ· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἀνθρωπίνος ἐγενόμην καὶ οὐ  
θηρίον, εἴτα ὅτι ἀνὴρ καὶ οὐ γυνή, τρίτον ὅτι Ἕλλην  
34 καὶ οὐ βάρβαρος. λέγεται δ' ἀγόμενος ὑπὸ γραδὸς  
ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας, ἵνα τὰ ἄστρα κατανοήσῃ, εἰς βόθρον  
ἐμπεσεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ ἀνομιμῶσαντι φάναι τὴν γραῦν·  
"σὺ γάρ, ὦ Θαλῇ, τὰ ἐν ποσὶν οὐ δυνάμενος ἰδεῖν  
τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οἶε γινώσcesθαι;" οἶδε δ' αὐτὸν  
ἀστρονομούμενον καὶ Τίμων, καὶ ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις  
ἐπαινεῖ αὐτὸν λέγων·

οἶόν θ' ἐπτά Θάλητα σοφῶν σοφὸν ἀστρονόμημα.

Τὰ δὲ γεγραμμένα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φησι Λόβων ὁ  
Ἀργεῖος εἰς ἐπηεῖν διακόσια. ἐπιγεγράφθαι δ'  
αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰκόνης τότε·

## I. 32-34. THALES

should be given to the wisest; both parties to the  
dispute agreed upon Thales. After it had gone the  
round of the sages, Thales dedicated it to Apollo  
of Didyma. The oracle which the Coans received  
was on this wise:

Hephaestus cast the tripod in the sea;  
Until it quit the city there will be  
No end to strife, until it reach the seer  
Whose wisdom makes past, present, future clear.

That of the Milesians beginning "Who shall possess  
the tripod?" has been quoted above. So much for  
this version of the story.

Hermippus in his *Lives* refers to Thales the story  
which is told by some of Socrates, namely, that he  
used to say there were three blessings for which  
he was grateful to Fortune: "first, that I was  
born a human being and not one of the brutes;  
next, that I was born a man and not a woman;  
thirdly, a Greek and not a barbarian." It is said  
that once, when he was taken out of doors by an old  
woman in order that he might observe the stars, he  
fell into a ditch, and his cry for help drew from the  
old woman the retort, "How can you expect to  
know all about the heavens, Thales, when you cannot  
even see what is just before your feet?" Timon too  
knows him as an astronomer, and praises him in the  
*Silli* where he says<sup>a</sup>:

Thales among the Seven the sage astronomer.

His writings are said by Lobon of Argos to have  
run to some two hundred lines. His statue is said  
to bear this inscription<sup>b</sup>:

<sup>a</sup> Fr. 23 Diels.  
<sup>b</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 83.



τόνδε Θαλὴν Μίλητος Ἰᾶς θρέψας ἀνέδειξεν  
ἀστρολόγων πάντων πρεσβύτατον σοφία.

35 Τῶν τε ἁδομένων αὐτοῦ τάδε εἶναι·

οὐ τι τὰ πολλὰ ἔπη φρονίμην ἀπεφάνητο δόξαν·  
ἐν τι μάτευε σοφόν,  
ἐν τι κεδνὸν αἰροῦ·  
δήσεις γὰρ ἀνδρῶν κωτίλων γλώσσας ἀπεραντο-  
λόγους.

Φέρεται δὲ καὶ ἀποφθέγματα αὐτοῦ τάδε·

πρεσβύτατον τῶν ὄντων θεός· ἀγένητον γάρ.  
κάλλιστον κόσμος·ποίημα γὰρ θεοῦ.  
μέγιστον τόπος· ἅπαντα γὰρ χωρεῖ.  
τάχιστον νοῦς· διὰ παντὸς γὰρ τρέχει.  
ἰσχυρότατον ἀνάγκη· κρατεῖ γὰρ πάντων.  
σοφώτατον χρόνος· ἀνευρίσκει γὰρ πάντα.

οὐδὲν ἔφη τὸν θάνατον διαφέρειν τοῦ ζῆν. “σὺ οὖν,”  
ἔφη τις, “διὰ τί οὐκ ἀποθνήσκεις;” “οὔτι,” ἔφη,  
36 “οὐδὲν διαφέρει.” πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον τί πρότερον  
γεγόνει, νύξ ἢ ἡμέρα, “ἡ νύξ,” ἔφη, “μὴ ἡμέρα  
πρότερον.” ἡρώτησέ τις αὐτὸν εἰ λήθοι θεοὺς  
ἀνθρώπος ἀδικῶν· “ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ διανοοῦμενος,” ἔφη.  
πρὸς τὸν μοιχὸν ἐρόμενον εἰ ὁμόσειε μὴ μεμοι-  
χευκέναι, “οὐ χεῖρον,” ἔφη, “μοιχείας ἐπιουρκία.”  
ἐρωτηθεὶς τί δύσκολον, ἔφη, “τὸ ἑαυτὸν γινῶναι.”  
τί δὲ εὐκολον, “τὸ ἄλλω ὑποθέσθαι.” τί ἥδιστον,  
“τὸ ἐπιτυχᾶναι.” τί τὸ θείον, “τὸ μήτε ἀρχὴν  
ἔχον μήτε τελευτήν.” τί δὲ καινὸν εἶη τεθεαμένος

Pride of Miletus and Ionian lands,  
Wisest astronomer, here Thales stands.

Of songs still sung these verses belong to him :

Many words do not declare an understanding heart.  
Seek one sole wisdom.  
Choose one sole good.  
For thou wilt check the tongues of chatterers prating  
without end.

Here too are certain current apophthegms assigned  
to him :

Of all things that are, the most ancient is God, for he is  
uncreated.  
The most beautiful is the universe, for it is God's workman-  
ship.  
The greatest is space, for it holds all things.  
The swiftest is mind, for it speeds everywhere.  
The strongest, necessity, for it masters all.  
The wisest, time, for it brings everything to light.

He held there was no difference between life and  
death. “Why then,” said one, “do you not die?”  
“Because,” said he, “there is no difference.” To  
the question which is older, day or night, he  
replied : “Night is the older by one day.” Some  
one asked him whether a man could hide an evil  
deed from the gods : “No,” he replied, “nor yet  
an evil thought.” To the adulterer who inquired if  
he should deny the charge upon oath he replied that  
perjury was no worse than adultery. Being asked  
what is difficult, he replied, “To know oneself.”  
“What is easy?” “To give advice to another.”  
“What is most pleasant?” “Success.” “What  
is the divine?” “That which has neither beginning  
nor end.” To the question what was the strangest

ἔφη· “γέροντα τύραννον.” πῶς ἂν τις ἀτυχίαν  
 ῥᾶστα φέροι, “εἰ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς χεῖρον πράσσοντας  
 βλέποι.” πῶς ἂν ἄριστα καὶ δικαιοτάτα βιώσαιμεν,  
 “ἐὰν ᾧ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτιμῶμεν, αὐτοὶ μὴ δρῶμεν.”  
 37 τίς εὐδαίμων, “ὁ τὸ μὲν σῶμα ὑγιής, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν  
 εὖπορος, τὴν δὲ φύσιν εὖπαιδευτος.” φίλων παρ-  
 όντων καὶ ἀπόντων μεμνησθαί φησι· μὴ τὴν ὄψιν  
 καλλωπίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν εἶναι  
 καλόν. “μὴ πλούτει,” φησί, “κακῶς, μὴδὲ δια-  
 βαλλέτω σε λόγος πρὸς τοὺς πίστεως κεκοινωνη-  
 κότας.” “οὓς ἂν ἐράνους εἰσενέγκῃς,” φησί,  
 “τοῖς γονεῦσιν, τοὺς αὐτοὺς προσδέχου καὶ παρὰ  
 τῶν τέκνων.” τὸν Νεῖλον εἶπε πληθύνειν ἀνα-  
 κοπτομένων τῶν ρευμάτων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐτησίων ἐναν-  
 τίων ὄντων.

Φησι δ' Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς γεγε-  
 νῆσθαι αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς τριακοστῆς  
 38 πέμπτῃς [ἐνάτης?] Ὀλυμπιάδος. ἐτελεύτησε δ'  
 ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ὀκτώ, (ἧ, ὡς Σωσικράτης φησὶν,  
 ἐνενήκοντα)· τελευτῆσαι γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς  
 ὀγδόῃς Ὀλυμπιάδος, γεγονότα κατὰ Κροῖσον, ᾧ  
 καὶ τὸν Ἄλυν ὑποσχέσθαι ἄνευ γεφύρας περᾶσαι,  
 τὸ ρεῖθρον παρατρέψαντα.

Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Θαλαῖ, καθά φησι Δημή-  
 τριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς Ὀμωνύμοις, πέντε·

ῥήτωρ Καλλατιανός, κακόζηλος·  
 ζωγράφος Σικυώνιος, μεγαλοφυής·  
 τρίτος ἀρχαῖος πάνν, κατὰ Ἡσίοδον καὶ Ὅμηρον  
 καὶ Λυκοῦργον·  
 τέταρτος οὗ μεμνηταὶ Δοῦρις ἐν τῷ Περὶ  
 ζωγραφίας·

thing he had ever seen, his answer was, “An aged  
 tyrant.” “How can one best bear adversity?”  
 “If he should see his enemies in worse plight.”  
 “How shall we lead the best and most righteous  
 life?” “By refraining from doing what we blame  
 in others.” “What man is happy?” “He who  
 has a healthy body, a resourceful mind and a docile  
 nature.” He tells us to remember friends, whether  
 present or absent; not to pride ourselves upon  
 outward appearance, but to study to be beautiful  
 in character. “Shun ill-gotten gains,” he says.  
 “Let not idle words prejudice thee against those  
 who have shared thy confidence.” “Whatever  
 provision thou hast made for thy parents, the same  
 must thou expect from thy children.” He explained  
 the overflow of the Nile as due to the etesian winds  
 which, blowing in the contrary direction, drove the  
 waters upstream.

Apollodorus in his *Chronology* places his birth in  
 the first year of the 35th Olympiad [640 B.C.]. He  
 died at the age of 78 (or, according to Sosicrates, of  
 90 years); for he died in the 58th Olympiad, being  
 contemporary with Croesus, whom he undertook to  
 take across the Halys without building a bridge, by  
 diverting the river.

There have lived five other men who bore the  
 name of Thales, as enumerated by Demetrius of  
 Magnesia in his *Dictionary of Men of the Same Name*:

1. A rhetorician of Callatia, with an affected style.
2. A painter of Sicyon, of great gifts.
3. A contemporary of Hesiod, Homer and Lycurgus, in very early times.
4. A person mentioned by Duris in his work *On Painting*.

πέμπτος νεώτερος, ἄδοξος, οὗ μνημονεύει Διονύσιος ἐν Κριτικαῖς.

39 'Ο δ' οὖν σοφὸς ἐτελεύτησεν ἀγῶνα θεώμενος  
γυμνικὸν ὑπὸ τε καύματος καὶ δίψους καὶ ἀσθενείας,  
ἥδη γηραιός. καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιγέγραπται τῷ μνη-  
ματι·

ἡ δλίγον τόδε σᾶμα — τὸ δὲ κλέος οὐρανόμακες —  
τῷ πολυφροντίστῳ τοῦτο Θάλητος ὄρη.

ἔστι καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν  
'Επιγραμμάτων ἡ Παμμέτρῳ τόδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα·

γυμνικὸν αὖ ποτ' ἀγῶνα θεώμενον, ἥελιε Ζεῦ,  
τὸν σοφὸν ἄνδρα Θαλῆν ἥρπασας ἐκ σταδίου.  
αἰνέω ὅττι μιν ἐγγὺς ἀπήγαγες· ἡ γὰρ ὁ πρέσβυς  
οὐκέθ' ὁρᾶν ἀπὸ γῆς ἀστέρας ἠδύνατο.

40 Τούτου ἐστὶν τὸ Γνωθὶσαντόν, ὅπερ Ἀντισθένης ἐν ταῖς Διαδοχαῖς Φημονόης εἶναι φησιν,  
ἐξειδιοποιήσασθαι δὲ αὐτὸ Χίλωνα.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπτά—ἄξιον γὰρ ἐνταῦθα καθολικῶς  
καθεῖναι ἐπιμνησθῆναι—λόγοι φέρονται τοιοῦτοι.  
Δάμων ὁ Κυρηναῖος, γεγραφώς Περὶ τῶν φιλο-  
σόφων, πᾶσιν ἐγκαλεῖ, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ἐπτά.  
'Αναξίμενης δὲ φησι πάντας ἐπιθέσθαι ποιητικῇ·  
ὁ δὲ Δικαίαιρχος οὔτε σοφούς οὔτε φιλοσόφους  
φησὶν αὐτοὺς γεγονέναι, συνετοὺς δὲ τινὰς καὶ

5. An obscure person in more recent times who  
is mentioned by Dionysius in his *Critical  
Writings*.

Thales the Sage died as he was watching an athletic  
contest from heat, thirst, and the weakness incident  
to advanced age. And the inscription on his tomb  
is <sup>a</sup>:

Here in a narrow tomb great Thales lies;  
Yet his renown for wisdom reached the skies.

I may also cite one of my own, from my first book,  
*Epigrams in Various Metres* <sup>b</sup>:

As Thales watched the games one festal day  
The fierce sun smote him, and he passed away;  
Zeus, thou didst well to raise him; his dim eyes  
Could not from earth behold the starry skies.<sup>c</sup>

To him belongs the proverb "Know thyself,"  
which Antisthenes in his *Successions of Philosophers*  
attributes to Phemonoë, though admitting that it  
was appropriated by Chilon.

This seems the proper place for a general notice of  
the Seven Sages, of whom we have such accounts  
as the following. Damon of Cyrene in his *History  
of the Philosophers* carps at all sages, but especially  
the Seven. Anaximenes remarks that they all  
applied themselves to poetry; Dicaearchus that  
they were neither sages nor philosophers, but merely

<sup>a</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 84.

<sup>b</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 85.

<sup>c</sup> In plain prose: "As the wise Thales was one day  
watching the contest of the racers, thou, O Sun-god, O Zeus,  
didst snatch him from the stadium. I praise thee for re-  
moving him to be near thee; for verily the old man could  
no more discern the stars from earth."

νομοθετικούς. Ἀρχέτιμος δὲ ὁ Συρακούσιος ὁμι-  
λίαν αὐτῶν ἀναγέγραφε παρὰ Κυψέλῳ, ἣ καὶ αὐτὸς  
φῆσι παρατυχεῖν. Ἐφορος δὲ παρὰ Κροίσῳ πλὴν  
Θαλοῦ. φασὶ δὲ τινες καὶ ἐν Πανιωνίῳ καὶ ἐν  
41 Κορίνθῳ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς συνελθεῖν αὐτοὺς. δια-  
φωνοῦνται δὲ καὶ αἱ ἀποφάσεις αὐτῶν καὶ ἄλλων  
ἄλλο φασίν, ὡς ἐκεῖνο·

ἦν Λακεδαιμόνιος Χίλων σοφός, ὃς τὰδ' ἔλεξε·  
“ μὴδὲν ἄγαν· καιρῷ πάντα πρόσεστι καλά.”

στασιάζεται δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ αὐτῶν.  
Μαιάνδριος μὲν γὰρ ἀντὶ Κλεοβούλου καὶ Μύσωνος  
Λεώφαντον Γοργιάδα, Λεβέδιον ἢ Ἐφέσιον, ἐγ-  
κρίνει καὶ Ἐπιμενίδην τὸν Κρήτα· Πλάτων δὲ ἐν  
Πρωταγόρᾳ Μύσωνα ἀντὶ Περιάνδρου· Ἐφορος  
δὲ ἀντὶ Μύσωνος Ἀνάχαρσιν· οἱ δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόραν  
προσγράφουσιν. Δικαίαρχος δὲ τέσσαρας ὠμολο-  
γημένους ἡμῖν παραδίδωσι, Θαλῆν, Βίαντα, Πιτ-  
τακόν, Σόλωνα. ἄλλους δὲ ὀνομάζει ἕξ, ὧν ἐκ-  
λέξασθαι τρεῖς, Ἀριστόδημον, Πάμφυλον, Χίλωνα  
Λακεδαιμόνιον, Κλεόβουλον, Ἀνάχαρσιν, Περι-  
άνδρου. ἔνιοι προστιθέασιν Ἀκουσίλαον Κάβα ἢ  
42 Σκάβρα Ἀργεῖον. Ἑρμιππος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ  
τῶν σοφῶν ἐπτακαίδεκά φησιν, ὧν τοὺς ἐπτά  
ἄλλους ἄλλως αἰρεῖσθαι· εἶναι δὲ Σόλωνα, Θαλῆν,  
Πιττακόν, Βίαντα, Χίλωνα, <Μύσωνα>, Κλεό-

\* The opinion of Dicaearchus thus expressed is correct.  
With the exception of Thales, no one whose life is contained  
in Book I. has any claim to be styled a philosopher. The  
tradition of the Seven Wise Men and of their meeting at  
some court, whether of a native tyrant like Periander  
or of a foreign prince like Croesus, was used by Plato  
(*Protag.* 343 A) and, largely through his influence, grew into

shrewd men with a turn for legislation.<sup>a</sup> Archetimus  
of Syracuse describes their meeting at the court of  
Cypselus, on which occasion he himself happened to  
be present; for which Ephorus substitutes a meeting  
without Thales at the court of Croesus. Some make  
them meet at the Pan-Ionian festival, at Corinth,  
and at Delphi. Their utterances are variously re-  
ported, and are attributed now to one now to the  
other, for instance the following <sup>b</sup>:

Chilon of Lacedaemon's words are true:  
Nothing too much; good comes from measure due.

Nor is there any agreement how the number is made  
up; for Maeandrius, in place of Cleobulus and Myson,  
includes Leophantus, son of Gorgiadus, of Lebedus  
or Ephesus, and Epimenides the Cretan in the list;  
Plato in his *Protagoras* admits Myson and leaves  
out Periander; Ephorus substitutes Anacharsis  
for Myson; others add Pythagoras to the Seven.  
Dicaearchus hands down four names fully recognized:  
Thales, Bias, Pittacus and Solon; and appends the  
names of six others, from whom he selects three:  
Aristodemus, Pamphylus, Chilon the Lacedaemonian,  
Cleobulus, Anacharsis, Periander. Others add Acusi-  
laus, son of Cabas or Scabras, of Argos. Hermippus  
in his work *On the Sages* reckons seventeen, from  
which number different people make different selec-  
tions of seven. They are: Solon, Thales, Pittacus,  
Bias, Chilon, Myson, Cleobulus, Periander, Ana-

a romantic legend, the result being late biographies, collec-  
tions of apophthegms, and letters attributed to various  
authors, e.g. the apophthegms of Demetrius of Phalerum.  
Diogenes Laertius swallows all this as true; modern criticism  
rejects it all as forgery.

<sup>b</sup> *Anth. Plan.* iv. 22.

βουλον, Περίανδρον, Ἀνάχαρσιν, Ἀκουσίλαον, Ἐπιμενίδην, Λεώφαντον, Φερεκύδην, Ἀριστόδημον, Πυθαγόραν, Λᾶσον Χαρμαντίδου ἢ Σισυμβρίνου, ἢ ὡς Ἀριστόξενος Χαβρίνου, Ἑρμιονέα, Ἀναξαγόραν. Ἰππόβοτος δὲ ἐν τῇ Τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀναγραφῇ· Ὀρφέα, Λίνον, Σόλωνα, Περίανδρον, Ἀνάχαρσιν, Κλεόβουλον, Μύσωνα, Θαλῆν Βίαντα, Πιπτακόν, Ἐπίχαρμον, Πυθαγόραν.

Φέρονται δὲ καὶ τοῦ Θαλοῦ ἐπιστολαὶ αἰδε·

Θαλῆς Φερεκύδει

43 “ Πυνθάνομαί σε πρῶτον Ἰώνων μέλλειν λόγους ἀμφὶ τῶν θείων χρημάτων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας φαίνειν. καὶ τάχα μὲν ἡ γνώμη τοι δίκαιη ἐς τὸ ξυγνὸν καταθέσθαι γραφὴν ἢ ἐφ’ ὁποιοισὺν ἐπιτρέπειν χρήμα ἐς οὐδὲν ὄφελος. εἰ δὲ τοι ἥδιον, ἐθέλω γενέσθαι λεσχηνευτῆς περὶ ὁτέων γράφεις· καὶ ἣν κελεύης, παρὰ σέ ἀφίξομαι ἐς Σύρον. ἢ γὰρ ἂν οὐ φρενῆρες εἶημεν ἐγὼ τε καὶ Σόλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, εἰ πλώσαντες μὲν ἐς Κρήτην κατὰ τὴν τῶν κείθι ἱστορίην, πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ὁμολήσοντες τοῖς ἐκεῖ ὅσοι ἱερεῖς τε καὶ ἀστρολόγοι, παρὰ σέ δὲ μὴ [πλώσαιμεν]. ἤξει γὰρ 44 καὶ ὁ Σόλων, ἦν ἐπιτρέψης. σὺ μέντοι χωροφιλέων ὀλίγα φοιτεῖς ἐς Ἰωνίην, οὐδέ σε ποθὴ ἴσχει ἀνδρῶν ξείνων· ἀλλὰ, ὡς ἔλπομαι, ἐνὶ μούνῳ χρήματι πρόσκειαι τῇ γραφῇ. ἡμέες δὲ οἱ μηδὲν γράφοντες περιχωρέομεν τὴν τε Ἑλλάδα καὶ Ἀσίην.”

charris, Acusilaus, Epimenides, Leophantus, Pherecydes, Aristodemus, Pythagoras, Lasos, son of Charmantides or Sisymbrianus, or, according to Aristoxenus, of Chabrinus, born at Hermione, Anaxagoras. Hippobotus in his *List of Philosophers* enumerates: Orpheus, Linus, Solon, Periander, Anacharsis, Cleobulus, Myson, Thales, Bias, Pittacus, Epicharmus, Pythagoras.

Here follow the extant letters of Thales.

*Thales to Pherecydes*

“ I hear that you intend to be the first Ionian to expound theology to the Greeks. And perhaps it was a wise decision to make the book common property without taking advice, instead of entrusting it to any particular persons whatsoever, a course which has no advantages. However, if it would give you any pleasure, I am quite willing to discuss the subject of your book with you; and if you bid me come to Syros I will do so. For surely Solon of Athens and I would scarcely be sane if, after having sailed to Crete to pursue our inquiries there, and to Egypt to confer with the priests and astronomers, we hesitated to come to you. For Solon too will come, with your permission. You, however, are so fond of home that you seldom visit Ionia and have no longing to see strangers, but, as I hope, apply yourself to one thing, namely writing, while we, who never write anything, travel all over Hellas and Asia.”

## Θαλῆς Σόλωνι

“ Ὑπαποστὰς ἐξ Ἀθηνέων δοκέεις ἂν μοι ἄρμω-  
διώτατα ἐν Μιλήτῳ οἶκον ποιέεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς  
ἀποικοῖς ὑμέων· καὶ γὰρ ἐνθαῦτά τοι δεινὸν οὐδέν.  
εἰ δὲ ἀσχαλήσεις ὅτι καὶ Μιλήσιοι τυραννεόμεθα—  
ἐχθαίρεις γὰρ πάντας αἰσυννήτας—ἀλλὰ τέρποι’  
ἂν σὺν τοῖς ἐτάροις ἡμῖν καταβιούς. ἐπέστειλε  
δέ τοι καὶ Βίης ἥκειν ἐς Πριήνην· σὺ δὲ εἰ προσ-  
ηνέστερόν τοι τὸ Πριηνέων ἄστυ, κείθι οἰκέειν,  
καὶ αὐτοὶ παρὰ σὲ οἰκήσομεν.”

## Κεφ. β'. ΣΟΛΩΝ

45 Σόλων Ἐξεκестίδου Σαλαμίνιος πρῶτον μὲν  
τὴν σεισάχθειαν εἰσηγήσατο Ἀθηναίους· τὸ δὲ ἦν  
λύτρωσις σωμάτων τε καὶ κτημάτων· καὶ γὰρ  
ἐπὶ σώμασιν ἔδανείζοντο καὶ πολλοὶ δι’ ἀπορίαν  
ἐθήτευον· ἐπτα δὲ ταλάντων ὀφειλομένων αὐτῷ  
πατρώων συνεχώρησε πρῶτος καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τὸ  
ὅμοιον προὔτρεψε πράξαι· καὶ οὗτος ὁ νόμος  
ἐκλήθη σεισάχθεια· φανερόν δὲ διὰ τί.

Ἐπειτα τοὺς λοιποὺς νόμους ἔθηκεν, οὓς μακρὸν  
ἂν εἴη διεξιέναι, καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἄξονας κατέθετο.

46 Τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοῦ [Σαλαμίνος]  
ἀμφισβητουμένης ὑπὸ τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Μεγαρέων  
καὶ πολλάκις τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπταικότων ἐν τοῖς  
πολέμοις καὶ ψηφισαμένων εἴ τις ἐτι συμβουλεύσοι  
περὶ Σαλαμίνος μάχεσθαι, θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσθαι, οὗτος  
μαίνεσθαι προσποιησάμενος καὶ στεφανωσάμενος  
εἰσέπαισεν εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν· ἐνθα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις  
ἀνέγνω διὰ κήρυκος τὰ συντείνοντα περὶ Σαλα-

## Thales to Solon

“ If you leave Athens, it seems to me that you could  
most conveniently set up your abode at Miletus,  
which is an Athenian colony; for there you incur  
no risk. If you are vexed at the thought that we  
are governed by a tyrant, hating as you do all  
absolute rulers, you would at least enjoy the society  
of your friends. Bias wrote inviting you to Priene;  
and if you prefer the town of Priene for a residence,  
I myself will come and live with you.”

## CHAPTER 2. SOLON (archon 594 B.C.)

Solon, the son of Execestides, was born at Salamis.  
His first achievement was the *σεισάχθεια* or Law of  
Release, which he introduced at Athens; its effect  
was to ransom persons and property. For men used  
to borrow money on personal security, and many  
were forced from poverty to become serfs or day-  
labourers. He then first renounced his claim to a  
debt of seven talents due to his father, and en-  
couraged others to follow his example. This law of  
his was called *σεισάχθεια*, and the reason is obvious.

He next went on to frame the rest of his laws,  
which would take time to enumerate, and inscribed  
them on the revolving pillars.

His greatest service was this: Megara and Athens  
laid rival claims to his birthplace Salamis, and after  
many defeats the Athenians passed a decree punish-  
ing with death any man who should propose a re-  
newal of the Salaminian war. Solon, feigning mad-  
ness, rushed into the Agora with a garland on his  
head; there he had his poem on Salamis read to

μῖνος ἔλεγεία καὶ παρῳρμήσεν αὐτούς. καὶ αὖθις  
 πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαρέας ἐπολέμησαν καὶ ἐνίκων διὰ  
 47 Σόλωνα. ἦν δὲ τὰ ἔλεγεία τὰ μάλιστα καθ-  
 ἀψάμενα τῶν Ἀθηναίων τάδε·

εἶην δὴ τότε· ἐγὼ Φολεγάνδριος ἢ Σικινίτης  
 ἀντί γ' Ἀθηναίου, πατρίδ' ἀμειψάμενος.  
 αἶψα γάρ ἂν φάτις ἦδε μετ' ἀνθρώποισι γένοιτο·  
 Ἀττικὸς οὗτος ἀνὴρ τῶν Σαλαμιναφετῶν.

εἶτα·

ἴομεν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα μαχησόμενοι περὶ νήσου  
 ἱμερτῆς χαλεπὸν τ' αἰσχος ἀπωσόμενοι.

ἔπεισε δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν ἐν Θράκῃ Χερρόνησον  
 48 προσκτήσασθαι. ἵνα δὲ μὴ δοκοῖη βία μόνον,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ δίκη τὴν Σαλαμῖνα κεκτηῖσθαι, ἀνασκάψας  
 τινὰς τάφους ἔδειξε τοὺς νεκροὺς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς  
 ἐστραμμένους, ὥς ἦν ἔθος θάπτειν Ἀθηναίοις·  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς τάφους πρὸς ἔω βλέποντας  
 καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δήμων τοὺς χρηματισμοὺς ἐγκεχα-  
 ραγμένους, ὅπερ ἦν ἴδιον Ἀθηναίων. ἐνιοὶ δέ  
 φασὶ καὶ ἐγγράφαι αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν κατάλογον τοῦ  
 Ὀμήρου μετὰ τὸν

Αἶας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας—  
 στήσῃ δ' ἄγων, ἦν Ἀθηναίων ἴσταντο φάλαγγες.

49 Τοῦ δὴ λοιποῦ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡδέως

\* Fr. 2 Bergk.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. 3.

\* If these words are pressed, they contradict the precise  
 statement in Plutarch's *Life of Solon* (c. 10) that the  
 Athenians buried their dead to face the setting sun; cf.  
 Aelian, *Var. Hist.* v. 14. The Mycenaean graves with two  
 exceptions showed the dead with their heads to the east and

the Athenians by the herald and roused them to  
 fury. They renewed the war with the Megarians  
 and, thanks to Solon, were victorious. These were  
 the lines which did more than anything else to  
 inflame the Athenians <sup>a</sup> :

Would I were citizen of some mean isle  
 Far in the Sporades! For men shall smile  
 And mock me for Athenian: "Who is this?"  
 "An Attic slave who gave up Salamis";

and <sup>b</sup>

Then let us fight for Salamis and fair fame,  
 Win the beloved isle, and purge our shame!

He also persuaded the Athenians to acquire the  
 Thracian Chersonese. And lest it should be thought  
 that he had acquired Salamis by force only and not  
 of right, he opened certain graves and showed that  
 the dead were buried with their faces to the east,  
 as was the custom of burial among the Athenians;  
 further, that the tombs themselves faced the east,  
 and that the inscriptions graven upon them named  
 the deceased by their demes, which is a style peculiar  
 to Athens. Some authors assert that in Homer's  
 catalogue of the ships after the line <sup>a</sup> :

Ajax twelve ships from Salamis commands,

Solon inserted one of his own :

And fixed their station next the Athenian bands.

Thereafter the people looked up to him, and  
 their feet to the west. Sir W. Ridgeway (*Early Age of  
 Greece*, c. 7) assumes that Plutarch and Aelian are right  
 and Diogenes either mistaken or inaccurate in his mode of  
 expression. Recently a view has been put forward that  
 there was no uniform orientation in early times (see H. J.  
 Rose, *Classical Review*, xxxiv. p. 141 sq.).

<sup>a</sup> Il. ii. 557.

κἂν τυραννεῖσθαι ἤθελον πρὸς αὐτοῦ· ὁ δ' οὐχ  
 εἰλετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πεισιστράτον τὸν συγγενῇ, καθά  
 φησι Σωσικράτης, προαισθόμενος τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ  
 διεκώλυσεν. ἄξας γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ  
 δόρατος καὶ ἀσπίδος προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν  
 τοῦ Πεισιστράτου· καὶ οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βοηθεῖν  
 ἔτοιμος εἶναι, λέγων ταῦτα· “ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,  
 τῶν μὲν σοφώτερος, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρειότερός εἰμι·  
 σοφώτερος μὲν τῶν τὴν ἀπάτην τοῦ Πεισιστράτου  
 μὴ συνιέντων, ἀνδρειότερος δὲ τῶν ἐπισταμένων  
 μὲν, διὰ δέος δὲ σιωπώντων.” καὶ ἡ βουλῇ,  
 Πεισιστρατίδαι ὄντες, μαίνεσθαι ἔλεγον αὐτόν·  
 ὅθεν εἶπε ταυτί·

δείξει δὴ μανίην μὲν ἐμὴν βαιὸς χρόνος ἀστοῖς,  
 δείξει, ἀληθείης ἐς μέσον ἐρχομένης.

50 τὰ δὲ περὶ τῆς τοῦ Πεισιστράτου τυραννίδος  
 ἐλεγεία προλέγοντος αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ἦν·

ἐκ νεφέλης φέρεται χιὼνος μένος ἡδὲ χαλάζης·  
 βροντὴ τ' ἐκ λαμπρῆς γίνεταί ἀστεροπῆς·  
 ἀνδρῶν δ' ἐκ μεγάλων πόλεις ὀλλυταί· ἐς δὲ μονάρχου  
 δῆμος αἰδρίη δουλοσύνην ἔπασσεν.

“Ἦδη δὲ αὐτοῦ κρατοῦντος οὐ πείθων ἔθηκε τὰ  
 ὄπλα πρὸ τοῦ στρατηγείου καὶ εἰπών, “ὦ πατρίς,  
 βεβοήθηκά σοι καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ,” ἀπέπλευσεν  
 εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ εἰς Κύπρον, καὶ πρὸς Κροῖσον  
 ἦλθεν. ὅτε καὶ ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, “τίς σοι  
 δοκεῖ εὐδαίμων;” “Τέλλος,” ἔφη, “Ἀθηναῖος  
 καὶ Κλέοβις καὶ Βίτων” καὶ τὰ θρυλούμενα.

would gladly have had him rule them as tyrant; he  
 refused, and, early perceiving the designs of his  
 kinsman Pisistratus (so we are told by Sosicrates),  
 did his best to hinder them. He rushed into the  
 Assembly armed with spear and shield, warned them  
 of the designs of Pisistratus, and not only so, but  
 declared his willingness to render assistance, in these  
 words: “Men of Athens, I am wiser than some of  
 you and more courageous than others: wiser than  
 those who fail to understand the plot of Pisistratus,  
 more courageous than those who, though they see  
 through it, keep silence through fear.” And the  
 members of the council, who were of Pisistratus’  
 party, declared that he was mad: which made him  
 say the lines <sup>a</sup>:

A little while, and the event will show  
 To all the world if I be mad or no.

That he foresaw the tyranny of Pisistratus is proved  
 by a passage from a poem of his <sup>b</sup>:

On splendid lightning thunder follows straight,  
 Clouds the soft snow and flashing hail-stones bring;  
 So from proud men comes ruin, and their state  
 Falls unaware to slavery and a king.

When Pisistratus was already established, Solon,  
 unable to move the people, piled his arms in front  
 of the generals’ quarters, and exclaimed, “My  
 country, I have served thee with my word and  
 sword!” Thereupon he sailed to Egypt and to  
 Cyprus, and thence proceeded to the court of Croesus.  
 There Croesus put the question, “Whom do you  
 consider happy?” and Solon replied, “Tellus of  
 Athens, and Cleobis and Biton,” and went on in  
 words too familiar to be quoted here.

<sup>a</sup> Fr. 10 Bergk.

<sup>b</sup> Fr. 9 Bergk.



51 Φασὶ δέ τινες ὅτι κοσμήσας ἑαυτὸν ὁ Κροῖσος παντοδαπῶς καὶ καθίσας εἰς τὸν θρόνον ἤρετο αὐτὸν εἴ τι θέαμα κάλλιον τεθέσται· ὁ δὲ “ ἄλεκτρυόνας, εἶπε, καὶ φασιανούς καὶ ταῶς· φυσικῶ γὰρ ἄνθει κεκόσμηται καὶ μυρίῳ κάλλιονι.” ἐκείθεν τε ἀπαλλαγείς ἐγένετο ἐν Κιλικίᾳ, καὶ πόλιν συνώκισεν ἣν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ Σόλους ἐκάλεσεν· ὀλίγους τέ τινας τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐγκατώκισεν, οἳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὴν φωνὴν ἀποξενωθέντες σολοικίῳ ἐλέχθησαν. καὶ εἰσιν οἳ μὲν ἔνθεν Σολεῖς, οἳ δ’ ἀπὸ Κύπρου Σόλιοι. ὅτε δὲ τὸν Πεισίστρατον ἔμαθεν ἤδη τυραννεῖν, τάδε ἔγραψε πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους·

52 εἰ δὲ πεπόνθατε δεινὰ δι’ ὑμετέραν κακότητα, μὴ τι θεοῖς τούτων μοῖραν ἐπαμφέρετε. αὐτοὶ γὰρ τούτους ηὔξήσατε, ῥύσια δόντες, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα κακὴν ἴσχετε δουλοσύνην. ὑμέων δ’ εἰς μὲν ἕκαστος ἀλώπεκος ἵχνεσι βαίνει, σύμπασιν δ’ ὑμῖν κοῦφος ἔνεστι νόος. εἰς γὰρ γλώσσαν ὁράτε καὶ εἰς ἔπη αἰμύλου ἀνδρός, εἰς ἔργον δ’ οὐδὲν γιγνόμενον βλέπετε.

καὶ οὗτος μὲν ταῦτα. Πεισίστρατος δ’ αὐτῷ φεύγοντι τούτον ἐπέστειλε τὸν τρόπον·

Πεισίστρατος Σόλωνι

53 “ Οὔτε μόνος Ἑλλήνων τυραννίδι ἐπεθέμην, οὔτε οὐ προσήκόν μοι, γένους ὄντι τῶν Κοδριδῶν. ἀνέλαβον γὰρ ἐγὼ ἂ ὁμόσαντες Ἀθηναῖοι παρέξεν Κόδρω τε καὶ τῷ ἐκείνου γένει, ἀφείλοντο. τά τε ἄλλα ἁμαρτάνω οὐδὲν ἢ περὶ θεοὺς ἢ περὶ ἀνθρώπους· ἀλλὰ καθότι σὺ διέθηκας τοὺς θεσμούς·

There is a story that Croesus in magnificent array sat himself down on his throne and asked Solon if he had ever seen anything more beautiful. “ Yes,” was the reply, “ cocks and pheasants and peacocks ; for they shine in nature’s colours, which are ten thousand times more beautiful.” After leaving that place he lived in Cilicia and founded a city which he called Soli after his own name. In it he settled some few Athenians, who in process of time corrupted the purity of Attic and were said to “ solecize.” Note that the people of this town are called Solenses, the people of Soli in Cyprus Solii. When he learnt that Pisistratus was by this time tyrant, he wrote to the Athenians on this wise \* :

If ye have suffered sadly through your own wickedness, lay not the blame for this upon the gods. For it is you yourselves who gave pledges to your foes and made them great ; this is why you bear the brand of slavery. Every one of you treadeth in the footsteps of the fox, yet in the mass ye have little sense. Ye look to the speech and fair words of a flatterer, paying no regard to any practical result.

Thus Solon. After he had gone into exile Pisistratus wrote to him as follows :

*Pisistratus to Solon*

“ I am not the only man who has aimed at a tyranny in Greece, nor am I, a descendant of Codrus, unfitted for the part. That is, I resume the privileges which the Athenians swore to confer upon Codrus and his family, although later they took them away. In everything else I commit no offence against God or man ; but I leave to the Athenians the management

Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπιτρέπω πολιτεύειν. καὶ ἄμεινόν γε πολιτεύουσιν ἢ κατὰ δημοκρατίαν· οὐκ ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐδένα ὑβρίζειν· καὶ ὁ τύραννος ἐγὼ οὐ πλεόν τι φέρομαι τᾶξιώματος καὶ τῆς τιμῆς· ὅποια δὲ καὶ τοῖς πρόσθεν βασιλεῦσιν ἦν τὰ ῥητὰ γέρα. ἀπάγει δὲ ἕκαστος Ἀθηναίων τοῦ αὐτοῦ κλήρου δεκάτην, οὐκ ἐμοί, ἀλλ' ὁπόθεν ἔσται ἀναλοῦν εἰς τε θυσίας δημοτελεῖς καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τῶν κοινῶν καὶ ἦν [ὁ] πόλεμος ἡμᾶς καταλάβῃ.

54 “Σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ οὔτι μέμφομαι μηνύσαντι τὴν ἐμὴν διάνοιαν. εὐνοία γὰρ τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τὸ ἐμὸν ἔχθος ἐμήνυνες· ἔτι τε ἀμαθία τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὁποίαν τινὰ ἐγὼ καταστήσομαι. ἐπεὶ μαθὼν τάχ' ἂν ἠνέσχου καθισταμένου, οὐδ' ἔφυγες. ἐπάνθι τοίνυν οἴκαδε, πιστεύων μοι καὶ ἀνωμότῳ, ἄχαρι μηδὲν πείσεσθαι Σόλωνα ἐκ Πεισιστράτου. ἴσθι γὰρ μηδ' ἄλλον τινὰ πεπονθέναι τῶν ἐμοί ἐχθρῶν. εἰ δὲ ἀξιώσεις τῶν ἐμῶν φίλων εἰς εἶναι, ἔσθι ἀνὰ πρῶτους· οὐ γάρ τι ἐν σοὶ ἐνορῶ δολερὸν ἢ ἄπιστον· εἴτε ἄλλως Ἀθήνησιν οἰκεῖν, ἐπιτετράφεται. ἡμῶν δὲ οὐνεκα μὴ ἐστέρησο τῆς πατρίδος.”

55 Ταῦτα μὲν Πεισιστράτος. Σόλων δὲ ὅρον ἀνθρωπίνου βίου φησὶν ἔτη ἑβδομήκοντα.

Δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ κάλλιστα νομοθετῆσαι· ἐάν τις μὴ τρέφῃ τοὺς γονέας, αἰτιμος ἔστω· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τὰ πατρῶα κατεδηδοκῶς ὁμοίως. καὶ ὁ ἀργὸς ὑπεύ-

of their affairs according to the ordinances established by you. And they are better governed than they would be under a democracy; for I allow no one to extend his rights, and though I am tyrant I arrogate to myself no undue share of reputation and honour, but merely such stated privileges as belonged to the kings in former times. Every citizen pays a tithe of his property, not to me but to a fund for defraying the cost of the public sacrifices or any other charges on the State or the expenditure on any war which may come upon us.

“I do not blame you for disclosing my designs; you acted from loyalty to the city, not through any enmity to me, and further, in ignorance of the sort of rule which I was going to establish; since, if you had known, you would perhaps have tolerated me and not gone into exile. Wherefore return home, trusting my word, though it be not sworn, that Solon will suffer no harm from Pisistratus. For neither has any other enemy of mine suffered; of that you may be sure. And if you choose to become one of my friends, you will rank with the foremost, for I see no trace of treachery in you, nothing to excite mistrust; or if you wish to live at Athens on other terms, you have my permission. But do not on my account sever yourself from your country.”

So far Pisistratus. To return to Solon: one of his sayings is that 70 years are the term of man's life.

He seems to have enacted some admirable laws; for instance, if any man neglects to provide for his parents, he shall be disfranchised; moreover there is a similar penalty for the spendthrift who runs through his patrimony. Again, not to have a settled

θυνος ἔστω παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ γράφεσθαι. Λυσίας δ' ἐν τῷ κατὰ Νικίου Δράκοντά φησι γεγραμέναι τὸν νόμον, Σόλωνα δὲ τὸν ἡταιρηκότα εἶργειν τοῦ βήματος. συνέστειλε δὲ καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τῶν ἐν ἀγῶσιν ἀθλητῶν, Ὀλυμπιονίκῃ μὲν τάξας πεντακοσίας δραχμάς, Ἰσθμιονίκῃ δὲ ἑκατόν, καὶ ἀνὰ λόγον ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων. ἀπειροκαλον γὰρ τὸ ἐξαίρειν τὰς τούτων τιμὰς, ἀλλὰ μόνων ἐκείνων τῶν ἐν πολέμοις τελευτησάντων, ὧν καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς δημοσίᾳ τρέφεσθαι καὶ παιδεύεσθαι.

56 Ὅθεν καὶ ἐξήλουν πολλοὶ καλοὶ κάγαθοὶ γίνεσθαι κατὰ πόλεμον· ὡς Πολύζηλος, ὡς Κυνέγεϊρος, ὡς Καλλίμαχος, ὡς σύμπαντες οἱ Μαραθωνομάχοι· ἔτι τε Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων καὶ Μιλτιάδης καὶ μυριοὶ ὅσοι. ἀθλῆται δὲ καὶ ἀσκούμενοι πολυδάπανοι, καὶ νικῶντες ἐπιζήμιοι καὶ στεφανοῦνται κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν· γέροντές τε γενόμενοι κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην

τρίβωνες ἐκλιπόντες οἷχονται κρόκας.

ὅπερ συνιδὼν ὁ Σόλων μετρίως αὐτοὺς ἀπεδέξατο. κάλλιστον δὲ κάκεϊνο· τὸν ἐπιτροπον τῇ τῶν ὀρφανῶν μητρὶ μὴ συνοικεῖν, μηδ' ἐπιτροπεύειν, εἰς ὃν ἡ οὐσία ἔρχεται τῶν ὀρφανῶν τελευτησάντων.

57 κάκεϊνο· δακτυλιογλύφῳ μὴ ἐξεῖναι σφραγίδα φυλάττειν τοῦ πραθέντος δακτυλίου· καὶ ἐὰν ἕνα ὀφθαλμὸν ἔχοντος ἐκκόψῃ τις, ἀντεκκόπτειν τοὺς δύο. ἂ μὴ ἔθου, μὴ ἀνέλῃ· εἰ δὲ μὴ, θάνατος ἢ

\* *Autolytus*, Fr. 1, l. 12 Nauck, *T.G.F.*<sup>3</sup>, *Eur.* 282.

<sup>b</sup> This censure of athletes recurs *Diod. Sic.* ix. 2. 3 f. It was probably a commonplace *κεφάλαιον* in some earlier life of Solon.

occupation is made a crime for which any one may, if he pleases, impeach the offender. Lysias, however, in his speech against Nicias ascribes this law to Draco, and to Solon another depriving open profligates of the right to speak in the Assembly. He curtailed the honours of athletes who took part in the games, fixing the allowance for an Olympic victor at 500 drachmae, for an Isthmian victor at 100 drachmae, and proportionately in all other cases. It was in bad taste, he urged, to increase the rewards of these victors, and to ignore the exclusive claims of those who had fallen in battle, whose sons ought, moreover, to be maintained and educated by the State.

The effect of this was that many strove to acquit themselves as gallant soldiers in battle, like Polyzelus, Cynegirus, Callimachus and all who fought at Marathon; or again like Harmodius and Aristogiton, and Miltiades and thousands more. Athletes, on the other hand, incur heavy costs while in training, do harm when successful, and are crowned for a victory over their country rather than over their rivals, and when they grow old they, in the words of Euripides,<sup>a</sup>

Are worn threadbare, cloaks that have lost the nap; and Solon, perceiving this, treated them with scant respect.<sup>b</sup> Excellent, too, is his provision that the guardian of an orphan should not marry the mother of his ward, and that the next heir who would succeed on the death of the orphans should be disqualified from acting as their guardian. Furthermore, that no engraver of seals should be allowed to retain an impression of the ring which he has sold, and that the penalty for depriving a one-eyed man of his single eye should be the loss of the offender's two eyes. A deposit shall not be removed except by the

ζημία. τῷ ἄρχοντι, ἐὰν μεθύων ληφθῇ, θάνατον εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν.

Τά τε Ὀμήρου ἐξ ὑποβολῆς γέγραφε ραψωδεῖσθαι, οἷον ὅπου ὁ πρῶτος ἔληξεν, ἐκείθεν ἄρχεσθαι τὸν ἐχόμενον. μᾶλλον οὖν Σόλων Ὀμηρον ἐφώτισεν ἢ Πεισίστρατος, ὥς φησι Διευχίδας ἐν πέμπτῳ Μεγαρικῶν. ἦν δὲ μάλιστα τὰ ἔπη ταυτί· "οἱ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον" καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

58 Πρῶτος δὲ Σόλων τὴν τριακάδα ἔτην καὶ νέαν ὠνόμασε. καὶ πρῶτος τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων ἐποίησεν εἰς τὸ συνεπιεῖν, ὥς Ἀπολλόδωρος φησιν ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ νομοθετῶν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς στάσεως γενομένης οὔτε μετὰ τῶν ἐξ ἄστεος, οὔτε μετὰ τῶν πεδιέων, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μετὰ τῶν παράλων ἐτάχθη.

"Ἐλεγε δὲ τὸν μὲν λόγον εἰδῶλον εἶναι τῶν ἔργων· βασιλέα δὲ τὸν ἰσχυρότατον τῇ δυνάμει. τοὺς δὲ νόμους τοῖς ἀραχνίοις ὁμοίους· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα, ἐὰν μὲν ἐμπέσῃ τι κοῦφον καὶ ἀσθενές, στέγειν· ἐὰν δὲ μείζον, διακόψαν οὔχεσθαι. ἔφασκε τε σφραγίζεσθαι τὸν μὲν λόγον σιγῇ, τὴν δὲ 59 σιγὴν καιρῷ. ἔλεγε δὲ τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς τυράννοις δυναμένους παραπλησίους εἶναι ταῖς ψήφοις ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν λογισμῶν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων ἐκάστην ποτὲ μὲν πλείω σημαίνειν, ποτὲ δὲ ἥττω· καὶ τούτων τοὺς τυράννους ποτὲ μὲν ἕκαστον μέγαν ἄγειν καὶ λαμπρόν, ποτὲ δὲ ἄτιμον. ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί κατὰ πατροκτόνου νόμον οὐκ ἔθηκε, 58

depositor himself, on pain of death. That the magistrate found intoxicated should be punished with death.

He has provided that the public recitations of Homer shall follow in fixed order<sup>a</sup>: thus the second reciter must begin from the place where the first left off. Hence, as Dieuchidas says in the fifth book of his *Megarian History*, Solon did more than Pisis-tratus to throw light on Homer. The passage in Homer more particularly referred to is that beginning "Those who dwelt at Athens . . ."<sup>b</sup>

Solon was the first to call the 30th day of the month the Old-and-New day, and to institute meetings of the nine archons for private conference, as stated by Apollodorus in the second book of his work *On Legislators*. When civil strife began, he did not take sides with those in the city, nor with the plain, nor yet with the coast section.

One of his sayings is: Speech is the mirror of action; and another that the strongest and most capable is king. He compared laws to spiders' webs, which stand firm when any light and yielding object falls upon them, while a larger thing breaks through them and makes off. Secrecy he called the seal of speech, and occasion the seal of secrecy. He used to say that those who had influence with tyrants were like the pebbles employed in calculations; for, as each of the pebbles represented now a large and now a small number, so the tyrants would treat each one of those about them at one time as great and famous, at another as of no account. On being asked why he had not framed any law against parricide,

<sup>a</sup> Or "in succession," though this is rather ἐξ ὑποδοχῆς. In Plato, *Hipparchus* 228 B, the same thing is expressed by ἐξ ὑπολήψεως ἐφεξῆς.

<sup>b</sup> *Iliad* ii. 546.

“διὰ τὸ ἀπελπίσαι,” ἔφη. πῶς τε ἥκιστ’ ἂν ἀδικοῖεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, “εἰ ὁμοίως,” ἔφη, “ἄχθονται τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις οἱ μὴ ἀδικούμενοι.” καὶ “τὸν μὲν κόρον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλούτου γεννᾶσθαι, τὴν δὲ ὕβριν ὑπὸ τοῦ κόρου.” ἠξίωσε τε Ἀθηναίους τὰς ἡμέρας κατὰ σελήνην ἄγειν. καὶ Θέσπιον ἐκώλυσε τραγωδίας διδάσκειν, ὥς ἀνωφελῆ τὴν  
60 ψευδολογίαν. ὅτ’ οὖν Πεισίστρατος ἑαυτὸν κατέτρωσεν, ἐκεῖθεν ἔφη ταῦτα φῦναι. τοῖς τε ἀνθρώποις συνεβούλευσεν, ὥς φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων αἰρέσεων, τάδε· καλοκαγαθίαν ὄρκου πιστοτέραν ἔχε. μὴ ψεύδου. τὰ σπουδαῖα μελέτα. φίλους μὴ ταχὺ κτῶ· οὓς δ’ ἂν κτήσῃ μὴ ἀποδοκίμαζε. ἄρχε πρῶτον μαθὼν ἄρχεσθαι. συμβούλευε μὴ τὰ ἥδιστα, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἄριστα. νοῦν ἡγεμόνα ποιοῦ. μὴ κακοῖς ὁμίλει. θεοὺς τίμα, γονεάς αἰδοῦ. φασὶ δ’ αὐτὸν καὶ Μιμνέρμου γράψαντος,

αἶ γὰρ ἄτερ νούσων τε καὶ ἀργαλέω νμελε-  
δωνέων  
ἐξηκονταέτη μοῖρα κίχου θανάτου,

61 ἐπιτιμῶντα αὐτῷ εἰπεῖν·

ἀλλ’ εἴ μοι κἄν νῦν ἔτι πείσῃ, ἔξελε τοῦτον·  
μηδὲ μέγαιρ’ ὅτι σεῦ λῶον ἐπεφρασάμην·  
καὶ μεταποιήσον, Λιγυστάδη, ὦδε δ’ αἶειδε·  
ὀγδωκονταέτη μοῖρα κίχου θανάτου.

Τῶν δὲ ἄδομένων αὐτοῦ ἔστι τάδε·

πεφυλαγμένος ἄνδρα ἕκαστον, ὅρα  
μὴ κρυπτόν ἔχθος ἔχων κραδίη,

he replied that he hoped it was unnecessary. Asked how crime could most effectually be diminished, he replied, “If it caused as much resentment in those who are not its victims as in those who are,” adding, “Wealth breeds satiety, satiety outrage.” He required the Athenians to adopt a lunar month. He prohibited Thespis from performing tragedies on the ground that fiction was pernicious. When therefore Pisistratus appeared with self-inflicted wounds, Solon said, “This comes from acting tragedies.” His counsel to men in general is stated by Apollodorus in his work on the *Philosophic Sects* as follows: Put more trust in nobility of character than in an oath. Never tell a lie. Pursue worthy aims. Do not be rash to make friends and, when once they are made, do not drop them. Learn to obey before you command. In giving advice seek to help, not to please, your friend. Be led by reason. Shun evil company. Honour the gods, reverence parents. He is also said to have criticized the couplet of Mimnermus:

Would that by no disease, no cares oppress,  
I in my sixtieth year were laid to rest;

and to have replied thus <sup>a</sup>:

Oh take a friend's suggestion, blot the line,  
Grudge not if my invention better thine;  
Surely a wiser wish were thus expressed,  
At eighty years let me be laid to rest.

Of the songs sung this is attributed to Solon <sup>b</sup>:

Watch every man and see whether, hiding hatred in his

<sup>a</sup> Fr. 20 Bergk.

<sup>b</sup> Fr. 42 Bergk.

φαιδρῶ προσενέπη προσώπῳ,  
 γλῶσσα δέ οἱ διχόμυθος  
 ἐκ μελανῆς φρενὸς γεγωνῆ.

Γέγραφε δὲ δῆλον μὲν ὅτι τοὺς νόμους, καὶ δημη-  
 γορίας καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ὑποθήκας, ἐλεγεία, καὶ τὰ  
 περὶ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας ἔπη  
 πεντακισχίλια, καὶ ἰάμβους καὶ ἐπωδούς.

62 Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ ἐπιγράφεται τάδε·

ἡ Μῆδων ἄδικον παύσαο' ὕβριν, ἥδε Σόλωνά  
 τόνδε τεκνοῖ Σαλαμῖς θεσμοθέτην ἱερόν.

Ἡκμαζε μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν ἔκτῃ  
 Ὀλυμπιάδῃ, ἥς τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει ἤρξεν Ἀθήνησι,  
 καθά φησι Σωσικράτης· ὅτε καὶ τίθησι τοὺς νόμους.  
 ἐτελεύτησε δ' ἐν Κύπρῳ βιοὺς ἔτη ὀγδοήκοντα,  
 τοῦτον ἐπισκῆψας τοῖς ἰδίοις τὸν τρόπον, ἀπο-  
 κομίσαι αὐτοῦ τὰ ὅσα εἰς Σαλαμίνα καὶ τεφρώσαν-  
 τας εἰς τὴν χώραν σπείραι. ὅθεν καὶ Κρατίνος  
 ἐν τοῖς Χείρῳσί φησιν, αὐτὸν ποιῶν λέγοντα·

οἰκῶ δὲ νῆσον, ὥς μὲν ἀνθρώπων λόγος,  
 ἐσπαρμένος κατὰ πᾶσαν Αἴαντος πόλιν.

63 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡμέτερον ἐπίγραμμα ἐν τῇ προ-  
 ειρημένῃ Παμμέτρῳ, ἐνθα καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν  
 τελευτησάντων ἐλλογίμων διείλεγμαί παντὶ μέτρῳ  
 καὶ ρύθμῳ, ἐπιγράμμασι καὶ μέλεσιν, ἔχον οὕτως·

σῶμα μὲν ἦρε Σόλωνος ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ Κύπριον πῦρ·  
 ὅστ' ἔχει Σαλαμῖς, ὧν κόνις ἀστάχυες.  
 ψυχὴν δ' ἄξονες εὐθύς ἐς οὐρανὸν ἤγαγον· εὐ γὰρ  
 θῆκε νόμους ἀστοῖς ἀχθεα κουφότατα.

heart, he speaks with friendly countenance, and his tongue  
 rings with double speech from a dark soul.

He is undoubtedly the author of the laws which  
 bear his name; of speeches, and of poems in elegiac  
 metre, namely, counsels addressed to himself, on  
 Salamis and on the Athenian constitution, five thou-  
 sand lines in all, not to mention poems in iambic  
 metre and epodes.

His statue has the following inscription <sup>a</sup> :

At Salamis, which crushed the Persian might,  
 Solon the legislator first saw light.

He flourished, according to Sosicrates, about the  
 46th Olympiad, in the third year of which he was  
 archon at Athens <sup>b</sup>; it was then that he enacted his  
 laws. He died in Cyprus at the age of eighty. His  
 last injunctions to his relations were on this wise :  
 that they should convey his bones to Salamis and,  
 when they had been reduced to ashes, scatter them  
 over the soil. Hence Cratinus in his play, *The*  
*Chirons*, makes him say <sup>c</sup> :

This is my island home; my dust, men say,  
 Is scattered far and wide o'er Ajax' land.

An epigram of my own is also contained in the  
 collection of *Epigrams in Various Metres* mentioned  
 above, where I have discoursed of all the illustrious  
 dead in all metres and rhythms, in epigrams and  
 lyrics. Here it is <sup>d</sup> :

Far Cyprian fire his body burnt; his bones,  
 Turned into dust, made grain at Salamis :  
 Wheel-like, his pillars bore his soul on high ;  
 So light the burden of his laws on men.

<sup>a</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 86.

<sup>b</sup> 594 B.C.

<sup>c</sup> *Fr.* 5 Meineke, *C.G.F.* ii. 149.

<sup>d</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 87.

Ἀπεφθέξατο δέ, φασί, Μηδὲν ἄγαν. καὶ αὐτόν  
φησι Διοσκουρίδης ἐν τοῖς Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν,  
ἐπειδὴ δακρύοι τὸν παῖδα τελευτήσαντα, ὃν ἡμεῖς  
οὐ παρευλήφαμεν, πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, “ ἄλλ’ οὐδὲν  
ἀνύτεις,” εἰπεῖν, “ δι’ αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο δακρύω,  
ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀνύτω.”

Φέρονται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ αἰδε·

64

Σόλων Περιάνδρῳ

“ Ἀπαγγέλλεις μοι πολλοὺς τοὶ ἐπιβουλεύειν.  
σὺ δὲ εἰ μὲν μέλλεις ἐκποδῶν ἅπαντας ποιήσεσθαι,  
οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις. ἐπιβουλεύσειε δ’ ἂν τις καὶ  
τῶν ἀνυπόπτων, ὁ μὲν δεδιὼς περὶ αὐτῷ, ὁ δὲ  
σοῦ καταγνοὺς, οὐκ ἔσθ’ ὃ τι οὐκ ὀρρωδοῦντος·  
κἂν τῇ πόλει χάριν κατάθοιτο ἐξευρών, ἣν μὴ  
ὑποπτὸς εἴης. ἀριστον μὲν οὖν ἀπέχεσθαι, ἵνα  
τῆς αἰτίας ἀπαλλαγῇς. εἰ δὲ πάντως τυραννη-  
τέον, φροντίζειν ὅπως τὴν ἀλλοδαπὴν δύναμιν  
μείζονα ἔξεις τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι τοι  
δεινός, μηδὲ σὺ ἐκποδῶν τινα ποιού.”

Σόλων Ἐπιμενίδῃ

“ Οὐτε οἱ ἐμοὶ θεσμοὶ ἄρα Ἀθηναίους ἐπιπολὺ  
ὀνήσειν ἔμελλον, οὔτε σὺ καθήρας τὴν πόλιν  
ὤνησας. τό τε γὰρ θεῖον καὶ οἱ νομοθέται οὐ  
καθ’ ἐαυτὰ δύνανται ὀνήσαι τὰς πόλεις, οἱ δὲ αἰεὶ  
τὸ πλῆθος ἄγοντες ὅπως ἂν γνώμης ἔχωσιν. οὕτω  
δὲ καὶ τὸ θεῖον καὶ οἱ νόμοι, εὖ μὲν ἀγόντων, εἰσὶν  
ὠφέλιμοι· κακῶς δὲ [ἀγόντων], οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦσιν.

64

It is said that he was the author of the apophthegm  
“ Nothing too much,” *Ne quid nimis*. According to  
Dioscurides in his *Memorabilia*, when he was weeping  
for the loss of his son, of whom nothing more is  
known, and some one said to him, “ It is all of no  
avail,” he replied, “ That is why I weep, because it  
is of no avail.”

The following letters are attributed to Solon:

*Solon to Periander*

“ You tell me that many are plotting against you.  
You must lose no time if you want to get rid of them  
all. A conspirator against you might arise from a  
quite unexpected quarter, say, one who had fears  
for his personal safety or one who disliked your  
timorous dread of anything and everything. He  
would earn the gratitude of the city who found out  
that you had no suspicion. The best course would  
be to resign power, and so be quit of the reproach.  
But if you must at all hazards remain tyrant, en-  
deavour to make your mercenary force stronger than  
the forces of the city. Then you have no one to  
fear, and need not banish any one.”

*Solon to Epimenides*

“ It seems that after all I was not to confer much  
benefit on Athenians by my laws, any more than you  
by purifying the city. For religion and legislation  
are not sufficient in themselves to benefit cities; it  
can only be done by those who lead the multitude  
in any direction they choose. And so, if things are  
going well, religion and legislation are beneficial; if  
not, they are of no avail.

65

65 "Οὐδ' οἱ ἐμοὶ ἀμείνους εἰσὶ καὶ ὅσα ἐγὼ ἐνο-  
μοθέτησα. οἱ δ' ἐπιτρέποντες τὸ ξυνὸν ἔβλα-  
πτον, οἱ οὐκ ἐγένοντο ἐμποδῶν Πεισιστράτῳ  
ἐπιθέσθαι τυραννίδι. οὐδ' ἐγὼ προλέγων πιστὸς  
ἦν. ἐκεῖνος δὲ πιστότερος κολακεύων Ἀθηναίους  
ἐμοῦ ἀληθεύοντος. ἐγὼ δὲ θέμενος πρὸ τοῦ  
στρατηγείου τὰ ὄπλα εἶπον τῶν μὲν μὴ αἰσθα-  
νομένων Πεισίστρατον τυραννησίοντα εἶναι ξυνε-  
τώτερος, τῶν δὲ ὀκνούντων ἀμύνεσθαι ἀλκιμώ-  
τερος. οἱ δὲ μανίαν Σόλωνος κατεγίνγνωσκον.  
τελευτῶν δὲ ἔμαρτυράμην, "ὦ πατρίς, οὗτος  
μὲν Σόλων ἔτοιμός τοι καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ ἀμύνειν  
τοῖς δ' αὖ καὶ μαίνεσθαι δοκῶ. ὥστε ἄπειμί  
τοι ἐκ μέσου ὃ μόνος ἐχθρὸς Πεισιστράτου· οἱ  
δὲ καὶ δορυφορούντων αὐτόν εἴ τι βούλονται."  
ἴσθι γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα, ὃ ἐταῖρε, δεινότατα ἀψάμενον  
66 τῆς τυραννίδος. ἤρξατο μὲν δημαγωγεῖν· εἰτα δὲ  
ἐαυτῷ τραύματα ποιήσας, παρελθὼν ἐπ' Ἡλιαίαν  
ἐβόα φάμενος πεπονθέναι ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν·  
καὶ φύλακας ἡξίου παρασχεῖν οἱ τετρακοσίους  
τοὺς νεωτάτους. οἱ δὲ ἀνηκουστήσαντές μου  
παρέσχον τοὺς ἄνδρας. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν κορυνη-  
φόροι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν δῆμον κατέλυσεν.  
ἡ μάτην ἔσπευδον ἀπαλλάξαι τοὺς πένητας αὐτῶν  
τῆς θητείας, οἱ γε δὲ νῦν ξύμπαντες ἐν δουλεύουσι  
Πεισιστράτῳ."

Σόλων Πεισιστράτῳ

"Πιστεύω μηδὲν κακὸν ἐκ σοῦ πείσεσθαι. καὶ  
γὰρ πρὸ τῆς τυραννίδος φίλος σοὶ ἦν, καὶ νῦν οὖν  
66

"Nor are my laws nor all my enactments any better;  
but the popular leaders did the commonwealth harm  
by permitting licence, and could not hinder Pisistratus  
from setting up a tyranny. And, when I warned  
them, they would not believe me. He found more  
credit when he flattered the people than I when I  
told them the truth. I laid my arms down before  
the generals' quarters and told the people that I  
was wiser than those who did not see that Pisistratus  
was aiming at tyranny, and more courageous than  
those who shrank from resisting him. They, how-  
ever, denounced Solon as mad. And at last I pro-  
tested: "My country, I, Solon, am ready to defend  
thee by word and deed; but some of my countrymen  
think me mad. Wherefore I will go forth out of  
their midst as the sole opponent of Pisistratus; and  
let them, if they like, become his bodyguard." For  
you must know, my friend, that he was beyond  
measure ambitious to be tyrant. He began by being  
a popular leader; his next step was to inflict wounds  
on himself and appear before the court of the Heliaea,  
crying out that these wounds had been inflicted by  
his enemies; and he requested them to give him a  
guard of 400 young men. And the people without  
listening to me granted him the men, who were  
armed with clubs. And after that he destroyed the  
democracy. It was in vain that I sought to free  
the poor amongst the Athenians from their condition  
of serfdom, if now they are all the slaves of one  
master, Pisistratus."

Solon to Pisistratus

"I am sure that I shall suffer no harm at your  
hands; for before you became tyrant I was your  
67



μᾶλλον διάφορος ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τις Ἀθηναίων  
ὄτω μὴ ἀρέσκει τυραννίς. εἶτε δὲ ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἄρχε-  
σθαι ἄμεινον αὐτοῖς, εἶτε δημοκρατεῖσθαι, πεπεί-  
67 σθω ἢ ἐκάτερος γινώσκει. καὶ σὲ φημι πάντων  
τυράννων εἶναι βέλτιστον. ἐπανεῆκιν δέ μοι Ἀθή-  
ναζε οὐ καλῶς ἔχον ὁρῶ, μή μέ τις μέμψηται,  
εἰ διαθεῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἰσοπολιτείαν, καὶ παρὸν  
τυραννεῖν αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀξιώσας, νῦν ἐπανελθὼν  
ἀρεσκοίμην οἷς σὺ πράσσεις."

### Σόλων Κροίσῳ

"Ἀγαμαί σε τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς φιλοφροσύνης· καὶ  
νῆ τήν Ἀθηνᾶν, εἰ μὴ περὶ παντός μοι ἦν οἰκεῖν  
ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ, ἐδεξάμην ἂν μᾶλλον τὴν δίκαιαν  
ἔχειν ἐν τῇ παρὰ σοὶ βασιλείᾳ ἢ Ἀθήνησι, τυραν-  
νοῦντος βιαίως Πεισιστράτου. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡδίων  
ἡμῖν ἢ βιοτή, ἔνθα πᾶσι τὰ δίκαια καὶ ἴσα. ἀφ-  
ίζομαι δ' οὐν παρὰ σέ, σπεύδων τοι ξένος γενέσθαι."

### Κεφ. γ'. ΧΙΛΩΝ

68 Χίλων Δαμαγήτου Λακεδαιμόνιος. οὗτος ἐποίη-  
σεν ἐλεγεία εἰς ἑπτα διακόσια, καὶ ἔφασκε πρό-  
νοιαν περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος λογισμῷ καταληπτὴν  
εἶναι ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν. πρὸς τε τὸν ἀδελφὸν δυσ-  
φοροῦντα ὅτι μὴ ἔφορος ἐγένετο, αὐτοῦ ὄντος,  
"ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἐπίσταμαι," εἶπεν, "ἀδικεῖσθαι,  
σὺ δὲ οὐ." γέγονε δὲ ἔφορος κατὰ τὴν πεντη-  
κοστὴν πέμπτην Ὀλυμπιάδα. Παμφίλῃ δέ φησι  
κατὰ τὴν ἑκτὴν. καὶ πρῶτον ἔφορον γενέσθαι  
ἐπὶ Εὐθυδήμου, ὡς φησι Σωσικράτης. καὶ πρῶ-  
68

friend, and now I have no quarrel with you beyond  
that of every Athenian who disapproves of tyranny.  
Whether it is better for them to be ruled by one man or  
to live under a democracy, each of us must decide for  
himself upon his own judgement. You are, I admit,  
of all tyrants the best; but I see that it is not well  
for me to return to Athens. I gave the Athenians  
equality of civil rights; I refused to become tyrant  
when I had the opportunity; how then could I  
escape censure if I were now to return and set my  
approval on all that you are doing?"

### Solon to Croesus

"I admire you for your kindness to me; and, by  
Athena, if I had not been anxious before all things  
to live in a democracy, I would rather have fixed my  
abode in your palace than at Athens, where Pisis-  
tratus is setting up a rule of violence. But in truth  
to live in a place where all have equal rights is  
more to my liking. However, I will come and see  
you, for I am eager to make your acquaintance."

### CHAPTER 3. CHILON (c. 560 B.C.)

Chilon, son of Damagetas, was a Lacedaemonian.  
He wrote a poem in elegiac metre some 200 lines in  
length; and he declared that the excellence of a  
man is to divine the future so far as it can be grasped  
by reason. When his brother grumbled that he was  
not made ephor as Chilon was, the latter replied,  
"I know how to submit to injustice and you do not."  
He was made ephor in the 55th Olympiad; Pamphila,  
however, says the 56th. He first became ephor,  
according to Sosicrates, in the archonship of Euthy-

τος εισηγήσατο ἐφόρους τοῖς βασιλεῦσι παρα-  
 ζευγνύναι. Σάτυρος δὲ Λυκοῦργον.

Οὗτος, ὡς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ, Ἴππο-  
 κράτει θυομένῳ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, τῶν λεβήτων αὐτο-  
 μάτων ζεσάντων, συνεβούλευσεν ἢ μὴ γῆμαι, ἢ, εἰ  
 ἔχοι γυναῖκα, ἐκπέμψαι καὶ παῖδας ἀπείρασθαι.  
 69 φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ Αἰσώπου<sup>1</sup> πυθέσθαι, ὃ Ζεὺς τί  
 εἶη ποιῶν· τὸν δὲ φάναι, “τὰ μὲν ὑψηλὰ ταπει-  
 νῶν, τὰ δὲ ταπεινὰ ὑψῶν.” ἐρωτηθεὶς τίνα δια-  
 φέρουσιν οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν, ἔφη,  
 “ἐλπίσιν ἀγαθαῖς.” τί δύσκολον, “τὸ τὰ ἀπόρ-  
 ρητα σιωπῆσαι, καὶ σχολὴν εὖ διαθέσθαι, καὶ  
 ἀδικούμενον [δύνασθαι] φέρειν.” προσέταττε δὲ  
 καὶ ταῦτα· γλῶττης κρατεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν  
 συμποσίῳ. μὴ κακολογεῖν τοὺς πλησίον· εἰ δὲ  
 70 μὴ, ἀκούσεσθαι ἐφ' οἷς λυπήσεσθαι. μὴ ἀπει-  
 λεῖν μηδενί· γυναικῶδες γάρ. ταχύτερον ἐπὶ τὰς  
 ἀτυχίας τῶν φίλων ἢ ἐπὶ τὰς εὐτυχίας πορεύεσθαι.  
 γάμον εὐτελεῖ ποιεῖσθαι. τὸν τεθηγκότα μὴ κακο-  
 λογεῖν. γῆρας τιμᾶν. φυλάττειν ἑαυτόν. ζημίαν  
 αἰρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ κέρδος αἰσχρόν· ἢ μὲν γὰρ  
 ἀπαξ ἐλύπησε, τὸ δὲ διὰ παντός. ἀτυχοῦντι μὴ  
 ἐπεγγελάν. ἰσχυρὸν ὄντα πρᾶον εἶναι, ὅπως οἱ  
 πλησίον αἰδῶνται μᾶλλον ἢ φοβῶνται. μανθάνειν  
 τῆς αὐτοῦ οἰκίας καλῶς προστατεῖν. τὴν γλῶτταν  
 μὴ προτρέχειν τοῦ νοῦ. θυμοῦ κρατεῖν. μαντικὴν

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ . . . Αἰσῶπον Reiske.

\* There seems to be some confusion in these extracts.  
 Possibly Diogenes Laertius found among his materials some  
 such note as this: Χίλων τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ σοφῶν πρώτος ἔφορος,  
 and connected it with the date as given by Sosicrates,

demus. He first proposed the appointment of ephors  
 as auxiliaries to the kings, though Satyrus says this  
 was done by Lycurgus.\*

As Herodotus relates in his first Book, when  
 Hippocrates was sacrificing at Olympia and his  
 cauldrons boiled of their own accord, it was Chilon  
 who advised him not to marry, or, if he had a wife,  
 to divorce her and disown his children. The tale is  
 also told that he inquired of Aesop what Zeus was  
 doing and received the answer: “He is humbling  
 the proud and exalting the humble.” Being asked  
 wherein lies the difference between the educated  
 and the uneducated, Chilon answered, “In good  
 hope.” What is hard? “To keep a secret, to  
 employ leisure well, to be able to bear an injury.”  
 These again are some of his precepts: To control  
 the tongue, especially at a banquet. Not to abuse  
 our neighbours, for if you do, things will be said  
 about you which you will regret. Do not use threats  
 to any one; for that is womanish. Be more ready  
 to visit friends in adversity than in prosperity. Do  
 not make an extravagant marriage. *De mortuis nil  
 nisi bonum*. Honour old age. Consult your own  
 safety. Prefer a loss to a dishonest gain: the one  
 brings pain at the moment, the other for all time.  
 Do not laugh at another's misfortune. When strong,  
 be merciful, if you would have the respect, not the  
 fear, of your neighbours. Learn to be a wise master  
 in your own house. Let not your tongue outrun  
 your thought. Control anger. Do not hate divina-  
 namely, the archonship of Euthydemus, meticulously correct-  
 ing this date from Pamphila. But he seems to have mis-  
 taken the meaning of πρώτος ἔφορος and to have rashly  
 inferred from it that it was Chilon who introduced the  
 ephorate.

μὴ ἐχθαίρειν. μὴ ἐπιθυμεῖν ἀδυνάτων. ἐν ὁδῷ  
 μὴ σπεύδειν. λέγοντα μὴ κινεῖν τὴν χεῖρα· μα-  
 νικὸν γάρ. νόμοις πείθεσθαι. ἡρεμία χρῆσθαι.

71 Τῶν δὲ ᾄδομένων αὐτοῦ μάλιστα εὐδοκίμησεν  
 ἐκεῖνο· “ἐν λιθίναις ἀκόναις ὁ χρυσὸς ἐξετάζεται,  
 διδοὺς βάσανον φανεράν· ἐν δὲ χρυσῷ ἀνδρῶν  
 ἀγαθῶν τε κακῶν τε νοῦς ἔδωκ’ ἔλεγχον.” φασὶ  
 δ’ αὐτόν ποτε γηραιὸν ἦδη ὄντα εἰπεῖν, ὥς οὐδὲν  
 συνειδέη ἀνομον ἑαυτῷ ἐν τῷ βίῳ· διστάζειν  
 δὲ περὶ ἐνός. κρίνων γάρ ποτε φίλῳ δίκην αὐτὸς  
 μὲν κατὰ τὸν νόμον, τὸν δὲ φίλον πείσειεν ἀπο-  
 δικάσαι αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἀμφοτέρα καὶ τὸν νόμον καὶ  
 τὸν φίλον τηρήσαι.

Ἐνδοξότατος δὲ μάλιστα παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι  
 ἐγένετο προειπὼν περὶ Κυθήρων τῆς νήσου τῆς  
 Λακωνικῆς. καταμαθὼν γάρ τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς,  
 “εἶθε,” ἔφη, “μὴ ἐγεγόνει, ἢ γενομένη κατ-  
 72 εβυθίσθη.” καὶ εὖ προῦνοήσατο. Δημάρατος μὲν  
 γάρ φυγὰς ὧν Λακεδαιμονίων Ξέρξῃ συνεβούλευσε  
 τὰς ναῦς συνέχειν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ· κὰν ἐάλωκε ἢ  
 Ἑλλάς, εἰ ἐπέισθη Ξέρξης. ὕστερόν τε Νικίας  
 ἐπὶ τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν καταστρεψάμενος τὴν  
 νήσον, φρουρὰν ἐγκατέστησεν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ πάμ-  
 πολλα τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους κακὰ διέθηκε.

Βραχυλόγος τε ἦν· ὅθεν καὶ Ἀρισταγόρας ὁ  
 Μιλήσιος τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον Χιλώνειον καλεῖ.  
 . . . Βράγχου δὲ εἶναι, ὅς τὸ ἱερὸν ἔκτισε τὸ ἐν  
 Βραγχίδαῖς. ἦν δὲ γέρων περὶ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν  
 δευτέραν Ὀλυμπιάδα, ὅτε Αἰσωπὸς ὁ λογοποιὸς

tion. Do not aim at impossibilities. Let no one  
 see you in a hurry. Gesticulation in speaking should  
 be avoided as a mark of insanity. Obey the laws.  
 Be restful.

Of his songs the most popular is the following :  
 “By the whetstone gold is tried, giving manifest  
 proof ; and by gold is the mind of good and evil  
 men brought to the test.” He is reported to have  
 said in his old age that he was not aware of having  
 ever broken the law throughout his life ; but on one  
 point he was not quite clear. In a suit in which a  
 friend of his was concerned he himself pronounced  
 sentence according to the law, but he persuaded his  
 colleague who was his friend to acquit the accused,  
 in order at once to maintain the law and yet not to  
 lose his friend.

He became very famous in Greece by his warning  
 about the island of Cythera off the Laconian coast.  
 For, becoming acquainted with the nature of the  
 island, he exclaimed : “Would it had never been  
 placed there, or else had been sunk in the depths  
 of the sea.” And this was a wise warning ; for  
 Demaratus, when an exile from Sparta, advised  
 Xerxes to anchor his fleet off the island ; and if  
 Xerxes had taken the advice Greece would have  
 been conquered. Later, in the Peloponnesian war,  
 Nicias reduced the island and placed an Athenian  
 garrison there, and did the Lacedaemonians much  
 mischief.

He was a man of few words ; hence Aristagoras  
 of Miletus calls this style of speaking Chilonean. . . .  
 is of Branchus, founder of the temple at Branchidae.  
 Chilon was an old man about the 52nd Olympiad,  
 when Aesop the fabulist was flourishing. According

ἤκμαζεν. ἐτελεύτησε δ', ὥς φησιν Ἑρμιππος, ἐν Πίσῃ, τὸν υἱὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκην ἀσπασάμενος πυγμῆς. ἔπαθε δὲ τοῦτο ὑπερβολῇ τε χαρᾶς καὶ ἀσθενείᾳ πολυετίας. καὶ αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν παν- ἡγυριον ἐντιμότατα παρέπεμψαν.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἐπίγραμμα ἡμῶν.

- 73 Φωσφόρε, σοί, Πολύδευκες, ἔχω χάριν, οὐνεκεν υἱὸς Χίλωνος πυγμῇ χλωρὸν ἔλεν κότινον.  
εἰ δ' ὁ πατὴρ στεφανοῦχον ἰδὼν τέκνον ἤμυσεν ἡσθεῖς,  
οὐ νεμεσητόν· ἐμοὶ τοῖος ἔτω θάνατος.

ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ ἐπιγέγραπται τόδε·

τόνδε δοριστέφανος Σπάρτα Χίλων' ἐφύτευσεν,  
ὃς τῶν ἐπτά σοφῶν πρῶτος ἔφυ σοφία.

ἀπεφθέξατο, "ἐγγύα, πάρα δ' ἄτα." ἔστιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιστόλιον τόδε·

#### Χίλων Περιάνδρῳ

"Ἐπιστέλλεις ἐμὴν ἐκστρατεῖαν ἐπὶ ἐκδάμῳ, ὥς αὐτὸς κα' ἐξέρποις· ἐγὼν δὲ δοκέω καὶ τὰ οἰκῆα σφαλερὰ ἡμεν ἀνδρὶ μονάρχῳ, καὶ τῆνον τυράννων εὐδαιμονίζω ὅστις κα' οἶκοι ἐξ αὐτὸς αὐτῷ κατθάνῃ."

#### Κεφ. δ'. ΠΙΤΤΑΚΟΣ

- 74 Πιττακὸς Ὑρραδίου Μυτιληναῖος. φησὶ δὲ Δοῦ- ρις τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Θρᾶκα εἶναι. οὗτος μετὰ τῶν Ἀλκαίου γενόμενος ἀδελφῶν Μέλαγχρον

to Hermippus, his death took place at Pisa, just after he had congratulated his son on an Olympic victory in boxing. It was due to excess of joy coupled with the weakness of a man stricken in years. And all present joined in the funeral procession.

I have written an epitaph on him also, which runs as follows <sup>a</sup> :

I praise thee, Pollux, for that Chilon's son  
By boxing feats the olive chaplet won.  
Nor at the father's fate should we repine ;  
He died of joy ; may such a death be mine.

The inscription on his statue runs thus <sup>b</sup> :

Here Chilon stands, of Sparta's warrior race,  
Who of the Sages Seven holds highest place.

His apophthegm is : " Give a pledge, and suffer for it." A short letter is also ascribed to him.

#### Chilon to Periander

" You tell me of an expedition against foreign enemies, in which you yourself will take the field. In my opinion affairs at home are not too safe for an absolute ruler ; and I deem the tyrant happy who dies a natural death in his own house."

#### CHAPTER 4. PITTACUS (c. 600 B.C.)

Pittacus was the son of Hyrrhadius and a native of Mitylene. Duris calls his father a Thracian. Aided by the brothers of Alcaeus he overthrew

<sup>a</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 88.

<sup>b</sup> *Anth. Pal.* ix. 596.

καθεῖλε τὸν τῆς Λέσβου τύραννον· καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἀχιλεΐτιδος χώρας μαχομένων Ἀθηναίων καὶ Μυτιληναίων ἐστρατήγει μὲν αὐτός, Ἀθηναίων δὲ Φρύνων παγκρατιαστής Ὀλυμπιονίκης. συνέθετο δὴ μονομαχῆσαι πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ δίκτυον ἔχων ὑπὸ τὴν ἀσπίδα λαθραίως περιέβαλε τὸν Φρύωνα, καὶ κτείνας ἀνέσώσατο τὸ χωρίον. ὕστερον μέντοι φησὶν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς διαδικασθῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους περὶ τοῦ χωρίου πρὸς τοὺς Μυτιληναίους, ἀκούοντας τῆς δίκης Περιάνδρου, ὃν καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις προσκρίναι.

75 Τότε δ' οὖν τὸν Πιττακὸν ἰσχυρῶς ἐτίμησαν οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνεχείρισαν αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ δέκα ἔτη κατασχὼν καὶ εἰς τάξιν ἀγαγὼν τὸ πολίτευμα, κατέθετο τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ δέκα ἐπεβίω ἄλλα. καὶ χώραν αὐτῷ ἀπένειμαν οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι· ὁ δὲ ἱερὰν ἀνέκεν, ἧτις νῦν Πιττάκειος καλεῖται. Σωσικράτης δὲ φησιν ὅτι ὀλίγον ἀποτεμέμενος ἔφη τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ παντὸς πλεῖον εἶναι. ἀλλὰ καὶ Κροίσου διδόντος χρήματα οὐκ ἐδέξατο, εἰπὼν ἔχειν ὧν ἐβούλετο διπλάσια· ἄπαιδος γὰρ τὰδελφοῦ τελευτήσαντος κεκληρονομηκέαι.

76 Παμφίλῃ δὲ φησιν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Ὑπομνημάτων, ὡς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Τυρραῖον καθήμενον ἐπὶ κουρείου ἐν Κύμῃ χαλκεὺς τις πέλεκυν ἐμβαλὼν ἀνέλοι. τῶν δὲ Κυμαίων πεμφάντων τὸν φονέα τῷ Πιττακῷ, μαθόντα καὶ ἀπολύσαντα εἰπεῖν, "συγγνώμῃ μετανοίας κρείσσων." Ἡράκλειτος δὲ

Melanchrus, tyrant of Lesbos; and in the war between Mitylene and Athens for the territory of Achileis he himself had the chief command on the one side, and Phrynon, who had won an Olympic victory in the pancratium, commanded the Athenians. Pittacus agreed to meet him in single combat; with a net which he concealed beneath his shield he entangled Phrynon, killed him, and recovered the territory. Subsequently, as Apollodorus states in his *Chronology*, Athens and Mitylene referred their claims to arbitration. Periander heard the appeal and gave judgement in favour of Athens.

At the time, however, the people of Mitylene honoured Pittacus extravagantly and entrusted him with the government. He ruled for ten years and brought the constitution into order, and then laid down his office. He lived another ten years after his abdication and received from the people of Mitylene a grant of land, which he dedicated as sacred domain; and it bears his name to this day. Sosicrates relates that he cut off a small portion for himself and pronounced the half to be more than the whole. Furthermore, he declined an offer of money made him by Croesus, saying that he had twice as much as he wanted; for his brother had died without issue and he had inherited his estate.

Pamphila in the second book of her *Memorabilia* narrates that, as his son Tyrraeus sat in a barber's shop in Cyme, a smith killed him with a blow from an axe. When the people of Cyme sent the murderer to Pittacus, he, on learning the story, set him at liberty and declared that "It is better to pardon now than to repent later." Heraclitus, however, says

φησιν, Ἄλκαϊον ὑποχείριον λαβόντα καὶ ἀπο-  
 λύσαντα φάναι, “ συγγνώμη τιμωρίας κρείσσων.”

Νόμους δὲ ἔθηκε· τῷ μεθύοντι, ἐὰν ἀμάρτη,  
 διπλὴν εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν· ἵνα μὴ μεθύωσι, πολλοῦ  
 κατὰ τὴν νῆσον οἴνου γινομένου. εἰπέ τε “ χαλεπὸν  
 ἐσθλὸν ἔμμεναι.” οὐ καὶ Σιμωνίδης μέμνηται  
 λέγων· “ ἀνδρ’ ἀγαθὸν ἀλαθέως γενέσθαι χαλεπὸν,  
 71 τὸ Πιττάκειον.” μέμνηται αὐτοῦ καὶ Πλάτων ἐν  
 Πρωταγόρᾳ· “ ἀνάγκη δ’ οὐδὲ θεοὶ μάχονται.” καὶ  
 “ ἀρχὴ ἀνδρα δείκνυσιν.” ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ ποτε τί  
 ἄριστον, “ τὸ παρὸν εὖ ποιεῖν.” καὶ ὑπὸ Κροίσου τίς  
 ἀρχὴ μεγίστη, “ ἡ τοῦ ποικίλου,” ἔφη, “ ξύλου,”  
 σημαίνων τὸν νόμον. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ τὰς νίκας ἀνευ  
 αἵματος ποιεῖσθαι. ἔφη δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Φωκαϊκὸν  
 φάσκοντα δεῖν ζητεῖν ἄνθρωπον σπουδαῖον, “ ἄν-  
 λίαν,” ἔφη, “ ζήτησ, οὐχ εὐρήσεις.” καὶ πρὸς  
 τοὺς πυνθανομένους τί εὐχάριστον, “ χρόνος,” ἔφη·  
 ἀφανές, “ τὸ μέλλον.” πιστόν, “ γῆ.” ἀπιστον,  
 “ θάλασσα.” ἔλεγε τε συνετῶν ἀνδρῶν, πρὶν γενέ-  
 78 σθαι τὰ δυσχερῆ, προνοῆσαι ὅπως μὴ γένηται·  
 ἀνδρείων δέ, γενόμενα εὖ θέσθαι. ὁ μέλλεις  
 πράττειν, μὴ πρόλεγε· ἀποτυχῶν γὰρ γελασθήσῃ.  
 ἀτυχίαν μὴ ὀνειδιῆναι, νέμεσιν αἰδοῦμενον. παρα-  
 καταθήκεν λαβόντα ἀποδοῦναι. φίλον μὴ λέγειν  
 κακῶς, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐχθρόν. εὐσέβειαν ἀσκεῖν.  
 σωφροσύνην φιλεῖν. ἀλήθειαν ἔχειν, πίστιν, ἐμπει-  
 ρίαν, ἐπιδεξιότητα, ἑταιρίαν, ἐπιμέλειαν.

that it was Alcaeus whom he set at liberty when he  
 had got him in his power, and that what he said  
 was : “ Mercy is better than vengeance.”

Among the laws which he made is one providing  
 that for any offence committed in a state of intoxica-  
 tion the penalty should be doubled ; his object was  
 to discourage drunkenness, wine being abundant in  
 the island. One of his sayings is, “ It is hard to be  
 good,” which is cited by Simonides in this form :  
 “ Pittacus’s maxim, ‘ Truly to become a virtuous man  
 is hard.’ ” Plato also cites him in the *Protagoras* :  
 “ Even the gods do not fight against necessity.”  
 Again, “ Office shows the man.” Once, when asked  
 what is the best thing, he replied, “ To do well  
 the work in hand.” And, when Croesus inquired  
 what is the best rule, he answered, “ The rule of the  
 shifting wood,” by which he meant the law. He  
 also urged men to win bloodless victories. When  
 the Phocæan said that we must search for a good  
 man, Pittacus rejoined, “ If you seek too carefully,  
 you will never find him.” He answered various  
 inquiries thus : “ What is agreeable ? ” “ Time.”  
 “ Obscure ? ” “ The future.” “ Trustworthy ? ”  
 “ The earth.” “ Untrustworthy ? ” “ The sea.”  
 “ It is the part of prudent men,” he said, “ before  
 difficulties arise, to provide against their arising ;  
 and of courageous men to deal with them when they  
 have arisen.” Do not announce your plans before-  
 hand ; for, if they fail, you will be laughed at. Never  
 reproach any one with a misfortune, for fear of  
 Nemesis. Duly restore what has been entrusted to  
 you. Speak no ill of a friend, nor even of an enemy.  
 Practise piety. Love temperance. Cherish truth,  
 fidelity, skill, cleverness, sociability, carefulness.

Τῶν δὲ ᾗδομένων αὐτοῦ μάλιστα εὐδοκίμησε  
τάδε·

ἔχοντα χρή τόξα καὶ ἰοδόκον φαρέτρην  
στείχειν ποτὶ φῶτα κακόν.  
πιστὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν γλώσσα διὰ στόματος  
λαλεῖ διχόθυμον ἔχουσα  
κραδίῃ νόημα.

79 ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ἐλεγεία ἔπη ἑξακόσια, καὶ ὑπὲρ  
νόμων καταλογάδην τοῖς πολίταις.

Ἦκμαζε μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν δευ-  
τέραν Ὀλυμπιάδα· ἐτελεύτησε δ' ἐπὶ Ἀριστομένους  
τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει τῆς πενηκοστῆς δευτέρας Ὀλυμ-  
πιάδος, βίου ὑπὲρ ἑτῆς ἑβδομήκοντα, [ἤδη γηραιός].  
καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ μνήματος ἐπιγέγραπται τόδε·

οἰκίους δακρύοις ἄ γειναμένα κατακλαίει  
Πιττακὸν ἧδ' ἱερὰ Λέσβος ἀποφθίμενον.

ἀπόφθεγμα αὐτοῦ· καιρὸν γινῶθι.

Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἕτερος Πιττακὸς νομοθέτης, ὡς  
φησι Φαβωρίνος ἐν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων πρώτῳ καὶ  
Δημήτριος ἐν Ὁμωνύμοις, ὃς καὶ μικρὸς προσ-  
ηγορεύθη.

Τὸν δ' οὖν σοφὸν λέγεται ποτε νεανίσκῳ συμ-  
βουλευομένῳ περὶ γάμου ταῦτα εἰπεῖν, ἃ φησι  
Καλλιμάχος ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασι·

80 ξείνος Ἀταρνεΐτης τις ἀνῆρετο Πιττακὸν οὕτω  
τὸν Μυτιληναῖον, παῖδα τὸν Ὑρραδίου·  
ἄττα γέρον, δοῖός με καλεῖ γάμος· ἡ μία μὲν δὴ  
νύμφη καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ γενεῇ κατ' ἐμέ·  
ἡ δ' ἑτέρα προβέβηκε. τί λῴϊον; εἰ δ' ἄγε σὺν μοι  
βούλευσον, ποτέρῃ εἰς ὑμέναιον ἄγω.

Of his songs the most popular is this :

With bow and well-stored quiver  
We must march against our foe,  
Words of his tongue can no man trust,  
For in his heart there is a deceitful thought.

He also wrote poems in elegiac metre, some 600  
lines, and a prose work *On Laws* for the use of the  
citizens.

He was flourishing about the 42nd Olympiad. He  
died in the archonship of Aristomenes, in the third  
year of the 52nd Olympiad,<sup>a</sup> having lived more than  
seventy years, to a good old age. The inscription  
on his monument runs thus <sup>b</sup> :

Here holy Lesbos, with a mother's woe,  
Bewails her Pittacus whom death laid low.

To him belongs the apophthegm, "Know thine oppor-  
tunity."

There was another Pittacus, a legislator, as is  
stated by Favorinus in the first book of his *Memora-  
bilia*, and by Demetrius in his work on *Men of the  
Same Name*. He was called the Less.

To return to the Sage : the story goes that a  
young man took counsel with him about marriage,  
and received this answer, as given by Callimachus  
in his Epigrams <sup>c</sup> :

A stranger of Atarneus thus inquired of Pittacus, the son  
of Hyrrhadius :  
Old sire, two offers of marriage are made to me ; the one  
bride is in wealth and birth my equal ;  
The other is my superior. Which is the better ? Come now  
and advise me which of the two I shall wed.

<sup>a</sup> 570 B.C.

<sup>b</sup> *Anth. Plan.* ii. 3.

<sup>c</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 89.

εἶπεν· ὁ δὲ σκίπωνα, γεροντικὸν ὄπλον, αἶρας,  
ἦνιδε, κείνοί σοι πᾶν ἐρέουσιν ἔπος.  
οἱ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὸ πληγῇσι θοὰς βέμβικας ἔχοντες  
ἔστρεφον εὐρείῃ παῖδες ἐνὶ τριόδῳ.  
κείνων ἔρχεο, φησί, μετ' ἵχνια. χῶ μὲν ἐπέστη  
πλησίον· οἱ δ' ἔλεγον· τὴν κατὰ σαυτὸν ἔλα.  
ταῦτ' αὖτων ὁ ξείνος ἐφείσατο μείζονος οἴκου  
δράξασθαι, παίδων κληδὸνα<sup>1</sup> συνθέμενος.  
τὴν δ' ὀλίγην ὡς κείνος ἐς οἶκίον ἤγετο νύμφην.  
οὕτω καὶ σύ, Δίῳ, τὴν κατὰ σαυτὸν ἔλα.

81 δοκεῖ δ' ἐκ διαθέσεως αὐτὰ εἰρηκέναι. εὐ-  
γενεστέρα γὰρ αὐτῷ οὐσα ἢ γυνή, ἐπειδήπερ ἦν  
Δράκοντος ἀδελφὴ τοῦ Πενθίλου, σφόδρα κατ-  
εσοβαρεύετο αὐτοῦ.

Τούτων Ἀλκαῖος σαράποδα μὲν καὶ σάραπον  
ἀποκαλεῖ διὰ τὸ πλατύπουν εἶναι καὶ ἐπισύρειν  
τῷ πόδε· χειροπόδην δὲ διὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ποσὶ  
ράγδας, ὥς χειράδας ἐκάλουν· γαύρηκα δὲ ὡς  
εἰκὴ γαυριῶντα· φύσκωνα δὲ καὶ γάστρωντα ὅτι  
παχὺς ἦν· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ζοφοδορπίδαν ὡς ἄλυχον·  
ἀγάσγρτον δὲ ὡς ἐπισεσυρμένον καὶ ῥυπαρόν.  
τούτῳ γυμνασία ἦν σίτον ἀλείν, ὡς φησι Κλέαρχος  
ὁ φιλόσοφος.

Καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἐπιστόλιον τοιόνδε·

Πιττακὸς Κροίσῳ

“Κελεαί με ἰκνέεσθαι ἐς Λυδίην, ὅπως σοι τὸν  
ὄλβον ἴδοιμι· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ μὴ ὀρεῖς πέπεισμαι τὸν  
Ἀλυάττεω παῖδα τῶν βασιλῆων πολυχρυσότατον  
πέλειν. οὐδέν τε πλεόν ἄμμιν ἰκομένοις ἐς Σάρδεις·

<sup>1</sup> κληδόνι vulg.

So spake he. But Pittacus, raising his staff, an old man's  
weapon, said, “ See there, yonder boys will tell you the  
whole tale.”

The boys were whipping their tops to make them go fast  
and spinning them in a wide open space.

“ Follow in their track,” said he. So he approached near,  
and the boys were saying, “ Keep to your own sphere.”

When he heard this, the stranger desisted from aiming at  
the lordlier match, assenting to the warning of the boys.

And, even as he led home the humble bride, so do you,  
Dion, keep to your own sphere.

The advice seems to have been prompted by his  
situation. For he had married a wife superior in  
birth to himself: she was the sister of Draco, the  
son of Penthilus, and she treated him with great  
haughtiness.

Alcaeus nicknamed him *σαράπους* and *σάραπος*  
because he had flat feet and dragged them in walk-  
ing; also “ Chilblains,” because he had chapped feet,  
for which their word was *χειράς*; and Braggadocio,  
because he was always swaggering; Paunch and  
Potbelly, because he was stout; a Diner-in-the-Dark,  
because he dispensed with a lamp; and the Sloven,  
because he was untidy and dirty. The exercise he  
took was grinding corn, as related by Clearchus the  
philosopher.

The following short letter is ascribed to him:

*Pittacus to Croesus*

“ You bid me come to Lydia in order to see your  
prosperity: but without seeing it I can well believe  
that the son of Alyattes is the most opulent of kings.  
There will be no advantage to me in a journey to



χρυσοῦ γὰρ οὐ δεύμεθα, ἀλλὰ πέπαμαι ἄρκια καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐτάροις. ἔμπας δ' ἴξομαι, ὡς ἀνδρὶ ξείνῳ γενοίμην τοι συνόμιλος."

Κεφ. ε'. ΒΙΑΣ

<sup>82</sup> Βίας Τευτάμου Πριηνεύς, προκεκριμένος τῶν ἑπτὰ ὑπὸ Σατύρου. τοῦτον οἱ μὲν πλούσιον, Δοῦρις δὲ πάροικόν φησι γεγονέναι. Φανόδικος δὲ κόρας αἰχμαλώτους λυτρωσάμενον Μεσσηνίας θρέψαι τε ὡς θυγατέρας καὶ προίκας ἐπιδοῦναι καὶ εἰς τὴν Μεσσήνην ἀποστεῖλαι τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν. χρόνῳ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις, ὡς προείρηται, τοῦ τρίποδος εὐρεθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλιέων, τοῦ χαλκοῦ, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντος "τῷ σοφῷ," Σάτυρος μὲν φησι παρελθεῖν τὰς κόρας—οἱ δὲ τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ Φανόδικος—εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ εἰπεῖν τὸν Βίαντα σοφόν, διηγησαμένους τὰ καθ' ἑαυτάς. καὶ ἀπεστάλη ὁ τρίπους· καὶ ὁ Βίας ἰδὼν ἔφη τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα σοφόν εἶναι, οὐδὲ <sup>83</sup> προσήκατο. οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν ἐν Θήβαις τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ αὐτὸν ἀναθεῖναι, ἐπεὶ ἀπόγονος ἦν Θηβαίων ἀποικίαν εἰς Πριήνην στείλάντων, ὥσπερ καὶ Φανόδικός φησι.

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀλυάττου πολιορκουόντος Πριήνην τὸν Βίαντα πῆνυοντα δύο ἡμιόλους ἐξελάσαι εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον· τὸν δὲ συνιδόντα καταπλαγῆναι τὸ μέχρι καὶ ἀλόγων διατείνειν αὐτῶν τὴν εὐθενίαν. καὶ ἐβουλήθη σπείσασθαι,

Sardis, for I am not in want of money, and my possessions are sufficient for my friends as well as myself. Nevertheless, I will come, to be entertained by you and to make your acquaintance."

CHAPTER 5. BIAS (c. 570 B.C.)

Bias, the son of Teutames, was born at Priene, and by Satyrus is placed at the head of the Seven Sages. Some make him of a wealthy family, but Duris says he was a labourer living in the house. Phanodocus relates that he ransomed certain Messenian maidens captured in war and brought them up as his daughters, gave them dowries, and restored them to their fathers in Messenia. In course of time, as has been already related, the bronze tripod with the inscription "To him that is wise" having been found at Athens by the fishermen, the maidens according to Satyrus, or their father according to other accounts, including that of Phanodocus, came forward into the assembly and, after the recital of their own adventures, pronounced Bias to be wise. And thereupon the tripod was dispatched to him; but Bias, on seeing it, declared that Apollo was wise, and refused to take the tripod. But others say that he dedicated it to Heracles in Thebes, since he was a descendant of the Thebans who had founded a colony at Priene; and this is the version of Phanodocus.

A story is told that, while Alyattes was besieging Priene, Bias fattened two mules and drove them into the camp, and that the king, when he saw them, was amazed at the good condition of the citizens actually extending to their beasts of burden. And he decided

καὶ εἰσέπεμψεν ἄγγελον. Βίας δὲ σωροὺς ψάμμου χέας καὶ ἄνωθεν σίτον περιχέας ἔδειξε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ· καὶ τέλος μαθὼν ὁ Ἀλυάττης εἰρήνην ἐσπέισατο πρὸς τοὺς Πριηνέας. θάπτου δ' αὐτῷ πέμψαντι πρὸς τὸν Βιάντα ἵνα ἤκοι παρ' αὐτόν, "ἐγὼ δέ," φησὶν, "Ἀλυάττη κελεύω  
 84 κρόμμνα ἐσθίειν, [ἴσον τῷ κλαίειν]." λέγεται δὲ καὶ δίκας δεινότητος γεγονέναι εἰπεῖν. ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ μέντοι τῇ τῶν λόγων ἰσχυρῇ προσεχρήτο. ὅθεν καὶ Δημόδικος ὁ Λέριος τοῦτο αἰνίττεται λέγων·

ἦν τύχης κρίνων δικάζου τὴν Πριηνίην δίκην·

καὶ Ἰππῶναξ· "ἂ καὶ δικάζεσθαι Βιάντος τοῦ Πριηνέως κρεῖσσον."

Τοῦτον οὖν καὶ ἐτελεύτα τὸν τρόπον. δίκην γὰρ ὑπὲρ τινος λέξας ἤδη ὑπὲρ γῆρας ὑπάρχων, μετὰ τὸ καταπαῦσαι τὸν λόγον ἀπέκλινε τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς τοὺς τοῦ τῆς θυγατρὸς υἱοῦ κόλπους· εἰπόντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἐξ ἐναντίας καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν τὴν ψῆφον ἐνεγκόντων τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Βιάντος βοηθουμένῳ, λυθέντος τοῦ δικαστηρίου νεκρὸς ἐν  
 85 τοῖς κόλποις εὑρέθη. καὶ αὐτὸν μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἔθαψεν ἡ πόλις, καὶ ἐπέγραψαν·

κλεινοῖς ἐν δαπέδοισι Πριήνης φύντα καλύπτει  
 ἦδε Βιάντα πέτρη, κόσμον Ἰωσι μέγαν.

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς·

τῇδε Βιάντα κέκευθα, τὸν ἀτρέμας ἥγαγεν Ἑρμῆς  
 εἰς Ἀἶδην, πολὺ γῆραϊ νυφόμενον.  
 εἶπε γάρ, εἶπε δίκην ἐτάρου τινός· εἶτ' ἀποκλινθεὶς  
 παιδὸς ἐς ἀγκαλίδας μακρὸν ἔτεινεν ὕπνον.

to make terms and sent a messenger. But Bias piled up heaps of sand with a layer of corn on the top, and showed them to the man, and finally, on being informed of this, Alyattes made a treaty of peace with the people of Priene. Soon afterwards, when Alyattes sent to invite Bias to his court, he replied, "Tell Alyattes, from me, to make his diet of onions," that is, to weep. It is also stated that he was a very effective pleader; but he was accustomed to use his powers of speech to a good end. Hence it is to this that Demodicus of Leros makes reference in the line :

If you happen to be prosecuting a suit, plead as they do at Priene;

and Hipponax thus : "More powerful in pleading causes than Bias of Priene." <sup>a</sup>

This was the manner of his death. He had been pleading in defence of some client in spite of his great age. When he had finished speaking, he reclined his head on his grandson's bosom. The opposing counsel made a speech, the judges voted and gave their verdict in favour of the client of Bias, who, when the court rose, was found dead in his grandson's arms. The city gave him a magnificent funeral and inscribed on his tomb <sup>b</sup> :

Here Bias of Priene lies, whose name  
 Brought to his home and all Ionia fame.

My own epitaph is <sup>c</sup> :

Here Bias rests. A quiet death laid low  
 The aged head which years had strewn with snow.  
 His pleading done, his friend preserved from harms,  
 A long sleep took him in his grandson's arms.

<sup>a</sup> P. 79 Bergk; Strabo xiv. p. 636.  
<sup>b</sup> Anth. Pal. vii. 90.      <sup>c</sup> Anth. Pal. vii. 91.

Ἐποίησε δὲ περὶ Ἰωνίας, τίνα μάλιστα ἂν τρόπον  
εὐδαιμονοίη, εἰς ἔπη δισχίλια. τῶν δὲ ἄδομένων  
αὐτοῦ εὐδοκίμησε τάδε·

ἀστοίοισιν ἄρεσκε πᾶσιν. ἐν πόλει\* αἶκε μένης·  
πλείστην γὰρ ἔχει χάριν· αὐθάδης δὲ τρόπος πολλάκι  
βλαβερὰν ἐξέλαμψεν ἅταν.

86 καὶ τὸ μὲν ἰσχυρὸν γενέσθαι τῆς φύσεως  
ἔργον· τὸ δὲ λέγειν δύνασθαι τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ  
πατρίδι ψυχῆς ἴδιον καὶ φρονήσεως. εὐπορίαν  
δὲ χρημάτων πολλοῖς καὶ διὰ τύχην περιγίνεσθαι.  
ἔλεγε δὲ ἀτυχῇ εἶναι τὸν ἀτυχίαν μὴ φέροντα·  
καὶ νόσον ψυχῆς τὸ τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἐρᾶν, ἄλλοτριων  
δὲ κακῶν ἀμνημόνευτον εἶναι. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί  
δυσχερές, τὴν “ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον,” ἔφη, “μεταβολὴν  
εὐγενῶς ἐνεγκεῖν.” συμπλέων ποτὲ ἀσεβεῖς, χει-  
μαζομένης τῆς νεῶς κἀκεῖνων τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπι-  
καλουμένων, “σιγᾶτε,” ἔφη, “μὴ αἰσθωνται ὑμᾶς  
ἐνθάδε πλέοντας.” ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ ἀσεβοῦς ἀνθρώ-  
που τί ποτέ ἐστιν εὐσέβεια, εἰσίγα. τοῦ δὲ τὴν  
αἰτίαν τῆς σιγῆς πυθομένου, “σιωπῶ,” ἔφη, “ὅτι  
περὶ τῶν οὐδέν σοι προσηκόντων πυνθάνη.”

87 Ἐρωτηθεὶς τί γλυκὺ ἀνθρώποις, “ἐλπίς,” ἔφη.  
ἥδιον ἔλεγε δικάζειν μεταξὺ ἐχθρῶν ἢ φίλων· τῶν  
μὲν γὰρ φίλων πάντως ἐχθρὸν ἔσθαι τὸν ἕτερον,  
τῶν δὲ ἐχθρῶν τὸν ἕτερον φίλον. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί  
ποιῶν ἀνθρωπος τέρπεται, ἔφη, “κερδαίνων.”

He wrote a poem of 2000 lines on Ionia and the  
manner of rendering it prosperous. Of his songs the  
most popular is the following :

Find favour with all the citizens . . .

. . . in whatever state you dwell.

For this earns most gratitude ;

the headstrong spirit often flashes forth with harmful bane.

The growth of strength in man is nature's work ;  
but to set forth in speech the interests of one's  
country is the gift of soul and reason. Even chance  
brings abundance of wealth to many. He also  
said that he who could not bear misfortune was  
truly unfortunate ; that it is a disease of the soul to  
be enamoured of things impossible of attainment ;  
and that we ought not to dwell upon the woes of  
others. Being asked what is difficult, he replied,  
“Nobly to endure a change for the worse.” He  
was once on a voyage with some impious men ; and,  
when a storm was encountered, even they began to  
call upon the gods for help. “Peace !” said he,  
“lest they hear and become aware that you are here  
in the ship.” When an impious man asked him to  
define piety, he was silent ; and when the other  
inquired the reason, “I am silent,” he replied,  
“because you are asking questions about what does  
not concern you.”

Being asked “What is sweet to men,” he  
answered, “Hope.” He said he would rather  
decide a dispute between two of his enemies than  
between two of his friends ; for in the latter case  
he would be certain to make one of his friends  
his enemy, but in the former case he would make  
one of his enemies his friend. Asked what occupa-  
tion gives a man most pleasure, he replied, “Making

ἔλεγέ τε τὸν βίον οὕτω μετρεῖν ὥς καὶ πολὺν καὶ ὀλίγον χρόνον βιωσομένους, καὶ φιλεῖν ὥς μισή-  
 σοντας· τοὺς γὰρ πλείστους εἶναι κακοὺς. συν-  
 εβούλευέ τε ὦδε· βραδέως ἐγγχείρει τοῖς πραττο-  
 μένοις· ὁ δ' ἂν ἔλῃ, βεβαίως τηρῶν διάμενε. μὴ  
 88 ταχὺ λάλει· μανίαν γὰρ ἐμφαίνει. φρόνησιν ἀγάπα.  
 περὶ θεῶν λέγε, ὥς εἰσὶν. ἀνάξιον ἄνδρα μὴ  
 ἐπαίνει διὰ πλοῦτον. πείσας λαβέ, μὴ βιασά-  
 μενος. ὁ τι ἂν ἀγαθὸν πράττης, εἰς θεοὺς ἀνα-  
 πεμπε. ἐφόδιον ἀπὸ νεότητος εἰς γῆρας ἀνα-  
 λάμβανε σοφίαν· βεβαίωτερον γὰρ τοῦτο τῶν  
 ἄλλων κτημάτων.

Μέμνηται τοῦ Βιάντος καὶ Ἰππῶναξ, ὡς προ-  
 εῖρηται, καὶ ὁ δυσάρεστος Ἡράκλειτος μάλιστα  
 αὐτὸν ἐπήνεσε γράφας· “ἐν Πριήνῃ Βίας ἐγένετο  
 ὁ Τευτάμεω, οὗ πλέων λόγος ἢ τῶν ἄλλων.” καὶ  
 οἱ Πριηνεῖς δὲ αὐτῷ τέμενος καθιέρωσαν τὸ  
 Τευτάμειον λεγόμενον. ἀπεφθέγξατο· οἱ πλεῖ-  
 στοι κακοί.

Κεφ. 5'. ΚΛΕΟΒΟΥΛΟΣ

89 Κλεόβουλος Εὐαγόρου Λίνδιος, ὡς δὲ Δοῦρις,  
 Κάρ· ἐνιοὶ δὲ εἰς Ἡρακλέα ἀναφέρειν τὸ γένος  
 αὐτόν· ῥώμῃ δὲ καὶ κάλλει διαφέρειν, μετασχεῖν τε  
 τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ φιλοσοφίας. γενέσθαι τε αὐτῷ  
 θυγατέρα Κλεοβουλίνην, αἰνυγμάτων ἐξαμέτρων  
 ποιήτριαν, ἧς μέμνηται καὶ Κρατῖνος ἐν τῷ ὁμω-  
 νύμῳ δράματι, πληθυντικῶς ἐπιγράφας. ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀνανεώσασθαι αὐτὸν κτισθέν  
 90

money.” He advised men to measure life as if they  
 had both a short and a long time to live; to love  
 their friends as if they would some day hate them,  
 the majority of mankind being bad. Further, he  
 gave this advice: Be slow to set about an enter-  
 prise, but persevere in it steadfastly when once it is  
 undertaken. Do not be hasty of speech, for that  
 is a sign of madness. Cherish wisdom. Admit the  
 existence of the gods. If a man is unworthy, do not  
 praise him because of his wealth. Gain your point  
 by persuasion, not by force. Ascribe your good  
 actions to the gods. Make wisdom your provision  
 for the journey from youth to old age; for it is a  
 more certain support than all other possessions.

Bias is mentioned by Hipponax as stated above,  
 and Heraclitus, who is hard to please, bestows upon  
 him especial praise in these words: “In Priene  
 lived Bias, son of Teutames, a man of more considera-  
 tion than any.” And the people of Priene dedicated  
 a precinct to him, which is called the Teutameum  
 His apophthegm is: Most men are bad.

CHAPTER 6 CLEOBULUS (c 600 B.C.)

Cleobulus, the son of Euagoras, was born at Lindus,  
 but according to Duris he was a Carian. Some say  
 that he traced his descent back to Heracles, that he  
 was distinguished for strength and beauty, and was  
 acquainted with Egyptian philosophy. He had a  
 daughter Cleobuline, who composed riddles in hexa-  
 meters; she is mentioned by Cratinus, who gives  
 one of his plays her name, in the plural form  
 Cleobulinae. He is also said to have rebuilt the  
 temple of Athena which was founded by Danaus.

\* P. 39 D, 112 B.

ὑπὸ Δαναοῦ. οὗτος ἐποίησεν ᾄσματα καὶ γρίφους  
εἰς ἔπη τρισχίλια.

Καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τινες τὸ ἐπὶ Μίδα τοῦτόν  
φασι ποιῆσαι·

χαλκῇ παρθένος εἰμί, Μίδα δ' ἐπὶ σήματι κείμεναι.  
90 ἔστ' ἂν ὕδωρ τε νάη καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ τεθήλη,  
ἡέλιός τ' ἀνιὼν λάμπη, λαμπρά τε σελήνη,  
καὶ ποταμοὶ γε ῥέωσιν, ἀνακλύζῃ δὲ θάλασσα,  
αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένουσα πολυκλαύτῳ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ,  
ἀγγελέω παριούσι, Μίδας ὅτι τῇδε τέθαπται.

φέρουσι δὲ μαρτύριον Σιμωνίδου ᾄσμα, ὅπου φησὶ

τίς κεν αἰνήσειε νόμῳ πίσυνος  
Λίνδου ναέταν Κλεόβουλον  
ἀενάοις ποταμοῖς  
ἀνθεσὶ τ' εἰαρινοῖς  
ἁελίου τε φλογὶ χρυσέας τε σελάνας  
καὶ θαλασσαίαισι δίνης  
ἀντιθέντα μένος στάλας;  
ἅπαντα γάρ ἐστι θεῶν ἥσσω· λίθον δὲ  
καὶ βρότεσι παλάμαι θραύοντι· μωροῦ  
φωτὸς ἄδε βουλά.

οὐ γὰρ εἶναι Ὀμήρου τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, πολλοῖς ἔτεσι  
προέχοντος, φασί, τοῦ Μίδα.

Φέρεται δ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς Παμφίλης Ὑπομνήμασι  
καὶ αἰνίγμα τοῖον·

91 εἷς ὁ πατήρ, παῖδες δυοκαίδεκα. τῶν δὲ ἐκάστω  
παῖδες δις τριάκοντα διάνδιχα εἶδος ἔχουσαι·  
αἱ μὲν λευκαὶ ἔασιν ἰδεῖν, αἱ δ' αὖτε μέλαιναι·  
ἀθάνατοι δὲ τ' εἶναι, ἀποφθινύθουσιν ἅπασαι.

ἔστι δὲ ὁ ἐνιαυτός.

He was the author of songs and riddles, making some  
3000 lines in all.

The inscription on the tomb of Midas is said by  
some to be his <sup>a</sup> :

I am a maiden of bronze and I rest upon Midas's tomb.  
So long as water shall flow and tall trees grow, and the sun  
shall rise and shine, and the bright moon, and rivers shall  
run and the sea wash the shore, here abiding on his tear-  
sprinkled tomb I shall tell the passers-by—Midas is buried  
here.

The evidence they adduce is a poem of Simonides  
in which he says <sup>b</sup> :

Who, if he trusts his wits, will praise Cleobulus the dweller  
at Lindus for opposing the strength of a column to ever-  
flowing rivers, the flowers of spring, the flame of the sun,  
and the golden moon and the eddies of the sea? But all  
things fall short of the might of the gods; even mortal  
hands break marble in pieces; this is a fool's devising.

The inscription cannot be by Homer, because he  
lived, they say, long before Midas.

The following riddle of Cleobulus is preserved in  
Pamphila's collection <sup>c</sup> :

One sire there is, he has twelve sons, and each of these  
has twice thirty daughters different in feature; some of the  
daughters are white, the others again are black; they are  
immortal, and yet they all die.

And the answer is, "The year."

<sup>a</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 153.

<sup>b</sup> *Fr.* 57 Bergk.

<sup>c</sup> *Anth. Pal.* xiv. 101; *Stob. Ecl. Phys.* i. 99. 15 W.

Τῶν δὲ ᾄδομένων αὐτοῦ εὐδοκίμησε τάδε·  
 Ἀμουσία τὸ πλέον μέρος ἐν βροτοῖσι, λόγων τε  
 πλήθος· ἀλλ' ὁ καιρὸς ἀρκέσει. φρόνει τι κεδνόν.  
 μὴ μάταιος ἄχαρις γινέσθω. ἔφη δὲ δεῖν συνοι-  
 κίζειν τὰς θυγατέρας, παρθένους μὲν τὴν ἡλικίαν,  
 τὸ δὲ φρονεῖν γυναῖκας· ὑποδεικνύς ὅτι δεῖ παιδεύε-  
 σθαι καὶ τὰς παρθένους. ἔλεγέ τε τὸν φίλον δεῖν  
 εὐεργετεῖν, ὅπως μᾶλλον ἢ φίλος· τὸν δὲ ἐχθρόν  
 φίλον ποιεῖν. φυλάσσεσθαι γὰρ τῶν μὲν φίλων  
 92 τὸν φόγον, τῶν δὲ ἐχθρῶν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν. καὶ ὅταν  
 τις ἐξίῃ τῆς οἰκίας, ζητεῖται πρότερον τί μέλλει  
 πράσσειν· καὶ ὅταν εἰσέλθῃ πάλιν, ζητεῖται τί  
 ἐπραξε. συνεβουλεύε· τε εὖ τὸ σῶμα ἀσκεῖν·  
 φιλήκοον εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόλαλον· [φιλομαθῇ  
 μᾶλλον ἢ ἀμαθῇ·] γλῶσσαν εὐφημον ἴσχειν· ἀρετῆς  
 οἰκεῖον εἶναι, κακίας ἀλλότριον· ἀδικίαν φεύγειν·  
 πόλει τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλευεῖν· ἡδονῆς κρατεῖν·  
 βία μὴδὲν πράττειν· τέκνα παιδεύειν· ἐχθρὰν  
 διαλύειν. γυναικὶ μὴ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι, μὴδὲ μάχε-  
 σθαι, ἀλλοτρίων παρόντων· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄνοιαν, τὸ  
 δὲ μανίαν σημαίνειν. οἰκέτην παρ' οἶνον μὴ  
 κολάζειν, δοκεῖν γὰρ ἂν παρωινεῖν. γαμῖν ἐκ τῶν  
 ὁμοίων· ἂν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν κρειττόνων λάβῃς, φησί,  
 93 δεσπότας κτήσῃ τοὺς συγγενέας. μὴ ἐπεγγελαῖν  
 τοῖς σκωπτομένοις· ἀπεχθήσεσθαι γὰρ τούτοις.  
 εὐτυχῶν μὴ ἴσθι ὑπερήφανος· ἀπορήσας μὴ ταπει-  
 νοῦ. τὰς μεταβολὰς τῆς τύχης γενναίως ἐπίστασο  
 φέρειν.

\* These moral precepts are similar to those of Stobaeus in the *Florilegium*, e.g. i. 172.

Of his songs the most popular are : It is want of taste that reigns most widely among mortals and multitude of words ; but due season will serve. Set your mind on something good. Do not become thoughtless or rude. He said that we ought to give our daughters to their husbands maidens in years but women in wisdom ; thus signifying that girls need to be educated as well as boys. Further, that we should render a service to a friend to bind him closer to us, and to an enemy in order to make a friend of him. For we have to guard against the censure of friends and the intrigues of enemies. When anyone leaves his house, let him first inquire what he means to do ; and on his return let him ask himself what he has effected. Moreover, he advised men to practise bodily exercise ; to be listeners rather than talkers ; to choose instruction rather than ignorance ; to refrain from ill-omened words ; to be friendly to virtue, hostile to vice ; to shun injustice ; to counsel the state for the best ; not to be overcome by pleasure ; to do nothing by violence ; to educate their children ; to put an end to enmity. Avoid being affectionate to your wife, or quarrelling with her, in the presence of strangers ; for the one savours of folly, the other of madness. Never correct a servant over your wine, for you will be thought to be the worse for wine. Mate with one of your own rank ; for if you take a wife who is superior to you, her kinsfolk will become your masters. When men are being bantered, do not laugh at their expense, or you will incur their hatred. Do not be arrogant in prosperity ; if you fall into poverty, do not humble yourself. Know how to bear the changes of fortune with nobility.\*

## DIOGENES LAERTIUS

Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ γηραιός, ἔτη βιούς ἐβδομήκοντα· καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπεγράφη·

ἄνδρα σοφὸν Κλεόβουλον ἀποφθίμενον καταπενθεῖ  
ἦδε πάτρα Λίνδος πόντι ἀγαλλομένη.

Ἀπεφθέξατο· μέτρον ἄριστον. καὶ Σόλωνι  
ἐπέστειλεν οὕτω·

Κλεόβουλος Σόλωνι

“ Πολλοὶ μὲν τιν ἔασιν ἔταροι καὶ οἶκος πάντη·  
φαμί δὲ ἐγὼν ποτανεστάταν ἐσεῖσθαι Σόλωνι τὴν  
Λίνδον δαμοκρατεομένην. καὶ ἡ νῆσος πελαγία,  
ἐνθα οἰκέοντι οὐδὲν δεινὸν ἐκ Πεισιστράτῳ. καὶ  
τοὶ ἔταροι δὲ ἐκάσθθεν πὰρ τὴν βασοῦνται.”

## Κεφ. ζ'. ΠΕΡΙΑΝΔΡΟΣ

94 Περῖανδρος Κυψέλου Κορίνθιος ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν  
Ἑρακλειδῶν γένους. οὗτος γήμας Λυσίδην, ἣν  
αὐτὸς Μελισσαν ἐκάλει, τὴν Προκλέους τοῦ Ἐπι-  
δανυρίων τυράννου καὶ Ἐρισθενείας τῆς Ἀριστο-  
κράτους παιδός, ἀδελφῆς δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου  
θυγατέρα, οἱ σχεδὸν πάσης Ἀρκαδίας ἐπῆρξαν, ὥς  
φησιν Ἑρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἀρχῆς,  
παιδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐποίησε δύο, Κύψελον καὶ Λυκό-  
φρονα· τὸν μὲν νεώτερον συνετόν, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύ-  
τερον ἄφρονα. χρόνῳ δὲ ὑπ' ὀργῆς βαλὼν ὑπο-  
βάθρῳ ἢ λακτίσας τὴν γυναῖκα ἐγκνον οὖσαν ἀπ-  
έκτεινε, πεισθεὶς διαβολαῖς παλλακίδων, ὥς ὕστερον  
ἔκαυσε.

Τὸν τε παῖδα ἀπεκέρυξεν εἰς Κέρκυραν, λυπού-  
96

## I. 93-94. CLEOBULUS—PERIANDER

He died at the ripe age of seventy ; and the in-  
scription over him is <sup>a</sup> :

Here the wise Rhodian, Cleobulus, sleeps,  
And o'er his ashes sea-proud Lindus weeps.

His apophthegm was : Moderation is best. And  
he wrote to Solon the following letter :

*Cleobulus to Solon*

“ You have many friends and a home wherever you  
go ; but the most suitable for Solon will, say I, be  
Lindus, which is governed by a democracy. The  
island lies on the high seas, and one who lives here  
has nothing to fear from Pisistratus. And friends  
from all parts will come to visit you.”

## CHAPTER 7. PERIANDER (tyrant 625-585 B.C.)

Periander, the son of Cypselus, was born at Corinth,  
of the family of the Heraclidae. His wife was  
Lysida, whom he called Melissa. Her father was  
Procles, tyrant of Epidaurus, her mother Eristheneia,  
daughter of Aristocrates and sister of Aristodemus,  
who together reigned over nearly the whole of  
Arcadia, as stated by Heraclides of Pontus in his book  
*On Government*. By her he had two sons, Cypselus  
and Lycophron, the younger a man of intelligence,  
the elder weak in mind. However, after some time,  
in a fit of anger, he killed his wife by throwing  
a footstool at her, or by a kick, when she was preg-  
nant, having been egged on by the slanderous tales  
of concubines, whom he afterwards burnt alive.

When the son whose name was Lycophron grieved

<sup>a</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 618.

95 μενον ἐπὶ τῇ μητρί, ᾧ ὄνομα Λυκόφρων. ἤδη δὲ ἐν γήρᾳ καθεστὼς μετεπέμπετο αὐτὸν ὅπως παραλάβοι τὴν τυραννίδα· ὃν φθάσαντες οἱ Κερκυραῖοι διεχρήσαντο. ὅθεν ὀργισθεὶς ἔπεμψε τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν πρὸς Ἀλυάττην ἐπ' ἑκτομῇ· προσχούσης δὲ τῆς νεῶς Σάμῳ, ἰκετεύσαντες τὴν Ἥραν ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμίων διεσώθησαν.

Καὶ ὃς ἀθυμήσας ἐτελεύτησεν, ἤδη γεγωνὺς ἔτη ὀγδοήκοντα. Σωσικράτης δὲ φησι πρότερον Κροίσου τελευτῆσαι αὐτὸν ἔτει τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἐνί, πρὸ τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς ἐνάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος. τοῦτον Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ξένον φησὶν εἶναι Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ Μιλησίῳ τυράνῳ.

96 Φησὶ δὲ Ἀρίστιππος ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ τάδε, ὡς ἄρα ἐρασθεῖσα ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Κράτεια συνῆν αὐτῷ λάθρα· καὶ ὃς ἤδετο. φανεροῦ δὲ γενομένου βαρὺς πᾶσιν ἐγένετο διὰ τὸ ἀλγεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ φωρᾷ. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἐφορος ἱστορεῖ ὡς εὖξαιτο, εἰ νικήσειεν Ὀλύμπια τεθρίπῳ, χρυσοῦν ἀνδριάντα ἀναθεῖναι. νικήσας δὲ καὶ ἀπορῶν χρυσοῦ, κατὰ τινα ἐορτὴν ἐπιχώριον κεκοσμημένας ἰδὼν τὰς γυναῖκας πάντα ἀφείλετο τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἔπεμψε τὸ ἀνάθημα.

Λέγουσι δὲ τινες ὡς θελήσας αὐτοῦ τὸν τάφον μὴ γνωσθῆναι, τοιοῦτόν τι ἐμηχανήσατο. δυσὶν ἐκέλευσε νεανίσκοις, δείξας τινὰ ὁδόν, ἐξελθεῖν νύκτωρ, καὶ τὸν ἀπαντήσαντα ἀνελεῖν καὶ θάψαι· ἐπειτα βαδίζων ἄλλους τε κατὰ τούτων τέτταρας,

\* 584-580 B.C.

† An unsavoury work by a scandal-monger who, to judge from the fragment of bk. iv., bore a grudge against philosophers, especially Academics: cf. Wilamowitz, *Antigonos von Karystos*, pp. 48 ff.

for his mother, he banished him to Corcyra. And when well advanced in years he sent for his son to be his successor in the tyranny; but the Corcyraeans put him to death before he could set sail. Enraged at this, he dispatched the sons of the Corcyraeans to Alyattes that he might make eunuchs of them; but, when the ship touched at Samos, they took sanctuary in the temple of Hera, and were saved by the Samians.

Periander lost heart and died at the age of eighty. Sosicrates' account is that he died forty-one years before Croesus, just before the 49th Olympiad.<sup>a</sup> Herodotus in his first book says that he was a guest-friend of Thrasylbulus, tyrant of Miletus.

Aristippus in the first book of his work *On the Luxury of the Ancients*<sup>b</sup> accuses him of incest with his own mother Crateia, and adds that, when the fact came to light, he vented his annoyance in indiscriminate severity. Ephorus records his vow that, if he won the victory at Olympia in the chariot-race, he would set up a golden statue. When the victory was won, being in sore straits for gold, he despoiled the women of all the ornaments which he had seen them wearing at some local festival. He was thus enabled to send the votive offering.

There is a story that he did not wish the place where he was buried to be known, and to that end contrived the following device. He ordered two young men to go out at night by a certain road which he pointed out to them; they were to kill the man they met and bury him. He afterwards ordered four more to go in pursuit of the two, kill them and bury them; again, he dispatched a larger



καὶ ἀνελόντας θάψαι· πάλιν τε κατὰ τούτων  
πλείονας. καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸς τοῖς πρώτοις ἐντυχὼν  
ἀνηρέθη. Κορίνθιοι δὲ ἐπὶ τι κενοτάφιον ἐπ-  
έγραψαν αὐτῷ τόδε·

97 πλούτου καὶ σοφίης πρύτανιν πατρίς ἦδε Κόρινθος  
κόλποις ἀγχίαλος γῇ Περίανδρον ἔχει.

ἔστι καὶ ἡμῶν·

μή ποτε λυπήσῃ σε τὸ μή σε τυχεῖν τινος· ἀλλὰ  
τέρπεο πᾶσιν ὁμῶς οἷσι δίδωσι θεός.  
καὶ γὰρ ἀθυμήσας ὁ σοφὸς Περίανδρος ἀπέσβη,  
οὐνεκεν οὐκ ἔτυχεν πρήξιος ἧς ἔθελεν.

Τούτου ἔστι καὶ τὸ Μηδὲν χρημάτων ἔνεκα πράτ-  
τειν· δεῖν γὰρ τὰ κερδαντὰ κερδαίνειν. ἐποίησε  
δὲ καὶ ὑποθήκας εἰς ἔπη δισχιλία. εἰπέ τε τοὺς  
μέλλοντας ἀσφαλῶς τυραννήσειν τῇ εὐνοίᾳ δορυ-  
φορεῖσθαι, καὶ μὴ τοῖς ὅπλοις. καὶ ποτε ἐρωτηθεὶς  
διὰ τί τυραννεῖ, ἔφη, "ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἔκουσίως ἀπο-  
στῆναι καὶ τὸ ἀφαιρεθῆναι κίνδυνον φέρει." ἔλεγε  
δὲ καὶ τάδε· καλὸν ἡσυχία· ἐπισφαλὲς προπέτεια·  
κέρδος αἰσχρόν· \* δημοκρατία κρεῖττον τυραννίδος·  
αἱ μὲν ἡδοναὶ φθαρταί, αἱ δὲ τιμαὶ ἀθάνατοι·  
98 εὐτυχῶν μὲν μέτριος ἴσθι, δυστυχῶν δὲ φρόνιμος·  
φίλοις εὐτυχούσι καὶ ἀτυχούσιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἴσθι· ὁ ἂν  
ὁμολογήσῃς, διατρίβει· λόγων ἀπορρήτων ἐκφορὰν  
μὴ ποιοῦ· μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
τοὺς μέλλοντας κόλαζε.

Οὗτος πρῶτος δορυφόρους ἔσχε, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν  
εἰς τυραννίδα μετέστησε· καὶ οὐκ εἶα ἐν ἀστεί  
ζῆν τοὺς βουλομένους, καθά φησιν Ἐφωρος καὶ

number in pursuit of the four. Having taken these  
measures, he himself encountered the first pair and  
was slain. The Corinthians placed the following  
inscription upon a cenotaph <sup>a</sup> :

In mother earth here Periander lies,  
The prince of sea-girt Corinth rich and wise.

My own epitaph on him is <sup>b</sup> :

Grieve not because thou hast not gained thine end,  
But take with gladness all the gods may send ;  
Be warned by Periander's fate, who died  
Of grief that one desire should be denied.

To him belongs the maxim : Never do anything  
for money ; leave gain to trades pursued for gain.  
He wrote a didactic poem of 2000 lines. He said  
that those tyrants who intend to be safe should make  
loyalty their bodyguard, not arms. When some one  
asked him why he was tyrant, he replied, " Because it  
is as dangerous to retire voluntarily as to be dis-  
possessed." Here are other sayings of his : Rest is  
beautiful. Rashness has its perils. Gain is ignoble.  
Democracy is better than tyranny. Pleasures are  
transient, honours are immortal. Be moderate in  
prosperity, prudent in adversity. Be the same to  
your friends whether they are in prosperity or in  
adversity. Whatever agreement you make, stick  
to it. Betray no secret. Correct not only the  
offenders but also those who are on the point of  
offending.

He was the first who had a bodyguard and who  
changed his government into a tyranny, and he  
would let no one live in the town without his per-  
mission, as we know from Ephorus and Aristotle.

<sup>a</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 619.

<sup>b</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 620.

Ἀριστοτέλης. ἤκαζε δὲ περὶ τὴν τριακοστὴν ὀγδόην Ὀλυμπιάδα, καὶ ἐτυράννησεν ἔτη τετταράκοντα.

Σωτίων δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Παμφίλη ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν Ὑπομνημάτων δύο φασὶ Περιάνδρους γεγονέναι, τὸν μὲν τύραννον, τὸν δὲ σοφὸν καὶ 99 Ἀμβρακιώτην. τοῦτο καὶ Νεάνθης φησὶν ὁ Κυζικηνός, ἀνεψιούς τε εἶναι ἀλλήλοις. καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης μὲν τὸν Κορίνθιον φησὶν εἶναι τὸν σοφόν· Πλάτων δὲ οὐ φησι.

Τούτου ἐστί· Μελέτη τὸ πᾶν. ἤθελε δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν διορύξει.

Φέρεται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιστολή·

Περιάνδρος τοῖς σοφοῖς

“ Πολλὰ χάρις τῷ Πυθοῖ Ἀπόλλωνι τοῦ εἰς ἐν ἐλθόντας εὐρεῖν. ἀξοῦντί τε καὶ ἐς Κόρινθον ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἐπιστολαῖς. ἐγὼν δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀποδέχομαι, ὥς ἴστε αὐτοί, ὅτι δαμοτικώτατα. πεύθομαι ὥς πέρυτι ἐγένετο ὑμῶν ἀλία παρὰ τὸν Λυδὸν ἐς Σάρδεϊς. ἤδη ὦν μὴ ὀκνεῖτε καὶ παρ’ ἐμὲ φοιτῆν τὸν Κορίνθου τύραννον. ὑμᾶς γὰρ καὶ ἄσμενοι ὄψονται Κορίνθιοι φοιτεῦντας ἐς οἶκον τὸν Περιάνδρου.”

Περιάνδρος Προκλεῖ

100 “ Ἐμὶν μὲν ἀκούσιον τᾶς δάμαρτος τὸ ἄγος· τὴν δὲ ἐκὼν τῷ παιδί με ἄπο θυμοῦ ποιήσῃς ἀδικεῖς. ἢ ὦν παῦσον τὰν ἀπῆνειαν τῷ παιδός, ἢ ἐγὼν τὴν

\* Periander is mentioned in the *Politics* of Aristotle (v. 4, 1304 a 32), but not as one of the Seven Wise Men. In Plato's *Protagoras*, 343 A, where the Seven Wise Men are

He flourished about the 38th Olympiad and was tyrant for forty years.

Sotion and Heraclides and Pamphila in the fifth book of her *Commentaries* distinguish two Perianders, one a tyrant, the other a sage who was born in Ambracia. Neanthes of Cyzicus also says this, and adds that they were near relations. And Aristotle<sup>a</sup> maintains that the Corinthian Periander was the sage; while Plato denies this.

His apophthegm is: Practice makes perfect. He planned a canal across the Isthmus.

A letter of his is extant:

*Periander to the Wise Men*

“ Very grateful am I to the Pythian Apollo that I found you gathered together; and my letters will also bring you to Corinth, where, as you know, I will give you a thoroughly popular reception. I learn that last year you met in Sardis at the Lydian court. Do not hesitate therefore to come to me, the ruler of Corinth. The Corinthians will be pleased to see you coming to the house of Periander.”

*Periander to Procles*

“ The murder of my wife was unintentional; but yours is deliberate guilt when you set my son's heart against me. Either therefore put an end to my son's harsh treatment, or I will revenge myself

enumerated, Periander's name is omitted, his place being taken by Myson. It would almost seem as if Diogenes Laertius knew of some passage in Aristotle in which Periander was called one of the Seven, though no such passage is extant.

ἀμυνοῦμαι. καὶ γὰρ δὴν καὶ αὐτὸς ποιῶς ἔτισα  
τὴν τῇ θυγατρὶ, συγκατακαύσαις αὐτῇ τὰ πασῶν  
Κορινθιῶν εἴματα."

"Ἐγραψε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Θρασύβουλος οὕτως·

Θρασύβουλος Περιάνδρῳ

"Τῷ μὲν κήρυκι σεῦ οὐδὲν ὑπεκρινάμην· ἀγαγὼν  
δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς λήϊον, τοὺς ὑπερφυέας τῶν ἀσταχύνων  
ράβδῳ παίων ἀπεθέριζον, ὁμαρτέοντος ἐκείνου.  
καὶ σοι ἀναγγελέει εἰ ἐπέροιο, ὃ τι μευ ἀκούσειεν  
ἢ ἴδοι. σὺ δὲ ποίει οὕτως, ἣν γ' ἐθέλῃς καρτύνασθαι  
τὴν αἰσυμνητίην· τοὺς ἐξόχους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐξ-  
αίρειν, ἣν τέ τις ἐχθρὸς τοι φαίνεται, ἣν τε μὴ  
ὑποπτος γὰρ ἀνδρὶ αἰσυμνητῇ καὶ τῶν τις ἐτάρων."

Κεφ. η'. ΑΝΑΧΑΡΣΙΣ Ο ΣΚΥΘΗΣ

101 Ἀνάχαρσις ὁ Σκυθῆς Γνούρου μὲν ἦν υἱός,  
ἀδελφὸς δὲ Καδουῖδα τοῦ Σκυθῶν βασιλέως,  
μητρός δὲ Ἑλληνίδος· διὸ καὶ διγλωττος ἦν.  
οὗτος ἐποίησε τῶν τε παρὰ τοῖς Σκυθαῖς νομῶν  
καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, εἰς εὐτέλειαν βίου καὶ  
τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἔπη ὀκτακόσια. παρέσχε δὲ  
καὶ ἀφορμὴν παροιμίας διὰ τὸ παρρησιαστὴς εἶναι,  
τὴν ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν ῥῆσιν.

Λέγει δὲ αὐτὸν Σωσικράτης ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας  
κατὰ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν ἐβδόμην Ὀλυμπιάδα  
ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐκράτους. Ἑρμιππος δὲ πρὸς  
τὴν Σόλωνος οἰκίαν ἀφικόμενον τῶν θεραπόντων  
τινὶ κελεύσαι μηνῦσαι ὅτι παρεῖη πρὸς αὐτὸν  
Ἀνάχαρσις, καὶ βούλοιο αὐτὸν θεάσασθαι, ξένος

102 τε, εἰ οἶόν τε, γενέσθαι. καὶ ὁ θεράπων εἰς-

on you. For long ago I made expiation to you for  
your daughter by burning on her pyre the apparel  
of all the women of Corinth."

There is also a letter written to him by Thrasybulus,  
as follows :

*Thrasybulus to Periander*

"I made no answer to your herald ; but I took him  
into a cornfield, and with a staff smote and cut off  
the over-grown ears of corn, while he accompanied  
me. And if you ask him what he heard and what he  
saw, he will give his message. And this is what you  
must do if you want to strengthen your absolute  
rule : put to death those among the citizens who  
are pre-eminent, whether they are hostile to you or  
not. For to an absolute ruler even a friend is an  
object of suspicion."

## CHAPTER 8. ANACHARSIS

Anacharsis the Scythian was the son of Gnurus  
and brother of Caduidas, king of Scythia. His mother  
was a Greek, and for that reason he spoke both  
languages. He wrote on the institutions of the  
Greeks and the Scythians, dealing with simplicity of  
life and military matters, a poem of 800 lines. So  
outspoken was he that he furnished occasion for a  
proverb, "To talk like a Scythian."

Sosicrates makes him come to Athens about the  
47th Olympiad<sup>a</sup> in the archonship of Eucrates.  
Hermippus relates that on his arrival at the house  
of Solon he told one of the servants to announce  
that Anacharsis had come and was desirous of seeing  
him and, if possible, of becoming his guest. The

<sup>a</sup> 591-588 B.C.



ἀλλήλους. μαθὼν τέτταρας δακτύλους εἶναι τὸ πᾶχος τῆς νεώς, τοσοῦτον ἔφη τοῦ θανάτου τοὺς πλέοντας ἀπέχου.

- 104 Τὸ ἔλαιον μανίας φάρμακον ἔλεγε διὰ τὸ ἀλειφομένους τοὺς ἀθλητὰς ἐπιμαίνεσθαι ἀλλήλοις. πῶς, ἔλεγεν, ἀπαγορεύοντες τὸ ψεύδεσθαι ἐν ταῖς καπηλείαις φανερώς ψεύδονται; καὶ θαυμάζειν φησὶ πῶς "Ἕλληνες ἀρχόμενοι μὲν ἐν μικροῖς πίνουσι, πλησθέντες δὲ ἐν μεγάλοις. ἐπιγράφεται δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῖς εἰκόσι. "γλώσσης, γαστρος, αἰδοίων κρατεῖν." ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ εἰσὶν ἐν Σκυθαῖς αὐλοὶ, εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄμπελοι." ἐρωτηθεὶς τίνα τῶν πλοίων εἰσὶν ἀσφαλέστερα, ἔφη, "τὰ νενεωλκημένα." καὶ τοῦτο ἔφη θαυμασιώτατον ἑωρακέναι παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὅτι τὸν μὲν καπνὸν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι καταλείπουσι, τὰ δὲ ξύλα εἰς τὴν πόλιν κομίζουσιν. ἐρωτηθεὶς πότεροι πλείους εἰσὶν, οἱ ζῶντες ἢ οἱ νεκροί, ἔφη, "τοὺς οὖν πλείοντας ποῦ τίθης;" ὀνειδιζόμενος ὑπὸ Ἀττικοῦ ὅτι Σκυθής ἐστίν, ἔφη, "ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ μὲν ὀνειδος ἢ
- 105 πατρίς, σὺ δὲ τῆς πατρίδος." ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἐστὶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθόν τε καὶ φαῦλον, ἔφη, "γλῶσσα." κρείττον ἔλεγεν ἕνα φίλον ἔχειν πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἢ πολλοὺς μηδεὶνος ἀξίους. τὴν ἀγορὰν ὠρμισμένον ἔφη τόπον εἰς τὸ ἀλλήλους ἀπατᾶν καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν. ὑπὸ μειρακίου παρὰ πότον ὑβρισθεὶς ἔφη, "μειράκιον, εἰν νέος ὢν τὸν οἶνον οὐ φέρης, γέρων γενόμενος ὕδωρ οἶσις."

\* i.e. in the form of charcoal. Cf. A. S. Ferguson in *Class. Rev.* vol. xxxi. p. 97.

ascertaining that the ship's side was four fingers' breadth in thickness, he remarked that the passengers were just so far from death.

Oil he called a drug which produced madness, because the athletes when they anoint themselves with it are maddened against each other. How is it, he asked, that the Greeks prohibit falsehood and yet obviously tell falsehoods in retail trade? Nor could he understand why at the beginning of their feasts they drink from small goblets and when they are "full" from large ones. The inscription on his statues is: "Bridle speech, gluttony, and sensuality." Being asked if there were flutes in Scythia, he replied, "No, nor yet vines." To the question what vessels were the safest his reply was, "Those which have been hauled ashore." And he declared the strangest thing he had seen in Greece to be that they leave the smoke on the mountains and convey the fuel into the city.<sup>a</sup> When some one inquired which were more in number, the living or the dead, he rejoined, "In which category, then, do you place those who are on the seas?" When some Athenian reproached him with being a Scythian, he replied, "Well, granted that my country is a disgrace to me, you are a disgrace to your country." To the question, "What among men is both good and bad?" his answer was "The tongue." He said it was better to have one friend of great worth than many friends worth nothing at all. He defined the market as a place set apart where men may deceive and overreach one another. When insulted by a boy over the wine he said, "If you cannot carry your liquor when you are young, boy, you will be a water carrier when you are old."

## DIODEGENES LAERTIUS

Εἶρε δ' εἰς τὸν βίον ἀγκυρὰν τε καὶ κεραμικὸν τροχόν, ὥς τινες.

Καὶ ἐπέστειλεν ὧδε·

Ἀναχάρσις Κροίσῳ

“Ἐγώ, βασιλεῦ Λυδῶν, ἀφίγμαι εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διδασκῶν, ἢ τὰ τούτων καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα. χρυσοῦ δ' οὐδὲ δέομαι, ἀλλ' ἀπόχρη με ἐπανήκειν ἐς Σκύθας ἀνδρα ἀμείνονα. ἤκω γοῦν ἐς Σάρδεϊς, πρὸ μεγάλου ποιούμενος ἐν γνώμῃ τοι γενέσθαι.”

Κεφ. θ'. ΜΥΣΩΝ

106 Μύσων Στρυμόνιος, ὃς φησι Σωσικράτης Ἑρμιππον παρατιθέμενος, τὸ γένος Χηνεὺς, ἀπὸ κώμης τινὸς Οἰταϊκῆς ἢ Λακωνικῆς, σὺν τοῖς ἐπτά καταριθμεῖται. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τυράννου πατρὸς εἶναι. λέγεται δὲ πρὸς τινος Ἀναχάρσιδος πυνθανομένου εἶ τις αὐτοῦ σοφώτερος εἴη, τὴν Πυθίαν ἀνελεῖν<sup>1</sup> ἅπερ προείρηται ἐν τῷ Θαλῶ βίῳ ὑπὲρ Χίλωνος·

Οἰταῖον τινὰ φημι Μύσων ἐν Χηνὶ γενέσθαι σοῦ μᾶλλον παρὶδεσθαι ἀρηρότα πευκαλίμῃσι.

πολυπραγμονήσαντα δὲ ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν κώμην καὶ εὑρεῖν αὐτὸν θέρους ἐχέτην ἀρότρῳ προσαρμοττοντα, καὶ εἰπεῖν, “ἀλλ', ὦ Μύσων, οὐχ ὥρα νῦν ἀρότρου.” “καὶ μάλα,” εἶπεν, “ὥστε ἐπι- 107 σκευάζειν.” ἄλλοι δὲ τὸν χρησμὸν οὕτως ἔχουν φασί, “Ἡτεῖον τινὰ φημι.” καὶ ζητοῦσι τί ἐστὶν

<sup>1</sup> ἀνειπεῖν vulg. : corr. H. Richards.

## I. 105-107. ANACHARSIS—MYSON

According to some he was the inventor of the anchor and the potter's wheel.

To him is attributed the following letter :

*Anacharsis to Croesus*

“ I have come, O King of the Lydians, to the land of the Greeks to be instructed in their manners and pursuits. And I am not even in quest of gold, but am well content to return to Scythia a better man. At all events here I am in Sardis, being greatly desirous of making your acquaintance.”

## CHAPTER 9. MYSON (c. 600 B.C.)

Myson was the son of Strymon, according to Sosicrates, who quotes Hermippus as his authority, and a native of Chen, a village in the district of Oeta or Laconia ; and he is reckoned one of the Seven Sages. They say that his father was a tyrant. We are told by some one that, when Anacharsis inquired if there were anyone wiser than himself, the Pythian priestess gave the response which has already been quoted in the Life of Thales as her reply to a question by Chilon<sup>a</sup> :

Myson of Chen in Oeta ; this is he  
Who for wiseheartedness surpasseth thee.

His curiosity aroused, Anacharsis went to the village in summer time and found him fitting a share to a plough and said, “ Myson, this is not the season for the plough.” “ It is just the time to repair it,” was the reply. Others cite the first line of the oracle differently, “ Myson of Chen in Etis,” and inquire what

<sup>a</sup> *Anth. Plan.* vi. 40.

ὁ Ἡτεῖος. Παρμενίδης μὲν οὖν δῆμον εἶναι  
Λακωνικῆς, ὅθεν εἶναι τὸν Μύσωνα. Σωσικράτης  
δ' ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, ἀπὸ μὲν πατρὸς Ἡτεῖον εἶναι, ἀπὸ  
δὲ μητρὸς Χηνέα. Εὐθύφρων δ' ὁ Ἡρακλείδου  
τοῦ Ποντικοῦ, Κρητὰ φησιν εἶναι. Ἡτεῖαν γὰρ  
πόλιν εἶναι Κρήτης. Ἀναξίλαος δ' Ἀρκάδα.

Μέμνηται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἰππῶναξ εἰπών·

καὶ Μύσων ὃν Ὀπόλλων  
ἀνείλεν ἀνδρῶν σωφρονέστατον πάντων.

Ἀριστοξένος δὲ φησιν ἐν τοῖς σποράδῃν οὐ πόρρω  
Τίμωνος αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀπημάντου γεγονέναι· μισ-  
108 ἀνθρωπεῖν γάρ. ὀφθῆναι γοῦν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι  
μόνον ἐπ' ἐρημίας γελῶντα· ἄφνω δὲ τις ἐπι-  
στάντος καὶ πυθομένου διὰ τί μηδενὸς παρόντος  
γελᾷ, φάναι, " δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο." φησὶ δ' Ἀριστοξ-  
ένος ὅτι ἔνθεν καὶ ἄδοξος ἦν, ὅτι μηδὲ πόλεως,  
ἀλλὰ κώμης, καὶ ταῦτα ἀφανοῦς. ὅθεν διὰ τὴν  
ἄδοξίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ τινας Πεισιστράτῳ  
περιθεῖναι τῷ τυράννῳ, χωρὶς Πλάτωνος τοῦ  
φιλοσόφου. μέμνηται γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οὗτος ἐν τῷ  
Πρωταγόρᾳ, ἀντὶ Περιάνδρου θεῖς αὐτόν.

"Εφασκε δὲ μὴ ἐκ τῶν λόγων τὰ πράγματα,  
ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων τοὺς λόγους ζητεῖν· οὐ  
γὰρ ἕνεκα τῶν λόγων τὰ πράγματα συντελεῖσθαι,  
ἀλλ' ἕνεκα τῶν πραγμάτων τοὺς λόγους.

Κατέστρεψε δὲ βιούς ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑννεήκοντα.

" Myson of Etis " means. Parmenides indeed ex-  
plains that Etis is a district in Laconia to which  
Myson belonged. Sosicrates in his *Successions of  
Philosophers* makes him belong to Etis on the father's  
side and to Chen on the mother's. Euthyphro, the  
son of Heraclides of Pontus, declares that he was a  
Cretan, Eteia being a town in Crete. Anaxilaus  
makes him an Arcadian.

Myson is mentioned by Hipponax, the words  
being <sup>a</sup> :

And Myson, whom Apollo's self proclaimed  
Wiseest of all men.

Aristoxenus in his *Historical Gleanings* says he was  
not unlike Timon and Apemantus, for he was a  
misanthrope. At any rate he was seen in Lace-  
daemon laughing to himself in a lonely spot ; and  
when some one suddenly appeared and asked him  
why he laughed when no one was near, he replied,  
" That is just the reason." And Aristoxenus says  
that the reason why he remained obscure was that  
he belonged to no city but to a village and that an  
unimportant one. Hence because he was unknown,  
some writers, but not Plato the philosopher, attri-  
buted to Pisistratus the tyrant what properly belonged  
to Myson. For Plato mentions him in the *Protagoras*,<sup>b</sup>  
reckoning him as one of the Seven instead of  
Periander.

He used to say we should not investigate facts by  
the light of arguments, but arguments by the light  
of facts ; for the facts were not put together to fit  
the arguments, but the arguments to fit the facts.

He died at the age of ninety-seven.

<sup>a</sup> Fr. 45 Bergk.

<sup>b</sup> 343 A.

109 Ἐπιμενίδης, καθά φησι Θεόπομπος καὶ ἄλλοι  
 συγχνοί, πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Φαιστίου, οἱ δὲ Δωσιάδα  
 οἱ δὲ Ἀγησάρχου· Κρής τὸ γένος ἀπὸ Κνωσοῦ,  
 καθέσει τῆς κόμης τὸ εἶδος παραλλάσσω. οὗτός  
 ποτε πεμφθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς ἀγρόν ἐπὶ  
 πρόβατον, τῆς ὁδοῦ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἐκκλίνας  
 ὑπ' ἄντρῳ τινὶ κατεκοιμήθη ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα  
 ἔτη. διαναστὰς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξήτει τὸ πρό-  
 βατον, νομίζων ἐπ' ὀλίγον κεκοιμησθαι. ὥς δὲ  
 οὐχ εὔρισκε, παρεγένετο εἰς τὸν ἀγρόν, καὶ μετ-  
 εσκευασμένα πάντα καταλαβὼν καὶ παρ' ἐτέρῳ  
 τὴν κτῆσιν, πάλιν ἤκεν εἰς αἶστυ διαπορούμενος.  
 κάκει δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ εἰσιὼν οἰκίαν περιέτυχε  
 τοὺς πυνθανομένοις τίς εἶη, ἕως τὸν νεώτερον  
 ἀδελφὸν εὐρών τότε ἤδη γέροντα ὄντα, πᾶσαν  
 110 ἔμαθε παρ' ἐκείνου τὴν ἀλήθειαν. γνωσθεὶς δὲ  
 παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι θεοφιλέστατος εἶναι ὑπελήφθη.

Τότε καὶ Ἀθηναῖοις [τότε] λοιμῶ κατεχομένοις  
 ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία καθῆραι τὴν πόλιν· οἱ δὲ πέμ-  
 πουσι ναὺν τε καὶ Νικίαν τὸν Νικηράτου εἰς  
 Κρήτην, καλοῦντες τὸν Ἐπιμενίδην. καὶ ὃς ἐλθὼν  
 Ὀλυμπιάδι τεσσαρακοστῇ ἔκτη ἐκάθηρεν αὐτῶν  
 τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἔπαυσε τὸν λοιμὸν τοῦτον τὸν  
 τρόπον. λαβὼν πρόβατα μέλανά τε καὶ λευκὰ  
 ἤγαγε πρὸς τὸν Ἀρειὸν ἀγόν· κάκειθεν εἵασεν  
 ἵεναι οἱ βούλονται, προστάξας τοῖς ἀκολούθοις  
 εἶναι ἂν κατακλίνουσι αὐτῶν ἕκαστον, θύειν τῷ  
 προσήκοντι θεῷ· καὶ οὕτω λήξαι τὸ κακόν. ὅθεν  
 ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔστιν εὐρεῖν κατὰ τοὺς δήμους τῶν

Epimenides, according to Theopompus and many  
 other writers, was the son of Phaestius ; some, how-  
 ever, make him the son of Dosiadas, others of  
 Agesarchus. He was a native of Cnossos in Crete,  
 though from wearing his hair long he did not look  
 like a Cretan. One day he was sent into the country  
 by his father to look for a stray sheep, and at noon  
 he turned aside out of the way, and went to sleep  
 in a cave, where he slept for fifty-seven years. After  
 this he got up and went in search of the sheep, think-  
 ing he had been asleep only a short time. And when  
 he could not find it, he came to the farm, and found  
 everything changed and another owner in possession.  
 Then he went back to the town in utter perplexity ;  
 and there, on entering his own house, he fell in with  
 people who wanted to know who he was. At length  
 he found his younger brother, now an old man, and  
 learnt the truth from him. So he became famous  
 throughout Greece, and was believed to be a special  
 favourite of heaven.

Hence, when the Athenians were attacked by  
 pestilence, and the Pythian priestess bade them  
 purify the city, they sent a ship commanded by  
 Nicias, son of Niceratus, to Crete to ask the help of  
 Epimenides. And he came in the 46th Olympiad,<sup>a</sup>  
 purified their city, and stopped the pestilence in the  
 following way. He took sheep, some black and  
 others white, and brought them to the Areopagus ;  
 and there he let them go whither they pleased,  
 instructing those who followed them to mark the  
 spot where each sheep lay down and offer a sacrifice  
 to the local divinity. And thus, it is said, the plague  
 was stayed. Hence even to this day altars may be



Ἀθηναίων βωμοὺς ἀνωνύμους, ὑπόμνημα τῆς τότε γενομένης ἐξιλάσεως. οἱ δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν τοῦ λοιμοῦ τὸ Κυλώνειον ἄγος σημαίνει τε τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀποθανεῖν δύο νεανίας, Κρατῖνον καὶ Κτησίβιον, καὶ λυθῆναι τὴν συμφορὰν.

- 111 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τάλαντον ἐψηφίσαντο δοῦναι αὐτῷ καὶ ναῦν τὴν εἰς Κρήτην ἀπάξουσιν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀργύριον οὐ προσήκατο· φιλίαν δὲ καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐποίησας Κνωσίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων.

Καὶ ἐπανελθὼν ἐπ' οἴκου μετ' οὐ πολὺ μετῆλλαξεν, ὥς φησι Φλέγων ἐν τῷ Περὶ μακροβίων, βίους ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν· ὥς δὲ Κρήτες λέγουσιν, ἐνὸς δέοντα τριακόσια· ὥς δὲ Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἀκηκοέναι φησί, τέτταρα πρὸς τοῖς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν.

Ἐποίησε δὲ Κουρήτων καὶ Κορυβάντων γένεσιν καὶ Θεογονίαν, ἔπη πεντακισχίλια, Ἀργοῦς ναυπηγίαν τε καὶ Ἰάσονος εἰς Κόλχους ἀπόπλουν

- 112 ἔπη ἑξακισχίλια πεντακόσια. συνέγραψε δὲ καὶ καταλογάδην Περὶ θυσίων καὶ τῆς ἐν Κρήτῃ πολιτείας καὶ Περὶ Μίνω καὶ Ῥαδαμάνθυος εἰς ἔπη τετρακισχίλια. ἰδρύσας δὲ καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις τὸ ἱερόν τῶν Σεμνῶν, ὥς φησι Λόβων ὁ Ἀργεῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ ποιητῶν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ πρῶτος οἰκίας καὶ ἀγροὺς καθῆραι καὶ ἱερὰ ἰδρύσασθαι. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ μὴ κοιμηθῆναι αὐτὸν λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ χρόνον τινὰ ἐκπατῆσαι ἀσχολούμενον περὶ ρύζοτομίαν.

\* These long poems may have been written by Lobon himself on the Hesiodic model; or Lobon may merely have affirmed their existence in his treatise *On Poets*.

found in different parts of Attica with no name inscribed upon them, which are memorials of this atonement. According to some writers he declared the plague to have been caused by the pollution which Cylon brought on the city and showed them how to remove it. In consequence two young men, Cratinus and Ctesibius, were put to death and the city was delivered from the scourge.

The Athenians voted him a talent in money and a ship to convey him back to Crete. The money he declined, but he concluded a treaty of friendship and alliance between Cnossos and Athens.

So he returned home and soon afterwards died. According to Phlegon in his work *On Longevity* he lived one hundred and fifty-seven years; according to the Cretans two hundred and ninety-nine years. Xenophanes of Colophon gives his age as 154, according to hearsay.

He wrote a poem *On the Birth of the Curetes and Corybantes* and a *Theogony*,<sup>a</sup> 5000 lines in all; another on the building of the Argo and Jason's voyage to Colchis in 6500 lines. He also compiled prose works *On Sacrifices and the Cretan Constitution*, also *On Minos and Rhadamanthus*, running to about 4000 lines. At Athens again he founded the temple of the Eumenides, as Lobon of Argos tells us in his work *On Poets*. He is stated to have been the first who purified houses and fields, and the first who founded temples. Some are found to maintain that he did not go to sleep but withdrew himself<sup>b</sup> for a while, engaged in gathering simples.

<sup>a</sup> This is the meaning of *ἐκπατεῖν* in three other passages, iv. 19, ix. 3, 63, in the last of which it is glossed by *ἐρημᾶζειν*, as if the sage were a recluse, a lover of solitude.

Φέρεται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Σόλωνα τὸν νομοθέτην, περιέχουσα πολιτεῖαν ἣν διέταξε Κρησὶ Μίνως. ἀλλὰ Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς περὶ ὁμωνύμων ποιητῶν τε καὶ συγγραφέων διελέγγχειν πειρᾶται τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς νεαρὰν καὶ μὴ τῇ Κρητικῇ φωνῇ γεγραμμένην, Ἀθιδι δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ νέα. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἄλλην εὑρον ἐπιστολὴν ἔχουσαν οὕτως·

Ἐπιμενίδης Σόλωνι

113 "Θάρρει, ὦ ἐταῖρε. αἱ γὰρ ἔτι θητευόντεσσιν Ἀθηναῖοις καὶ μὴ εὐνομημένοις ἐπεθήκατο Πεισί-στρατος, εἶχε κα τὰν ἀρχὰν αἰεὶ, ἀνδραποδι-ξάμενος τὼς πολιήτας· νῦν δὲ οὐ κακῶς ἄνδρας δουλῶται· τοὶ μεμναμένοι τᾶς Σόλωνος μανύσιος ἀλγίοντι πεδ' αἰσχύνας οὐδὲ ἀνεξοῦνται τυραν-νόμενοι. ἀλλ' αἱ κα Πεισίστρατος <αὐτὸς> κατα-σχέθη τὰν πόλιν, οὐ μὰν ἐς παῖδᾶς γε τήνῃ ἔλπομαι τὸ κράτος ἵζεσθαι· δυσμάχανον γὰρ ἀνθρώπως ἐλευθεριάξαντας ἐν τεθμοῖς ἀρίστοις δούλως ἤμεν. τὸ δὲ μὴ ἀλασθαι, ἀλλ' ἔρπε ἐς Κρήτην ποθ' ἄμέ. τουτᾶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐσείταί τιν δεινὸς ὁ μόναρχος· αἱ δὲ πη ἐπ' ἀλατεία ἐγκύρσωντὶ τοὶ τοὶ τήνῃ φίλοι, δειμαίνω μὴ τι δεινὸν πάθῃς."

114 Καὶ οὗτος μὲν ὦδε. φησὶ δὲ Δημήτριος τινὰς ἱστορεῖν ὡς λάβοι παρὰ Νυμφῶν ἔδεσμά τι καὶ φυλάττοι ἐν χηλῇ βοός· προσφερόμενός τε κατ' ὀλίγον μηδεμιᾶ κενοῦσθαι ἀποκρίσει μηδὲ ὀφθῆναι ποτε ἐσθίων. μέμνηται αὐτοῦ καὶ Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ. λέγουσι δὲ τινες ὅτι Κρητὲς αὐτῷ

There is extant a letter of his to Solon the law-giver, containing a scheme of government which Minos drew up for the Cretans. But Demetrius of Magnesia, in his work on poets and writers of the same name, endeavours to discredit the letter on the ground that it is late and not written in the Cretan dialect but in Attic, and New Attic too. However, I have found another letter by him which runs as follows :

*Epimenides to Solon*

"Courage, my friend. For if Pisistratus had attacked the Athenians while they were still serfs and before they had good laws, he would have secured power in perpetuity by the enslavement of the citizens. But, as it is, he is reducing to subjection men who are no cowards, men who with pain and shame remember Solon's warning and will never endure to be under a tyrant. But even should Pisistratus himself hold down the city, I do not expect that his power will be continued to his children; for it is hard to contrive that men brought up as free men under the best laws should be slaves. But, instead of going on your travels, come quietly to Crete to me; for here you will have no monarch to fear, whereas, if some of his friends should fall in with you while you are travelling about, I fear you may come to some harm.'

This is the tenor of the letter. But Demetrius reports a story that he received from the Nymphs food of a special sort and kept it in a cow's hoof; that he took small doses of this food, which was entirely absorbed into his system, and he was never seen to eat. Timaeus mentions him in his second book. Some writers say that the Cretans sacrifice to him

θύουσιν ὡς θεῶ· φασὶ γὰρ καὶ <προ>γνωστικώτατον γεγονέναι. ἰδόντα γοῦν τὴν Μουνιχίαν παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἀγνοεῖν φάναι αὐτοὺς ὅσων κακῶν αἴτιον ἔσται τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον αὐτοῖς· ἐπεὶ κἂν τοῖς ὁδοῦσιν αὐτὸ διαφορῇσαι· ταῦτα ἔλεγε τοσούτοις πρότερον χρόνοις. λέγεται δὲ ὡς καὶ πρῶτος αὐτὸν Αἰακὸν λέγοι, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις προείποι τὴν ὑπ' Ἀρκάδων ἄλωσιν προσποιηθῆναι τε πολλάκις ἀναβεβιωκέναι.

115 Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν τοῖς Θανμασίῳις, κατασκευάζοντος αὐτοῦ τὸ τῶν Νυμφῶν ἱερὸν ῥαγῆναι φωνῇ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, "Ἐπιμενίδη, μὴ Νυμφῶν, ἀλλὰ Διός." Κρησί τε προειπεῖν τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἦτταν ὑπ' Ἀρκάδων, καθάπερ προείρηται· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐλήφθησαν πρὸς Ὀρχομενῶ.

Γηῤῥασαί τ' ἐν τοσαύταις ἡμέραις αὐτὸν ὅσαπερ ἔτη κατεκοιμήθη· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτό φησι Θεόπομπος. Μυρωνιανὸς δὲ ἐν Ὀμοίοις φησὶν ὅτι Κούρητα αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν Κρήτες· καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ φυλάττουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι παρ' ἑαυτοῖς κατὰ τι λόγιον, ὡς φησι Σωσίβιος ὁ Λάκων.

Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ Ἐπιμενίδαι ἄλλοι δύο, ὃ τε γενεαλόγος καὶ τρίτος ὁ Δωρίδι γεγραφῶς περὶ Ῥόδου.

Κεφ. ια'. ΦΕΡΕΚΥΔΗΣ

116 Φερεκύδης Βάβυος Σύριος, καθά φησιν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, Πιττακοῦ διακῆκοεν. τοῦτόν

as a god; for they say that he had superhuman foresight. For instance, when he saw Munichia, at Athens, he said the Athenians did not know how many evils that place would bring upon them; for, if they did, they would destroy it even if they had to do so with their teeth. And this he said so long before the event. It is also stated that he was the first to call himself Aeacus; that he foretold to the Lacedaemonians their defeat by the Arcadians; and that he claimed that his soul had passed through many incarnations.

Theopompus relates in his *Mirabilia* that, as he was building a temple to the Nymphs, a voice came from heaven: "Epimenides, not a temple to the Nymphs but to Zeus," and that he foretold to the Cretans the defeat of the Lacedaemonians by the Arcadians, as already stated; and in very truth they were crushed at Orchomenus.

And he became old in as many days as he had slept years; for this too is stated by Theopompus. Myronianus in his *Parallels* declares that the Cretans called him one of the Curetes. The Lacedaemonians guard his body in their own keeping in obedience to a certain oracle; this is stated by Sosibius the Laconian.

There have been two other men named Epimenides, namely, the genealogist and another who wrote in Doric Greek about Rhodes.

CHAPTER 11. PHERECYDES (flor. c. 540 B.C.)

Pherecydes, the son of Babys, and a native of Syros according to Alexander in his *Successions of Philosophers*, was a pupil of Pittacus. Theopompus

φῃσι Θεόπομπος πρῶτον περὶ φύσεως καὶ θεῶν γράφαι.

Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ θαυμάσια λέγεται περὶ αὐτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τῆς Σάμου περιπατοῦντα καὶ ναῦν οὐριοδρομοῦσαν ἰδόντα εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐ μετὰ πολὺ καταδύσεται· καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ καταδύναι. καὶ ἀνιμηθέντος ἐκ φρέατος ὕδατος πίνοντα προειπεῖν, ὡς εἰς τρίτην ἡμέραν ἔσοιτο σεισμός, καὶ γενέσθαι. ἀνιόντα τε ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας εἰς Μεσσήνην τῷ ξένῳ Περιλάῳ συμβουλευσαι ἐξοικῆσαι μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων· καὶ τὸν μὴ πεισθῆναι, Μεσσήνην δὲ ἑάλωκέναι.

117 Καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις εἰπεῖν μήτε χρυσὸν τιμᾶν μήτε ἄργυρον, ὥς φῃσι Θεόπομπος ἐν Θανμασίῳ· προστάζει δὲ αὐτῷ ὄναρ τοῦτο τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ὃν καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς νυκτὸς τοῖς βασιλεῦσι κελεύσαι Φερεκύδη πείθεσθαι. ἔνιοι δὲ Πυθαγόρα περιάπτουσι ταῦτα.

Φησὶ δ' Ἑρμιππος πολέμου συνεστῶτος Ἐφεσίοις καὶ Μάγνησι βουλόμενον τοὺς Ἐφεσίους νικῆσαι πυθέσθαι τινὸς παριόντος πόθεν εἴη, τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος "ἐξ Ἐφέσου," "ἔλकुσόν με τοῖνον, ἔφη, τῶν σκελῶν καὶ θές εἰς τὴν Μαγνήτων χώραν, καὶ ἀπάγγελόν σου τοῖς πολίταις μετὰ τὸ νικῆσαι αὐτόθι με θάψαι· ἐπεσκηφέναι τε ταῦτα Φερεκύδην." 118 ὁ μὲν <οῦν> ἀπήγγειλεν· οἱ δὲ μετὰ μίαν ἐπελθόντες κρατοῦσι τῶν Μαγνήτων, καὶ τὸν τε Φερεκύδην μεταλλάξαντα θάπτουσιν αὐτόθι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς τιμῶσιν. ἔνιοι δὲ φασιν

tells us that he was the first who wrote in Greek on nature and the gods.

Many wonderful stories are told about him. He was walking along the beach in Samos and saw a ship running before the wind; he exclaimed that in no long time she would go down, and, even as he watched her, down she went. And as he was drinking water which had been drawn up from a well he predicted that on the third day there would be an earthquake; which came to pass. And on his way from Olympia he advised Perilaus, his host in Messene, to move thence with all belonging to him; but Perilaus could not be persuaded, and Messene was afterwards taken.<sup>a</sup>

He bade the Lacedaemonians set no store by gold or silver, as Theopompus says in his *Mirabilia*. He told them he had received this command from Heracles in a dream; and the same night Heracles enjoined upon the kings to obey Pherecydes. But some fasten this story upon Pythagoras.

Hermippus relates that on the eve of war between Ephesus and Magnesia he favoured the cause of the Ephesians, and inquired of some one passing by where he came from, and on receiving the reply "From Ephesus," he said, "Drag me by the legs and place me in the territory of Magnesia; and take a message to your countrymen that after their victory they must bury me there, and that this is the last injunction of Pherecydes." The man gave the message; a day later the Ephesians attacked and defeated the Magnesians; they found Pherecydes dead and buried him on the spot with great honours. Another

<sup>a</sup> These stories no doubt come from Theopompus, whose work on *Marvels* is cited in the next paragraph.

ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Κωρυκίου ὄρους αὐτὸν δισκῆσαι. Ἀριστόξενος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν γνωρίμων αὐτοῦ φησι νοσήσαντα αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Πυθαγόρου ταφῆναι ἐν Δήλῳ. οἱ δὲ φθειριάσαντα τὸν βίον τελευτήσαι· ὅτε καὶ Πυθαγόρου παραγενομένου καὶ πυνθανομένου, πῶς διακείτο, διαβαλόντα τῆς θύρας τὸν δάκτυλον εἶπεῖν, "χροὺ δῆλα". καὶ τοῦντεῦθεν παρὰ τοῖς φιλολόγοις ἡ λέξις ἐπὶ τῶν χειρόνων τάττεται, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν βελτίστων χρώμενοι διαμαρτάνουσιν. <sup>119</sup> ἔλεγέ τε ὅτι οἱ θεοὶ τὴν τράπεζαν θυωρὸν καλοῦσιν.

"Ἀνδρῶν δ' ὁ Ἐφέσιός φησι δύο γεγονέναι Φερεκύδας Συρίους, τὸν μὲν ἀστρολόγον, τὸν δὲ θεολόγον υἱὸν Βάβυος, ᾧ καὶ Πυθαγόραν σχολάσαι. Ἐρατοσθένης δ' ἓνα μόνον, καὶ ἕτερον Ἀθηναῖον, γενεαλόγον.

Σώζεται δὲ τοῦ Συρίου τό τε βιβλίον ὃ συνέγραψεν, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· "Ζᾶς μὲν καὶ Χρόνος ἦσαν αἰεὶ καὶ Χθονίη· Χθονίη δὲ ὄνομα ἐγένετο Γῇ, ἐπειδὴ αὐτῇ Ζᾶς γῆν γέρας διδοῖ." σῶζεται δὲ καὶ ἡλιοτροπέιον ἐν Σύρῳ τῇ νήσῳ.

Φησὶ δὲ Δοῦρις ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Ὠρῶν ἐπιγεγράφθαι αὐτῷ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τόδε·

<sup>120</sup> τῆς σοφίης πάσης ἐν ἐμοὶ τέλος· ἦν δέ τι πλεῖον, Πυθαγόρῃ τῷ μῶ λέγε ταῦθ', ὅτι πρῶτος ἀπάντων ἔστιν ἂν Ἑλλάδα γῆν οὐ ψεύδομαι ᾧδ' ἀγορεύων.

"Ἴων δ' ὁ Χίος φησιν περὶ αὐτοῦ·

version is that he came to Delphi and hurled himself down from Mount Corycus. But Aristoxenus in his work *On Pythagoras and his School* affirms that he died a natural death and was buried by Pythagoras in Delos; another account again is that he died of a verminous disease, that Pythagoras was also present and inquired how he was, that he thrust his finger through the doorway and exclaimed, "My skin tells its own tale," a phrase subsequently applied by the grammarians as equivalent to "getting worse," although some wrongly understand it to mean "all is going well." He maintained that the divine name for "table" is θυωρός, or that which takes care of offerings.

Andron of Ephesus says that there were two natives of Syros who bore the name of Pherecydes: the one was an astronomer, the other was the son of Babys and a theologian, teacher of Pythagoras. Eratosthenes, however, says that there was only one Pherecydes of Syros, the other Pherecydes being an Athenian and a genealogist.

There is preserved a work by Pherecydes of Syros, a work which begins thus: "Zeus and Time and Earth were from all eternity, and Earth was called Γῇ because Zeus gave her earth (γῆ) as guerdon (γέρας)." His sun-dial is also preserved in the island of Syros.

Duris in the second book of his *Horae* gives the inscription on his tomb as follows <sup>a</sup>:

All knowledge that a man may have had I;  
Yet tell Pythagoras, were more thereby,  
That first of all Greeks is he; I speak no lie.

Ion of Chios says of him <sup>b</sup>:

<sup>a</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 93.

<sup>b</sup> *Fr.* 4 Bergk.

ὥς ὁ μὲν ἡγορέη τε κεκασμένος ἡδὲ καὶ αἰδοῖ  
 καὶ φθίμενος ψυχῇ τερπνὸν ἔχει βίοντον,  
 εἴπερ Πυθαγόρης ἐτύμως ὁ σοφὸς περὶ πάντων  
 ἀνθρώπων γνώμας ἦδεε κἀξέμαθεν.

"Ἔστι καὶ ἡμῶν οὕτως ἔχον τῷ μέτρῳ τῷ  
 Φερεκρατείῳ·

121

τὸν κλεινὸν Φερεκύδην,  
 ὃν τίκει ποτὲ Σῦρος,  
 ἐς φθείρας λόγος ἐστὶν  
 ἀλλάξει τὸ πρὶν εἶδος,  
 θειναί τ' εὐθὺ κελεύειν  
 Μαγνήτων, ἵνα νίκην  
 δοίῃ τοῖς Ἐφέσαιοι  
 γενναίοις πολυήταις.  
 ἦν γὰρ χρησμός, ὃν ἦδαι  
 μούνος, τοῦτο κελεύων·  
 καὶ θνήσκει παρ' ἐκείνοις.  
 ἦν οὖν τοῦτ' ἄρ' ἀληθές·  
 ἦν ἢ τις σοφὸς ὄντως,  
 καὶ ζῶν ἐστὶν ὄνησις,  
 χῶταν μηδὲν ὑπάρχει.

Γέγονε δὲ κατὰ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν καὶ ἐνάτην  
 Ὀλυμπιάδα. καὶ ἐπέστειλεν ὧδε·

Φερεκύδης Θαλήῃ

122 "Ἐθ' θνήσκοις ὅταν τοι τὸ χρεῶν ἦκη. νοῦσός με  
 καταλελάβηκε δεδεγμένον τὰ παρὰ σέο γράμματα.  
 φθειρῶν ἔβρουον πᾶς καὶ με εἶχεν ἡπίαλος. ἐπ-  
 ἔσκηψα δ' ὧν τοῖσιν οἰκικήτησιν, ἐπὶν με κατθά-  
 ψωσιν, ἐς σὲ τὴν γραφὴν ἐνείκαι. σὺ δὲ ἦν δοκι-  
 126

With manly worth endowed and modesty,  
 Though he be dead, his soul lives happily,  
 If wise Pythagoras indeed saw light  
 And read the destinies of men aright.

There is also an epigram of my own in the Phere-  
 cratean metre <sup>a</sup> :

The famous Pherecydes, to whom Syros gave birth, when  
 his former beauty was consumed by vermin, gave orders that  
 he should be taken straight to the Magnesian land in order  
 that he might give victory to the noble Ephesians. There  
 was an oracle, which he alone knew, enjoining this ; and  
 there he died among them. It seems then it is a true tale :  
 if anyone is truly wise, he brings blessings both in his life-  
 time and when he is no more.

He lived in the 59th Olympiad. He wrote the  
 following letter :

*Pherecydes to Thales* <sup>b</sup>

"May yours be a happy death when your time  
 comes. Since I received your letter, I have been  
 attacked by disease. I am infested with vermin and  
 subject to a violent fever with shivering fits. I have  
 therefore given instructions to my servants to carry  
 my writing to you after they have buried me. I  
 would like you to publish it, provided that you and

<sup>a</sup> *Anth. Plan.* iii. 128.

<sup>b</sup> This forgery is easily analysed. There is the tradition  
 of the malady which proved fatal to Pherecydes (*cf.* Por-  
 phyry, *Vit. Pyth.* § 55), with the anecdote of his protruding  
 his finger through the door. There is also an allusion to  
 the alleged obscurity of the work on the gods which passed  
 current as written by him.

μύσης σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις σοφοῖς, οὕτω μιν φήνον·  
 ἦν δὲ οὐ δοκιμώσητε, μὴ φήνης. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ  
 οὐκ ἦνδανεν. ἔστι δὲ οὐκ ἀτρεκετὴ πρηγμάτων  
 οὐδ' ὑπίσχομαι τάληθές εἰδέναι· ἄσσα δ' ἂν ἐπι-  
 λέγη θεολογέων· τὰ ἄλλα χρή νοέειν· ἅπαντα  
 γὰρ αἰνίσσομαι. τῇ δὲ νούσῳ πιεζόμενος ἐπὶ  
 μᾶλλον οὔτε τῶν τινα ἱητρῶν οὔτε τοὺς ἑταίρους  
 ἐσιέμην· προσετέωσι δὲ τῇ θύρῃ καὶ εἰρομένοις  
 ὁκοῖόν τι εἶη, διεῖς δάκτυλον ἐκ τῆς κληῖθρης  
 ἔδειξ' ἂν ὥς ἔβρυον τοῦ κακοῦ. καὶ προεῖπα  
 αὐτοῖσι ἥκειν ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην ἐπὶ τὰς Φερε-  
 κύδεω ταφάς."

Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οἱ κληθέντες σοφοί, οἷς τινες  
 καὶ Πεισίστρατον τὸν τύραννον προσκαταλέγουσι.  
 λεκτέον δὲ περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων· καὶ πρῶτόν γε  
 ἀρκτέον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωνικῆς φιλοσοφίας, ἥς καθ-  
 ηγήσατο Θαλῆς, οὗ διηκούσεν Ἀναξίμανδρος.

the other sages approve of it, and not otherwise.  
 For I myself am not yet satisfied with it. The facts  
 are not absolutely correct, nor do I claim to have  
 discovered the truth, but merely such things as one  
 who inquires about the gods picks up. The rest  
 must be thought out, for mine is all guess-work. As  
 I was more and more weighed down with my malady,  
 I did not permit any of the physicians or my friends  
 to come into the room where I was, but, as they stood  
 before the door and inquired how I was, I thrust  
 my finger through the keyhole and showed them  
 how plague-stricken I was; and I told them to come  
 to-morrow to bury Pherecydes."

So much for those who are called the Sages, with  
 whom some writers also class Pisistratus the tyrant.  
 I must now proceed to the philosophers and start  
 with the philosophy of Ionia. Its founder was  
 Thales, and Anaximander was his pupil.

## B

## Κεφ. α'. ΑΝΑΞΙΜΑΝΔΡΟΣ

1 Ἀναξίμανδρος Πραξιάδου Μιλήσιος. οὗτος ἔφασκεν ἀρχὴν καὶ στοιχεῖον τὸ ἀπειρον, οὐ διορίζων ἀέρα ἢ ὕδωρ ἢ ἄλλο τι. καὶ τὰ μὲν μέρη μεταβάλλειν, τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἀμετάβλητον εἶναι. μέσῃν τε τὴν γῆν κεῖσθαι, κέντρου τάξιν ἐπέχουσιν οὖσαν σφαιροειδῆ· τὴν τε σελήνην ψευδοφαῖ, καὶ ἀπὸ ἡλίου φωτίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον οὐκ ἐλάττονα τῆς γῆς, καὶ καθαρῶτατον πῦρ.

Εὗρεν δὲ καὶ γνῶμονα πρῶτος καὶ ἔστησεν ἐπὶ τῶν σκιοθέρων ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, καθὰ φησι Φαβωρίνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ, τροπὰς τε καὶ ἰσημερίας σημαίνοντα, καὶ ὥροσκοπεῖα κατασκεύασε. καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης περίμετρον πρῶτος ἔγραψεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφαῖραν κατασκεύασε.

Τῶν δὲ ἀρεσκόντων αὐτῷ πεποίηται κεφαλαιώδη τὴν ἐκθεσιν, ἣν ποὺ περιέτυχεν καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος· ὃς καὶ φησιν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔχει τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ὁγδόης Ὀλυμ-

\* With this Life Diels (*Dox. Gr.* p. 133) compares Hippolytus (*Ref. Haer.* i. 6), Plutarch (*Strom.* 2), Aëtius, i. 3. 3; iii. 11. 1; iii. 10. 2; ii. 11. 5; ii. 20. 1; ii. 24. 2; ii. 29. 1; ii. 21. 1; iii. 15. 6; v. 19. 4, which go back to Theophrastus, *Phys. Opin.* Fr. 2.

## BOOK II

## CHAPTER 1. ANAXIMANDER \* (611-546 B.C.)

ANAXIMANDER, the son of Praxiades, was a native of Miletus. He laid down as his principle and element that which is unlimited without defining it as air or water or anything else. He held that the parts undergo change, but the whole is unchangeable; that the earth, which is of spherical shape, lies in the midst, occupying the place of a centre; that the moon, shining with borrowed light, derives its illumination from the sun; further, that the sun is as large as the earth and consists of the purest fire.<sup>b</sup>

He was the first inventor of the gnomon and set it up for a sundial in Lacedaemon,<sup>c</sup> as is stated by Favorinus in his *Miscellaneous History*, in order to mark the solstices and the equinoxes; he also constructed clocks to tell the time. He was the first to draw on a map the outline of land and sea, and he constructed a globe as well.

His exposition of his doctrines took the form of a summary which no doubt came into the hands, among others, of Apollodorus of Athens. He says in his *Chronology* that in the second year of the 58th

<sup>b</sup> These astronomical discoveries belong properly to Anaxagoras.

<sup>c</sup> But see Herodotus ii. 109, who makes the Babylonians the inventors.



## DIODENES LAERTIUS

παῖδος ἐτῶν εἶναι ἐξήκοντα τεττάρων καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τελευτῆσαι, ἀκμάσαντά πη μάλιστα κατὰ Πολυκράτην τὸν Σάμου τύραννον. τούτου φασὶν ἄδοντος καταγελάσαι τὰ παιδάρια, τὸν δὲ μαθόντα φάναι, " βέλτιον οὖν ἡμῖν ἄστέον διὰ τὰ παιδάρια."

Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ἀναξίμανδρος ἱστορικός, καὶ αὐτὸς Μιλήσιος τῇ Ἰάδι γεγραφώς.

### Κεφ. β'. ΑΝΑΞΙΜΕΝΗΣ

3 Ἀναξίμενης Εὐρυστράτου Μιλήσιος ἤκουσε Ἀναξιμάνδρου. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ Παρμενίδου φασὶν ἀκοῦσαι αὐτόν. οὗτος ἀρχὴν ἀέρα εἶπε καὶ τὸ ἀπειρον. κινεῖσθαι δὲ τὰ ἀστρα οὐχ ὑπὸ γῆν, ἀλλὰ περὶ γῆν. κέχρηταί τε λέξει Ἰάδι ἀπλῇ καὶ ἀπερίττῳ.

Καὶ γεγένηται μὲν, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος, περὶ τὴν Σάρδεων ἄλωσιν, ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τῇ ἐξηκοστῇ τρίτῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι.

Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι δύο Λαμψακηνοί, ῥήτωρ καὶ ἱστορικός, ὃς ἀδελφὸς υἱὸς ἦν τοῦ ῥήτορος τοῦ τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου πράξεις γεγραφότος.

Οὗτος δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ ἐπέστειλεν ὧδε

Ἀναξίμενης Πυθαγόρῃ

4 "Θαλῆς Ἐξαμύου ἐπὶ γήρῳ οὐκ εὐπότμῳ οἵχεται· εὐφρόνης, ὥσπερ ἐώθει, ἅμα τῇ ἀμφιπόλῳ

<sup>a</sup> 547-546 B.C.

<sup>b</sup> There is a chronological difficulty in this statement of Diogenes, for Polycrates of Samos died in 522. The difficulty, however, disappears if the statement be taken to refer not to Anaximander but to Pythagoras.

<sup>c</sup> Diels (*op. cit.* p. 135) compares Hippolytus, *Ref. Haer.*

## II. 2-4. ANAXIMANDER—ANAXIMENES

Olympiad <sup>a</sup> Anaximander was sixty-four, and that he died not long afterwards. Thus he flourished almost at the same time as Polycrates the tyrant of Samos.<sup>b</sup> There is a story that the boys laughed at his singing, and that, when he heard of it, he rejoined, " Then to please the boys I must improve my singing."

There is another Anaximander, also of Miletus, a historian who wrote in the Ionic dialect.

### CHAPTER 2. ANAXIMENES <sup>c</sup> (flor. c. 546 B.C.)

Anaximenes, the son of Eurystratus, a native of Miletus, was a pupil of Anaximander. According to some, he was also a pupil of Parmenides. He took for his first principle air or that which is unlimited. He held that the stars move round the earth but do not go under it. He writes simply and unaffectedly in the Ionic dialect.

According to Apollodorus he was contemporary with the taking of Sardis and died in the 63rd Olympiad.<sup>d</sup>

There have been two other men named Anaximenes, both of Lampsacus, the one a rhetorician who wrote on the achievements of Alexander, the other, the nephew of the rhetorician, who was a historian.

Anaximenes the philosopher wrote the following letters:

*Anaximenes to Pythagoras*

"Thales, the son of Examyas, has met an unkind fate in his old age. He went out from the court of

i. 7. 1; Plutarch, *Strom.* 3; Aëtius, i. 3. 4; iii. 15. 8; ii. 13. 10; ii. 16. 6; iii. 4. 1; iii. 3. 1; iii. 5. 10; iii. 14. 3, ultimately from Theophrastus, *Phys. Opin.* Fr. 2.

<sup>d</sup> 528-525 B.C.

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προϊὼν ἐκ τοῦ αὐλοῦ τὰ ἄστρο ἐθέλειτο· καί—οὐ γὰρ ἐς μνήμην ἔθετο—θηεύμενος ἐς τὸ κρημνῶδες ἐκβὰς καταπίπτει. Μιλησίοισι μὲν νυν ὁ αἰθερολόγος ἐν τοιῷδε κείται τέλει. ἡμέες δὲ οἱ λεσχηνευταὶ αὐτοῖ τε μεμνώμεθα τοῦ ἀνδρός, οἱ τε ἡμέων παῖδες τε καὶ λεσχηνευταί, ἐπιδεξιόίμεθα δ' ἔτι τοῖς ἐκείνου λόγοις. ἀρχὴ μέντοι παντὸς τοῦ λόγου Θαλῆ ἀνακείσθω."

Καὶ πάλιν·

Ἀναξιμένης Πυθαγόρη

- 5 "Εὐβουλότατος ἦς ἡμέων, μεταναστὰς ἐκ Σάμου ἐς Κρότωνα, ἐνθάδε εἰρηνέει. οἱ δὲ Αἰακῆος παῖδες ἅλαστα κακὰ ἔρδουσι καὶ Μιλησίους οὐκ ἐπιλείπουσι αἰσυννῆται. δεινὸς δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ ὁ Μήδων βασιλεὺς, οὐκ ἦν γε ἐθέλωμεν δασμοφορέειν· ἀλλὰ μέλλουσι δὴ ἀμφὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀπάντων Ἴωνες Μήδοις κατ-ίστασθαι ἐς πόλεμον· καταστᾶσι δὲ οὐκέτι ἐλπίς ἡμῖν σωτηρίας. κὼς ἂν οὖν Ἀναξιμένης ἐν θυμῷ ἔτι ἔχοι αἰθερολογέειν, ἐν δέματι ἐὼν ὀλέθρου ἢ δουλοσύνης; σὺ δὲ εἰ καταθύμιος μὲν Κροτωνιῇτι, καταθύμιος δὲ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοις Ἰταλιώτησι· φοιτέουσι δὲ τοὶ λεσχηνευταὶ καὶ ἐκ Σικελίης."

## Κεφ. γ'. ΑΝΑΞΑΓΟΡΑΣ

- 6 Ἀναξαγόρας Ἡγησιβούλου ἢ Εὐβούλου Κλαζο-μένιος. οὗτος ἤκουσεν Ἀναξιμένους, καὶ πρῶτος τῇ ὕλῃ νοῦν ἐπέστησεν, ἀρξάμενος οὕτω τοῦ συγ-

\* Diels (*Dox. Gr.* p. 137) compares Hippolytus, *Ref. Haer.* i. 8. 1-11; Aëtius, i. 3. 5; iv. 1. 3; ii. 20. 6; ii. 21. 3; ii. 28. 5; ii. 29. 7; ii. 23. 2; ii. 25. 9; iii. 1. 5; iii. 2. 2; iii. 2. 9; iii. 3. 4; iii. 15. 14; v. 7. 4, and Theophrastus, *Phys.*

## II. 4-6. ANAXIMENES—ANAXAGORAS

his house at night, as was his custom, with his maid-servant to view the stars, and, forgetting where he was, as he gazed, he got to the edge of a steep slope and fell over. In such wise have the Milesians lost their astronomer. Let us who were his pupils cherish his memory, and let it be cherished by our children and pupils; and let us not cease to entertain one another with his words. Let all our dis-course begin with a reference to Thales."

And again :

*Anaximenes to Pythagoras*

"You were better advised than the rest of us when you left Samos for Croton, where you live in peace. For the sons of Aeaces work incessant mischief, and Miletus is never without tyrants. The king of the Medes is another terror to us, not indeed so long as we are willing to pay tribute; but the Ionians are on the point of going to war with the Medes to secure their common freedom, and once we are at war we have no more hope of safety. How then can Anaximenes any longer think of studying the heavens when threatened with destruction or slavery? Mean-while you find favour with the people of Croton and with the other Greeks in Italy; and pupils come to you even from Sicily."

## CHAPTER 3. ANAXAGORAS \* (500-428 B.C.)

Anaxagoras, the son of Hegesibulus or Eubulus, was a native of Clazomenae. He was a pupil of Anaximenes, and was the first who set mind above

*Opin. Fr. 4.* For Anaxagoras as astronomer see Sir T. L. Heath, *Aristarchus of Samos*, pp. 78-85.

γράμματος, ὃ ἐστὶν ἡδέως καὶ μεγαλοφρόνως ἡρμηνευμένον· “πάντα χρήματα ἦν ὁμοῦ· εἶτα νοῦς ἐλθὼν αὐτὰ διεκόσμησε.” παρὸ καὶ Νοῦς ἐπεκλήθη, καὶ φησι περὶ αὐτοῦ Τίμων ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις οὕτω·

καὶ που Ἀναξαγόρην φάσ’ ἔμμεναι, ἄλκιμον ἦρκα  
Νοῦν, ὅτι δὴ νόος αὐτῷ, ὃς ἐξαπίνης ἐπεγείρας  
πάντα συνεσφίκωσεν ὁμοῦ τεταραγμένα πρόσθεν.

Οὗτος εὐγενεῖα καὶ πλούτῳ διαφέρων ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνη, ὃς γε τὰ πατρώα παρεχώρησε τοῖς οἰκείοις. αἰτιαθεὶς γὰρ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ὡς ἀμελῶν, “τί οὖν,” ἔφη, “οὐχ ὑμεῖς ἐπιμελείσθε;” καὶ τέλος ἀπέστη καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν φυσικῶν θεωρίαν ἦν οὐ φροντίζων τῶν πολιτικῶν. ὅτε καὶ πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, “οὐδέν σοι μέλει τῆς πατρίδος;” “εὐφήμει,” ἔφη, “ἐμοὶ γὰρ καὶ σφόδρα μέλει τῆς πατρίδος,” δείξας τὸν οὐρανόν.

Λέγεται δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν εἴκοσιν ἔτων εἶναι, βεβιωκέναι δὲ ἑβδομήκοντα δύο. φησὶ δ’ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς γεγενῆσθαι αὐτὸν τῇ ἑβδομηκοστῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι, τεθνηκέναι δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς ὀγδοηκοστῆς ὀγδόης. ἦρξατο δὲ φιλοσοφεῖν Ἀθήνησιν ἐπὶ Καλλίου, ἑτῶν εἴκοσιν ὧν, ὡς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀρχόντων ἀναγραφῇ, ἔνθα καὶ φασιν αὐτὸν ἑτῶν διατρῖψαι τριάκοντα.

8 Οὗτος ἔλεγε τὸν ἥλιον μύδρον εἶναι διάπυρον καὶ μείζω τῆς Πελοποννήσου· οἱ δὲ φασὶ Τάνταλον τὴν δὲ σελήνην οἰκῆσεις ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόφους καὶ

<sup>a</sup> Fr. 24 D.

<sup>b</sup> 500-497 B.C.

<sup>c</sup> 428 B.C.

<sup>d</sup> i.e. 456 B.C.; but possibly the year 480 is meant, when Calliades was archon.

matter, for at the beginning of his treatise, which is composed in attractive and dignified language, he says, “All things were together; then came Mind and set them in order.” This earned for Anaxagoras himself the nickname of Nous or Mind, and Timon in his *Silli* says of him <sup>a</sup>:

Then, I ween, there is Anaxagoras, a doughty champion, whom they call Mind, because forsooth his was the mind which suddenly woke up and fitted closely together all that had formerly been in a medley of confusion.

He was eminent for wealth and noble birth, and furthermore for magnanimity, in that he gave up his patrimony to his relations. For, when they accused him of neglecting it, he replied, “Why then do you not look after it?” And at last he went into retirement and engaged in physical investigation without troubling himself about public affairs. When some one inquired, “Have you no concern in your native land?” “Gently,” he replied, “I am greatly concerned with my fatherland,” and pointed to the sky.

He is said to have been twenty years old at the invasion of Xerxes and to have lived seventy-two years. Apollodorus in his *Chronology* says that he was born in the 70th Olympiad,<sup>b</sup> and died in the first year of the 88th Olympiad.<sup>c</sup> He began to study philosophy at Athens in the archonship of Callias<sup>d</sup> when he was twenty; Demetrius of Phalerum states this in his list of archons; and at Athens they say he remained for thirty years.

He declared the sun to be a mass of red-hot metal and to be larger than the Peloponnesus, though others ascribe this view to Tantalus; he declared that there were dwellings on the moon, and moreover

φάραγγας. ἀρχὰς δὲ τὰς ὁμοιομερείας· καθάπερ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ψηγμάτων λεγομένων τὸν χρυσὸν συν-εστάναι, οὕτως ἐκ τῶν ὁμοιομερῶν μικρῶν σωμάτων τὸ πᾶν συγκεκρίσθαι. καὶ νοῦν μὲν ἀρχὴν κινήσεως· τῶν δὲ σωμάτων τὰ μὲν βαρέα τὸν κάτω τόπον, <ὡς τὴν γῆν>, τὰ δὲ κοῦφα τὸν ἄνω ἐπισχεῖν, ὡς τὸ πῦρ· ὕδωρ δὲ καὶ αἶρα τὸν μέσον. οὕτω γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πλατείας οὐσης τὴν θάλασσαν ὑποστήναι, δια-<sup>9</sup> τμισθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου τῶν ὑγρῶν. τὰ δ' ἄστρα κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν θολοειδῶς ἐνεχθῆναι, ὥστε κατὰ κορυφὴν τῆς γῆς τὸν αἰεὶ φαινόμενον εἶναι πόλον, ὕστερον δὲ τὴν ἐγκλισιν λαβεῖν. καὶ τὸν γαλαξίαν ἀνάκλασιν εἶναι φωτὸς <τῶν ὑπὸ> ἡλίου μὴ κατα-λαμπομένων [τῶν] ἄστρον. τοὺς δὲ κομήτας σύν-οδον πλανητῶν φλόγας ἀφιέντων· τοὺς τε διάττον-τας ὅλον σπινθήρας ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵρος ἀποπάλλεσθαι. ἀνέμους γίγνεσθαι λεπτυνομένου τοῦ αἵρος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου. βροντὰς σύγκρουσιν νεφῶν· ἀστρα-πὰς ἔκτριψιν νεφῶν· σεισμόν ὑπονόστησιν αἵρος εἰς γῆν.

Ζῶα γίγνεσθαι ἐξ ὑγροῦ καὶ θερμοῦ καὶ γεώδους, ὕστερον δὲ ἐξ ἀλλήλων· καὶ ἄρρενα μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν, θήλεα δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν.

<sup>10</sup> Φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν προειπεῖν τὴν περὶ Αἰγὸς ποταμοῦς γενομένην τοῦ λίθου πτώσιν, ὃν εἶπεν ἐκ τοῦ ἡλίου πεσεῖσθαι. ὅθεν καὶ Εὐριπίδην, μαθητὴν ὄντα αὐτοῦ, χρυσέαν βῶλον εἰπεῖν τὸν ἡλίον ἐν τῷ Φαέ-θοντι. ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐλθόντα ἐν δερμα-

hills and ravines. He took as his principles the homoeomerics or homogeneous molecules; for just as gold consists of fine particles which are called gold-dust, so he held the whole universe to be com-pounded of minute bodies having parts homogeneous to themselves. His moving principle was Mind; of bodies, he said, some, like earth, were heavy, occupy-ing the region below, others, light like fire, held the region above, while water and air were intermediate in position. For in this way over the earth, which is flat, the sea sinks down after the moisture has been evaporated by the sun. In the beginning the stars moved in the sky as in a revolving dome, so that the celestial pole which is always visible was vertically overhead; but subsequently the pole took its inclined position. He held the Milky Way to be a reflection of the light of stars which are not shone upon by the sun; comets to be a conjunction of planets which emit flames; shooting-stars to be a sort of sparks thrown off by the air. He held that winds arise when the air is rarefied by the sun's heat; that thunder is a clashing together of the clouds, lightning their violent friction; an earth-quake a subsidence of air into the earth.

Animals were produced from moisture, heat, and an earthy substance; later the species were prop-agated by generation from one another, males from the right side, females from the left.

There is a story that he predicted the fall of the meteoric stone at Aegospotami, which he said would fall from the sun.<sup>a</sup> Hence Euripides, who was his pupil, in the *Phaëthon* calls the sun itself a "golden clod."<sup>b</sup> Furthermore, when he went to Olympia,

<sup>a</sup> Nauck, *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup>, *Eur.* 783.

<sup>a</sup> This version agrees with Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 149 "celebrant Graeci Anaxagoram Clazomenium Olympiadis septuagesimae octavae secundo anno praedixisse caelestium litterarum scientia quibus diebus saxum casurum esset e sole."

τίνω καθίσαι, ὡς μέλλοντος ὕσιν· καὶ γενέσθαι.  
πρὸς τε τὸν εἰπόντα, εἰ τὰ ἐν Λαμψάκῳ ὄρη ἔσται  
ποτὲ θάλαττα, φασὶν εἰπεῖν, "ἐάν γε ὁ χρόνος μὴ  
ἐπιλίπη." ἐρωτηθεὶς ποτὲ εἰς τί γεγέννηται, "εἰς  
θεωρίαν," ἔφη, "ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ οὐρανοῦ."  
πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, "ἐστερήθης Ἀθηναίων," "οὐ μὲν  
οὖν," ἔφη, "ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐμοῦ." ἰδὼν τὸν Μανσώ-  
λου τάφον ἔφη, "τάφος πολυτελὴς λελιθωμένης  
11 ἐστὶν οὐσίας εἰδῶλον." πρὸς τὸν δυσφοροῦντα ὅτι  
ἐπὶ ξένης τελευτᾷ, "πανταχόθεν," ἔφη, "ὅμοια ἐστὶν  
ἢ εἰς αἴδου κατάβασις."

Δοκεῖ δὲ πρῶτος, καθά φησι Φαβωρίνος ἐν Παντο-  
δαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ, τὴν Ὀμήρου ποιήσιν ἀποφύνασθαι  
εἶναι περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ δικαιοσύνης· ἐπὶ πλείον δὲ  
προστίηται τοῦ λόγου Μητροδώρον τὸν Λαμψακηνόν,  
γνώριμον ὄντα αὐτοῦ, ὃν καὶ πρῶτον σπουδάσαι τοῦ  
ποιητοῦ περὶ τὴν φυσικὴν πραγματείαν. πρῶτος  
δὲ Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ βιβλίον ἐξέδωκε συγγραφῆς.  
φησὶ δὲ Σιληνὸς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν ἐπὶ  
12 ἄρχοντος Δημύλου<sup>1</sup> λίθον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πεσεῖν· τὸν δὲ  
Ἀναξαγόραν εἰπεῖν ὡς ὅλος ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐκ λίθων

<sup>1</sup> Δη<μοσίωνος> μύλου Diels.

\* Anaxagoras, whose death falls in the fifth century, circa 428-425 B.C., could not possibly have seen the famous Mausoleum erected by Artemisia, the widow of Mausolus, not earlier than 350 B.C. Mausolus ruled over Caria, according to Diodorus, from 377 to 353. The apophthegm is therefore either wrongly attributed to Anaxagoras or, if genuine, must have been uttered on some other occasion.

<sup>2</sup> From Plutarch's Life of Nicias, c. 23, and Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 78, p. 364 P.), διὰ γραφῆς (for which Diels conjectures <μετὰ> διαγραφῆς) ἐκδοῦναι βιβλίον ἱστοροῦσιν, the inference seems to be that Anaxagoras was credited

he sat down wrapped in a sheep-skin cloak as if it were going to rain; and the rain came. When some one asked him if the hills at Lampsacus would ever become sea, he replied, "Yes, it only needs time." Being asked to what end he had been born, he replied, "To study sun and moon and heavens." To one who inquired, "You miss the society of the Athenians?" his reply was, "Not I, but they miss mine." When he saw the tomb of Mausolus, he said, "A costly tomb is an image of an estate turned into stone." <sup>a</sup> To one who complained that he was dying in a foreign land, his answer was, "The descent to Hades is much the same from whatever place we start."

Favorinus in his *Miscellaneous History* says Anaxagoras was the first to maintain that Homer in his poems treats of virtue and justice, and that this thesis was defended at greater length by his friend Metrodorus of Lampsacus, who was the first to busy himself with Homer's physical doctrine. Anaxagoras was also the first to publish a book with diagrams.<sup>b</sup> Silenus<sup>c</sup> in the first book of his *History* gives the archonship of Demylus<sup>d</sup> as the date when the meteoric stone fell, and says that Anaxagoras declared the whole firmament to be made of stones; that the

with diagrams as well as text, διδασκαλία καὶ γραφή. Laertius, if the text is sound, is much too vague; and some translate "was the first to bring out a book written by himself."

\* Silenus of Calatia, who served in the Hannibalic war, wrote a History quoted by Cicero, Livy and Pliny; also a work on Sicily, *F.H.G.* iii. 100.

<sup>d</sup> We know no archon Demylus. Various dates are suggested by critics; the years of (1) Demotion, archon 470, (2) Lysistratus, 467, (3) Diphilus, 442 B.C. The letters -μνολον may not be part of the archon's name but a distinct word, calling the meteor a "millstone," i.e. in size.

συγκόειτο· τῇ σφοδρᾷ δὲ περιδιῆσει συνεστάναι καὶ ἀνεθέντα κατενεχθήσεσθαι.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς δίκης αὐτοῦ διάφορα λέγεται. Σω-  
 τίων μὲν γάρ φησιν ἐν τῇ Διαδοχῇ τῶν φιλοσόφων  
 ὑπὸ Κλέωνος αὐτὸν ἀσεβείας κριθῆναι, διότι τὸν  
 ἥλιον μύδρον ἔλεγε διάπυρον· ἀπολογησαμένου δὲ  
 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Περικλέους τοῦ μαθητοῦ, πέντε ταλάν-  
 τοις ζημιωθῆναι καὶ φυγαδευθῆναι. Σάτυρος δ' ἐν  
 τοῖς Βίοις ὑπὸ Θουκυδίδου φησὶν εἰσαχθῆναι τὴν  
 δίκην, ἀντιπολιτευομένου τῷ Περικλεῖ· καὶ οὐ μόνον  
 ἀσεβείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ μηδισμοῦ· καὶ ἀπόντα κατα-  
 13 δικασθῆναι θανάτῳ. ὅτε καὶ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῷ προσ-  
 αγγελέντων, τῆς τε καταδίκης καὶ τῆς τῶν παίδων  
 τελευτῆς, εἰπεῖν περὶ μὲν τῆς καταδίκης, ὅτι ἄρα  
 “κάκεινων κάμοῦ πάλαι ἡ φύσις κατεψηφίσατο,”  
 περὶ δὲ τῶν παίδων, ὅτι “ἦδεν αὐτοὺς θνητοὺς  
 γεννήσας.” οἱ δ' εἰς Σόλωνα τοῦτ' ἀναφέρουσιν,  
 ἄλλοι εἰς Ξενοφῶντα. τοῦτον δὲ καὶ θάψαι ταῖς  
 ἰδίαις χερσὶν αὐτοὺς Δημήτριός φησιν ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν  
 τῷ Περὶ γήρως. Ἑρμιππος δ' ἐν τοῖς Βίοις φησὶν  
 ὅτι καθεῖρχθη ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ τεθνηξόμενος.  
 Περικλῆς δὲ παρελθὼν εἶπεν εἰ τι ἔχουσιν ἐγκαλεῖν  
 αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν βίον· οὐδὲν δὲ εἰπόντων, “καὶ μὴν  
 ἐγώ,” ἔφη, “τούτου μαθητῆς εἰμι· μὴ οὖν διαβολαῖς  
 ἐπαρθέντες ἀποκτείνητε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ  
 14 πεισθέντες ἄφετε.” καὶ ἀφείθη· οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν δὲ  
 τὴν ὕβριν ἑαυτὸν ἐξήγαγεν. Ἱερώνυμος δ' ἐν τῷ  
 δευτέρῳ Τῶν σποράδην ὑπομνημάτων φησὶν ὅτι ὁ  
 Περικλῆς παρήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον, δι-

\* This version of the story agrees with that of Plutarch  
 in his Life of Lysander, § 12 λέγεται δὲ . . . τοῦ παντός.

rapidity of rotation caused it to cohere ; and that if  
 this were relaxed it would fall.\*

Of the trial of Anaxagoras different accounts are  
 given. Sotion in his *Succession of the Philosophers*  
 says that he was indicted by Cleon on a charge of  
 impiety, because he declared the sun to be a mass  
 of red-hot metal ; that his pupil Pericles defended  
 him, and he was fined five talents and banished.  
 Satyrus in his *Lives* says that the prosecutor was  
 Thucydides, the opponent of Pericles, and the charge  
 one of treasonable correspondence with Persia as  
 well as of impiety ; and that sentence of death was  
 passed on Anaxagoras by default. When news was  
 brought him that he was condemned and his sons  
 were dead, his comment on the sentence was, “ Long  
 ago nature condemned both my judges and myself  
 to death ” ; and on his sons, “ I knew that my  
 children were born to die.” Some, however, tell  
 this story of Solon, and others of Xenophon. That  
 he buried his sons with his own hands is asserted by  
 Demetrius of Phalerum in his work *On Old Age*.  
 Hermippus in his *Lives* says that he was confined in  
 the prison pending his execution ; that Pericles  
 came forward and asked the people whether they  
 had any fault to find with him in his own public  
 career ; to which they replied that they had not.  
 “ Well,” he continued, “ I am a pupil of Anaxagoras ;  
 do not then be carried away by slanders and put  
 him to death. Let me prevail upon you to release  
 him.” So he was released ; but he could not brook  
 the indignity he had suffered and committed suicide.  
 Hieronymus in the second book of his *Scattered*  
*Notes* states that Pericles brought him into court so  
 weak and wasted from illness that he owed his

ἐρρηγκότα καὶ λεπτόν ὑπὸ νόσου, ὥστε ἐλέω μᾶλλον  
 ἢ κρίσει ἀφεθῆναι. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς δίκης  
 αὐτοῦ τοσαῦτα.

"Ἐδοξε δέ πως καὶ Δημοκρίτῳ ἀπεχθῶς ἐσχηκέναι  
 ἀποτυχῶν τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν κοινολογίας. καὶ τέλος  
 ἀποχωρήσας εἰς Λάμψακον αὐτόθι κατέστρεψεν.  
 ὅτε καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τῆς πόλεως ἀξιούντων τί βού-  
 λεται αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, φάναι, " τοὺς παῖδας ἐν ᾧ ἂν  
 ἀποθάνῃ μηνὶ κατ' ἔτος παίζων συγχωρεῖν." καὶ  
 15 φυλάττεται τὸ ἔθος καὶ νῦν. τελευτήσαντα δὲ αὐ-  
 τὸν ἔθαψαν ἐντίμως οἱ Λαμψακηνοὶ καὶ ἐπέγραψαν·  
 ἐνθάδε, πλείστον ἀληθείας ἐπὶ τέρμα περήσας  
 οὐρανοῦ κόσμον, κεῖται Ἀναξαγόρας.

"Ἔστι καὶ ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτόν·

ἡέλιον πυρόεντα μύδρον ποτὲ φάσκεν ὑπάρχειν,  
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θανεῖν μέλλεν Ἀναξαγόρας·  
 ἀλλ' ὁ φίλος Περικλῆς μὲν ἐρύσατο τοῦτον, ὁ δ'  
 αὐτόν

ἐξάγαγεν βιότου μαλθακὴν σοφίης.

Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τρεῖς Ἀναξαγόραι, ὧν [ἐν  
 οὐδενὶ πάντα, ἀλλ'] ὁ μὲν ἦν ῥήτωρ Ἰσοκράτειος·  
 ὁ δ' ἀνδριαντοποιός, οὗ μέμνηται Ἀντίγονος·  
 ἄλλος γραμματικὸς Ζηνοδότειος.

## Κεφ. δ'. ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΣ

16 Ἀρχέλαος Ἀθηναῖος ἢ Μιλήσιος, πατὴρ Ἀπολ-

<sup>a</sup> In ix. 34, 35 the statement that Democritus was hostile  
 to Anaxagoras and criticized his doctrines is ascribed to  
 Favorinus, and, as the motive alleged is similar, Favorinus  
 may also be the source of the statement of ii. 14.

acquittal not so much to the merits of his case as to  
 the sympathy of the judges. So much then on the  
 subject of his trial.

He was supposed to have borne Democritus a  
 grudge because he had failed to get into communica-  
 tion with him.<sup>a</sup> At length he retired to Lampsacus  
 and there died. And when the magistrates of the  
 city asked if there was anything he would like done  
 for him, he replied that he would like them to grant  
 an annual holiday to the boys in the month in which  
 he died; and the custom is kept up to this day.  
 So, when he died, the people of Lampsacus gave  
 him honourable burial and placed over his grave the  
 following inscription<sup>b</sup> :

Here Anaxagoras, who in his quest  
 Of truth scaled heaven itself, is laid to rest.

I also have written an epigram upon him<sup>c</sup> :

The sun's a molten mass,

Quoth Anaxagoras ;

This is his crime, his life must pay the price.

Pericles from that fate

Rescued his friend too late ;

His spirit crushed, by his own hand he dies.

There have been three other men who bore the  
 name of Anaxagoras [of whom no other writer gives  
 a complete list]. The first was a rhetorician of the  
 school of Isocrates ; the second a sculptor, mentioned  
 by Antigonos ; the third a grammarian, pupil of  
 Zenodotus.

## CHAPTER 4. ARCHELAUS<sup>d</sup> (c. 450 B.C.)

Archelaus, the son of Apollodorus, or as some say

<sup>b</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 94.

<sup>c</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 95.

<sup>d</sup> Diels (*Dox. Gr.* p. 139) compares Hippolytus, *Ref. Haer.*  
 i. 9. 1-5 ; Aëtius, i. 3. 6 ; Theophrastus, *Phys. Opin.* Fr. 4.

λοδώρου, ὡς δέ τινες, Μίδωνος, μαθητῆς Ἀναξαγόρου, διδάσκαλος Σωκράτους. οὗτος πρῶτος ἐκ τῆς Ἰωνίας τὴν φυσικὴν φιλοσοφίαν μετήγαγεν Ἀθήναζε, καὶ ἐκλήθη φυσικός, παρὸ καὶ ἔληξεν ἐν αὐτῷ ἡ φυσικὴ φιλοσοφία, Σωκράτους τὴν ἠθικὴν εἰσαγαγόντος. ἔοικεν δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἄψασθαι τῆς ἠθικῆς. καὶ γὰρ περὶ νόμων πεφιλοσόφηκε καὶ καλῶν καὶ δικαίων· παρ' οὗ λαβὼν Σωκράτης τῷ αὐξήσαι εἰς τὸ ἄκρον εὐρεῖν ὑπελήφθη. ἔλεγε δὲ δύο αἰτίας εἶναι γενέσεως, θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρόν. καὶ τὰ ζῶα ἀπὸ τῆς ἰλῦος γεννηθῆναι· καὶ τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν οὐ φύσει, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ.

- 17 Ὁ δὲ λόγος αὐτῷ οὕτως ἔχει. τηκόμενόν φησι τὸ ὕδωρ ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ, καθὸ μὲν εἰς τὸ κάτω διὰ τὸ πυρῶδες συνίσταται, ποιεῖν γῆν· καθὸ δὲ περιρρεῖ, αἶρα γεννᾷ. ὅθεν ἡ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ αἵερος, ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς περιφορᾶς κρατεῖται. γεννᾶσθαι δὲ φησι τὰ ζῶα ἐκ θερμῆς τῆς γῆς καὶ ἰλὺν παραπλησίαν γάλακτι οἶον τροφὴν ἀνείσης· οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ποιῆσαι. πρῶτος δὲ εἶπε φωνῆς γένεσιν τὴν τοῦ αἵερος πληξίν. τὴν δὲ θάλατταν ἐν τοῖς κοίλοις διὰ τῆς γῆς ἡθουμένην συνεστάναι. μέγιστον τῶν ἀστρων τὸν ἥλιον, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἄπειρον.

Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τρεῖς Ἀρχεῖλοι· ὁ χωρογράφος τῆς ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου πατηθείσης

<sup>1</sup> eis τὸ] αὐτὸς Emperius.

<sup>a</sup> οὗτος. This statement is not really applicable to Archelaus. Clement of Alexandria in *Strom.* i. 63 understood it of Anaxagoras; μεθ' οὗ [Anaximenes] Ἀναξαγόρας Ἡγησιβούλου Κλαζομένιος. οὗτος μετήγαγεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωνίας Ἀθήναζε τὴν διατριβήν.

of Midon, was a citizen of Athens or of Miletus; he was a pupil of Anaxagoras, who<sup>a</sup> first brought natural philosophy from Ionia to Athens. Archelaus was the teacher of Socrates. He was called the physicist inasmuch as with him natural philosophy came to an end, as soon as Socrates had introduced ethics. It would seem that Archelaus himself also treated of ethics, for he has discussed laws and goodness and justice; Socrates took the subject from him and, having improved it to the utmost, was regarded as its inventor. Archelaus laid down that there were two causes of growth or becoming, heat and cold; that living things were produced from slime; and that what is just and what is base depends not upon nature but upon convention.

His theory is to this effect. Water is melted by heat and produces on the one hand earth in so far as by the action of fire it sinks and coheres, while on the other hand it generates air in so far as it overflows on all sides. Hence the earth is confined by the air, and the air by the circumambient fire. Living things, he holds, are generated from the earth when it is heated and throws off slime of the consistency of milk to serve as a sort of nourishment, and in this same way the earth produced man. He was the first who explained the production of sound as being the concussion of the air, and the formation of the sea in hollow places as due to its filtering through the earth. He declared the sun to be the largest of the heavenly bodies and the universe to be unlimited.

There have been three other men who bore the name of Archelaus: the topographer who described the countries traversed by Alexander; the author



γῆς, ὃ τὰ Ἰδιοφυῇ ποιήσας, ἄλλος τεχνογράφος  
ρήτωρ.

Κεφ. ε'. ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ

- 18 Σωκράτης Σωφρονίσκου μὲν ἦν υἱὸς λιθουργοῦ  
καὶ Φαιναρέτης μαίας, ὡς καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Θεαιτήτῳ  
φησὶν, Ἀθηναῖος, τῶν δῆμων Ἀλωπεκῆθεν. ἐδόκει  
δὲ συμποιεῖν Εὐριπίδῃ ὅθεν Μνησίμαχος οὕτω φησί,

Φρύγες ἐστὶ καινὸν δράμα τοῦτ' Εὐριπίδου,  
... ὧ καὶ Σωκράτης  
τὰ φρύγαν' ὑποτίθισι.

καὶ πάλιν, "Εὐριπίδας σωκρατογόμφους." καὶ  
Καλλίας Πεδήταις.

- A. Τί δὴ σὺ σεμνὴ καὶ φρονεῖς οὕτω μέγα;  
B. Ἐξεστί γάρ μοι. Σωκράτης γὰρ αἵτιος.

Ἀριστοφάνης Νεφέλαις.

Εὐριπίδῃ δ' ὃ τὰς τραγωδίας ποιῶν  
τὰς περιπαλοῦσας οὕτως ἐστὶ, τὰς σοφάς.

- 19 Ἀκούσας δὲ Ἀναξαγόρου κατὰ τινας, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
Δάμωνος, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, μετὰ τὴν  
ἐκείνου καταδίκην διήκουσεν Ἀρχελαοῦ τοῦ φυ-  
σικοῦ· οὗ καὶ παιδικὰ γενέσθαι φησὶν Ἀριστόξεως.  
Δούρις δὲ καὶ δουλεύσαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἐργάσασθαι  
λίθους· εἶναι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐν ἀκροπόλει Χάριτας  
ἐνιοί φασιν, ἐνδεδυμένας οὕσας. ὅθεν καὶ Τίμων  
ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις εἰπεῖν.

\* So Cobet for vulgate Mnesilochus, retained by Meineke,  
C.G.F. ii. 371.

<sup>b</sup> There is a pun in *Φρύγες* and *φρύγανα* (= firewood).

<sup>c</sup> Meineke, C.G.F. ii. 739.

<sup>d</sup> A mistake for Teleclides: see Meineke, *Comicorum Graecorum*

of a treatise on Natural Curiosities; and lastly a  
rhetorician who wrote a handbook on his art.

CHAPTER 5. SOCRATES (469-399 B.C.)

Socrates was the son of Sophroniscus, a sculptor,  
and of Phaenarete, a midwife, as we read in the  
*Theaetetus* of Plato; he was a citizen of Athens and  
belonged to the deme Alopecce. It was thought that  
he helped Euripides to make his plays; hence  
Mnesimachus<sup>a</sup> writes:

This new play of Euripides is *The Phrygians*; and  
Socrates provides the wood for frying.<sup>b</sup>

And again he calls Euripides "an engine riveted by  
Socrates." And Callias in *The Captives*<sup>c</sup>:

- A. Pray why so solemn, why this lofty air?  
B. I've every right; I'm helped by Socrates.

Aristophanes<sup>d</sup> in *The Clouds*:

'Tis he composes for Euripides  
Those clever plays, much sound and little sense.

According to some authors he was a pupil of  
Anaxagoras, and also of Damon, as Alexander states  
in his *Successions of Philosophers*. When Anaxagoras  
was condemned, he became a pupil of Archelaus the  
physicist; Aristoxenus asserts that Archelaus was  
very fond of him. Duris makes him out to have  
been a slave and to have been employed on stone-  
work, and the draped figures of the Graces on the  
Acropolis have by some been attributed to him.  
Hence the passage in Timon's *Silli*<sup>e</sup>:

*corum Fragmenta*, ii. p. 371 sq. Dindorf conjectured that  
τὰς σωκρατογόμφους belongs to the same passage of Teleclides'  
*Clouds* and might well follow σοφάς.

<sup>e</sup> Fr. 25 D.

ἐκ δ' ἄρα τῶν ἀπέκλινεν ὁ λαῶος, ἐννομολέσχης,  
Ἑλλήνων ἐπαοιδός, ἀκριβολόγους ἀποφήνας,  
μυκτὴρ ῥητορόμυκτος, ὑπαττικὸς εἰρωνευτής.

ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ῥητορικοῖς δεινός, ὥς φησι  
καὶ Ἰδομενεύς· ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τριάκοντα αὐτὸν ἐκώ-  
20 λυσαν τέχνας διδάσκειν λόγων, ὥς φησι Ξενοφῶν.  
καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης αὐτὸν κωμῶδεῖ ὡς τὸν ἥττω  
λόγον κρείττω ποιοῦντα. καὶ γὰρ πρῶτος, ὥς  
φησι Φαβωρίνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ, μετὰ τοῦ  
μαθητοῦ Αἰσχίνου ῥητορεύειν ἐδίδασκε· λέγει δὲ  
τοῦτο καὶ Ἰδομενεύς ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν.  
καὶ πρῶτος περὶ βίου διελέχθη καὶ πρῶτος φιλο-  
σόφων καταδικασθεὶς ἐτελεύτα. φησὶ δ' αὐτὸν  
Ἀριστόξενος ὁ Σπινθάρου καὶ χρηματίσασθαι·  
τιθέντα γοῦν τὸ βαλλόμενον κέρμα ἀθροίζειν· εἴτ'  
ἀναλῶσαντα πάλιν τιθέναι.

Κρίτωνα δ' ἀναστήσαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐργα-  
στηρίου καὶ παιδεύσαι τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν χάριτος  
21 ἐρασθέντα Δημήτριός φησιν ὁ Βυζάντιος. γνόντα  
δὲ τὴν φυσικὴν θεωρίαν μηδὲν εἶναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς,  
τὰ ἡθικὰ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπὶ τε τῶν ἐργαστηρίων καὶ  
ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ· κάκεινα δὲ φάσκειν ζητεῖν,

ὅττι τοι ἐν μεγάροις κακόν τ' ἀγαθόν τε τέτυκται.

πολλάκις δὲ βιαιότερον ἐν ταῖς ζητήσεσι διαλε-  
γόμενον κονδυλίζεσθαι καὶ παρατίλλεσθαι, τὸ πλέον  
τε γελάσθαι καταφρονούμενον· καὶ πάντα ταῦτα  
φέρειν ἀνεξικάκως. ὅθεν καὶ λακτισθέντα, ἐπειδὴ

\* Possibly the reference is to the same citation as in § 19  
which Diogenes Laertius may have found independently in  
two of his authorities. Diogenes himself notices the agree-  
ment between Favorinus and Idomeneus of Lampsacus, a

From these diverged the sculptor, a prater about laws,  
the enchanter of Greece, inventor of subtle arguments, the  
sneerer who mocked at fine speeches, half-Attic in his mock  
humility.

He was formidable in public speaking, according to  
Idomeneus; moreover, as Xenophon tells us, the  
Thirty forbade him to teach the art of words. And  
Aristophanes attacks him in his plays for making the  
worse appear the better reason. For Favorinus in  
his *Miscellaneous History* says Socrates and his pupil  
Aeschines were the first to teach rhetoric; and this  
is confirmed by Idomeneus in his work on the  
Socratic circle.\* Again, he was the first who dis-  
coursed on the conduct of life, and the first philosopher  
who was tried and put to death. Aristoxenus, the  
son of Spintharus, says of him that he made money;  
he would at all events invest sums, collect the interest  
accruing, and then, when this was expended, put out  
the principal again.

Demetrius of Byzantium relates that Crito removed  
him from his workshop and educated him, being  
struck by his beauty of soul; that he discussed moral  
questions in the workshops and the market-place,  
being convinced that the study of nature is no  
concern of ours; and that he claimed that his  
inquiries embraced

Whatso'er is good or evil in an house\*;

that frequently, owing to his vehemence in argu-  
ment, men set upon him with their fists or tore his  
hair out; and that for the most part he was despised  
and laughed at, yet bore all this ill-usage patiently.  
So much so that, when he had been kicked, and  
much earlier author, for he was a disciple of Epicurus, whom  
he knew from 310 to 270 B.C.

\* Hom. Od. iv. 392.

ἡνέσχετο, τινὸς θαυμάσαντος, εἰπεῖν, "εἰ δέ με ὄνος ἐλάκτισε, δίκην ἂν αὐτῷ ἐλάγχανον;" καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Δημήτριος.

22 Ἀποδημίας δὲ οὐκ ἐδεήθη, καθάπερ οἱ πλείους, πλὴν εἰ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἔδει. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν αὐτόθι μένων φιλονεικότερον συνεζήτει τοῖς προσδιαλεγομένοις, οὐχ ὥστε ἀφελέσθαι τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦς, ἀλλ' ὥστε τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐκμαθεῖν πειράσθαι. φασὶ δ' Εὐριπίδην αὐτῷ δόντα τὸ Ἡρακλείτου σύγγραμμα ἐρέσθαι, "τί δοκεῖ;" τὸν δὲ φάναι, "ἃ μὲν συνῆκα, γενναῖα· οἶμαι δὲ καὶ ἃ μὴ συνῆκα· πλὴν Δηλίου γέ τινος δέεται κολυμβητοῦ."

Ἐπεμελεῖτο δὲ καὶ σωμασκίας, καὶ ἦν εὐέκτης. ἐστρατεύσατο γοῦν εἰς Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ Ξενοφῶντα ἀφ' ἵππου πεσόντα ἐν τῇ κατὰ Δηλίον μάχῃ 23 διέσωσεν ὑπολαβών· ὅτε καὶ πάντων φευγόντων Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸς ἡρέμα ἀνεχώρει, παρεπιστροφόμενος ἡσυχῇ καὶ τηρῶν ἀμύνασθαι εἴ τίς οἱ ἐπέλθοι. ἐστρατεύσατο δὲ καὶ εἰς Ποτίδαιαν διὰ θαλάττης· πεζῇ γὰρ οὐκ ἐνῆν τοῦ πολέμου κωλύοντος. ὅτε καὶ μέναι διὰ νυκτὸς ὅλης ἐφ' ἐνὸς σχήματος αὐτὸν φασι, καὶ ἀριστεύσαντα αὐτόθι παραχωρήσαι Ἀλκιβιάδῃ τοῦ ἀριστείου· οὐ καὶ ἐρασθῆναι φησιν αὐτὸν Ἀρίστιππος ἐν τετάρτῳ Περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς. Ἴων δὲ ὁ Χῖος καὶ νέον

\* The reason assigned for an expedition to Potidaea by sea will not hold. Communications between Athens and Thrace were, as a rule, made by sea. Moreover, the siege of Potidaea began in 432 B.C., the year before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war. It has been suggested that the words διὰ θαλάττης . . . κωλύοντος should properly follow Ἰσθμὸν eight lines lower down. If any Athenian wished to

some one expressed surprise at his taking it so quietly, Socrates rejoined, "Should I have taken the law of a donkey, supposing that he had kicked me?" Thus far Demetrius.

Unlike most philosophers, he had no need to travel, except when required to go on an expedition. The rest of his life he stayed at home and engaged all the more keenly in argument with anyone who would converse with him, his aim being not to alter his opinion but to get at the truth. They relate that Euripides gave him the treatise of Heraclitus and asked his opinion upon it, and that his reply was, "The part I understand is excellent, and so too is, I dare say, the part I do not understand; but it needs a Delian diver to get to the bottom of it."

He took care to exercise his body and kept in good condition. At all events he served on the expedition to Amphipolis; and when in the battle of Delium Xenophon had fallen from his horse, he stepped in and saved his life. For in the general flight of the Athenians he personally retired at his ease, quietly turning round from time to time and ready to defend himself in case he were attacked. Again, he served at Potidaea, whither he had gone by sea, as land communications were interrupted by the war\*; and while there he is said to have remained a whole night without changing his position, and to have won the prize of valour. But he resigned it to Alcibiades, for whom he cherished the tenderest affection, according to Aristippus in the fourth book of his treatise *On the Luxury of the Ancients*. Ion of

attend the Isthmian games during the early part of the Peloponnesian war, it was probably safer not to risk the land journey owing to the bitter hostility of the Megarians.

ὄντα εἰς Σάμον σὺν Ἀρχελάῳ ἀποδημῆσαι· καὶ  
 Πυθῷδε ἐλθεῖν Ἀριστοτέλης φησίν· ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς  
 Ἰσθμόν, ὡς Φαβωρίνος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἀπο-  
 μνημονευμάτων.

24 Ἦν δὲ καὶ ἰσχυρογνώμων καὶ δημοκρατικός,  
 ὡς δῆλον ἔκ τε τοῦ μὴ εἶξαι τοῖς περὶ Κριτίαν,  
 κελεύουσι Λέοντα τὸν Σαλαμίνιον, ἄνδρα πλού-  
 σιον, ἀγαγεῖν πρὸς αὐτούς, ὥστε ἀπολέσθαι· ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ μόνος ἀποψηφίσασθαι τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν.  
 καὶ ἐνὸν αὐτῷ ἀποδρᾶναι τῆς εἰρκτῆς μὴ ἐθελῆσαι·  
 τοῖς τε κλαίουσιν αὐτὸν ἐπιπλῆξαι καὶ τοὺς καλ-  
 λίστους λόγους ἐκείνους δεδεμένον διαθέσθαι.

Αὐτάρκης τε ἦν καὶ σεμνός. καὶ ποτε Ἀλκι-  
 βιάδου, καθά φησι Παμφίλη ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ τῶν  
 Ὑπομνημάτων, διδόντος αὐτῷ χώραν μεγάλην, ἵνα  
 ἐνοικοδομήσῃται οἰκίαν, φάναι, “καὶ εἰ ὑποδη-  
 μάτων ἔδει, καὶ βύρσαν μοι ἐδίδους, ἵν’ ἐμαυτῷ  
 ὑποδήματα ποιησαίμην, καταγέλαστος ἂν ἦν  
 25 λαβών.” πολλάκις δ’ ἀφορῶν εἰς τὰ πλήθη τῶν  
 πιπρασκομένων ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτόν, “πόσων ἐγὼ  
 χρεῖαν οὐκ ἔχω.” καὶ συνεχῆς ἐκείνα ἀνεφθέγγετο  
 τὰ ἱαμβεῖα·

τὰ δ’ ἀργυρώματ’ ἐστὶν ἡ τε πορφύρα  
 εἰς τοὺς τραγικοὺς χρήσιμ’, οὐκ εἰς τὸν βίον.

ὑπερεφρόνησε δὲ καὶ Ἀρχελάου τοῦ Μακεδόνα  
 καὶ Σκόπα τοῦ Κρανωνίου καὶ Εὐρυλόχου τοῦ  
 Λαρισσαίου, μήτε χρήματα προσέμενος παρ’ αὐτῶν,  
 μήτε παρ’ αὐτοὺς ἀπελθών. εὐτακτός τε ἦν τῇν

\* Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, lvi. 15, attributes these and three  
 preceding lines to Philemon, the well-known poet of the New  
 154

Chios relates that in his youth he visited Samos in  
 the company of Archelaus; and Aristotle that he went  
 to Delphi; he went also to the Isthmus, according  
 to Favorinus in the first book of his *Memorabilia*.

His strength of will and attachment to the demo-  
 cracy are evident from his refusal to yield to Critias  
 and his colleagues when they ordered him to bring  
 the wealthy Leon of Salamis before them for execu-  
 tion, and further from the fact that he alone voted  
 for the acquittal of the ten generals; and again  
 from the facts that when he had the opportunity to  
 escape from the prison he declined to do so, and  
 that he rebuked his friends for weeping over his fate,  
 and addressed to them his most memorable discourses  
 in the prison.

He was a man of great independence and dignity  
 of character. Pamphila in the seventh book of her  
*Commentaries* tells how Alcibiades once offered him  
 a large site on which to build a house; but he  
 replied, “Suppose, then, I wanted shoes and you  
 offered me a whole hide to make a pair with, would  
 it not be ridiculous in me to take it?” Often when  
 he looked at the multitude of wares exposed for sale,  
 he would say to himself, “How many things I can  
 do without!” And he would continually recite the  
 lines:

The purple robe and silver’s shine  
 More fits an actor’s need than mine.\*

He showed his contempt for Archelaus of Macedon  
 and Scopas of Cranon and Eurylochus of Larissa by  
 refusing to accept their presents or to go to their  
 court. He was so orderly in his way of life that on  
 Comedy. If Philemon wrote them, Socrates cannot have  
 recited them, however well they express his temper.

δίαίταν οὕτως, ὥστε πολλάκις Ἀθήνησι λοιμῶν  
 γενομένων μόνος οὐκ ἐνόσησε.

26 Φησὶ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης δύο γυναῖκας αὐτὸν ἀγα-  
 γέσθαι· προτέραν μὲν Ξανθίππην, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ  
 γενέσθαι Λαμπροκλέα· δευτέραν δὲ Μυρτώ, τὴν  
 Ἀριστείδου τοῦ δικαίου θυγατέρα, ἣν καὶ ἄπροικον  
 λαβεῖν, ἐξ ἧς γενέσθαι Σωφρονίσκον καὶ Μενέ-  
 ξενον. οἱ δὲ προτέραν γῆμαι τὴν Μυρτῶ φασιν·  
 ἐνιοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρας σχεῖν ὁμοῦ, ὧν ἐστὶ  
 Σάτυρός τε καὶ Ἱερώνυμος ὁ Ῥόδιος. φασὶ γὰρ  
 βουληθέντας Ἀθηναίους διὰ τὸ λειπανδρεῖν συν-  
 αυξῆσαι τὸ πλῆθος, ψηφίσασθαι γαμεῖν μὲν ἅσπτην  
 μίαν, παιδοποιεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρας· ὅθεν τοῦτο  
 ποιῆσαι καὶ Σωκράτην.

27 Ἦν δ' ἱκανὸς καὶ τῶν σκωπτόντων [αὐτὸν]  
 ὑπερορᾶν. καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο ἐπὶ τῇ εὐτελείᾳ, μισθὸν  
 τε οὐδένα εἰσπεράζατο. καὶ ἔλεγεν ἥδιστα ἐσθίων  
 ἥκιστα ὄψου προσδεῖσθαι· καὶ ἥδιστα πίνων ἥκιστα  
 τὸ μὴ παρὸν ποτὸν ἀναμένειν· καὶ ἐλαχίστων δεό-  
 μενος ἔγγιστα εἶναι θεῶν. τοῦτο δ' ἐνέσται καὶ  
 παρὰ τῶν κωμωδοποιῶν λαβεῖν, οἱ λανθάνουσιν  
 ἑαυτοὺς δι' ὧν σκώπτουσιν ἐπαινοῦντες αὐτόν.  
 Ἀριστοφάνης μὲν οὕτως·

ὦ τῆς μεγάλης ἐπιθυμίας σοφίας ἀνθρωπε  
 δίκαιως,

ὥς εὐδαίμων παρ' Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι  
 διαῖξεις.

εἰ γὰρ μνήμων καὶ φροντιστής, καὶ τὸ ταλαίπωρον  
 ἐνεστίν·

ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ, κοῦτε τι κάμνεις οὐδ' ἐστὼς οὔτε  
 βαδίζων,

several occasions when pestilence broke out in Athens  
 he was the only man who escaped infection.

Aristotle says that he married two wives: his first  
 wife was Xanthippe, by whom he had a son, Lam-  
 procles; his second wife was Myrto, the daughter of  
 Aristides the Just, whom he took without a dowry.  
 By her he had Sophroniscus and Menexenus. Others  
 make Myrto his first wife; while some writers,  
 including Satyrus and Hieronymus of Rhodes, affirm  
 that they were both his wives at the same time.  
 For they say that the Athenians were short of men  
 and, wishing to increase the population, passed a  
 decree permitting a citizen to marry one Athenian  
 woman and have children by another; and that  
 Socrates accordingly did so.

He could afford to despise those who scoffed at  
 him. He prided himself on his plain living, and  
 never asked a fee from anyone. He used to say that  
 he most enjoyed the food which was least in need  
 of condiment, and the drink which made him feel  
 the least hankering for some other drink; and that  
 he was nearest to the gods in that he had the fewest  
 wants. This may be seen from the Comic poets,  
 who in the act of ridiculing him give him high praise.  
 Thus Aristophanes<sup>a</sup>:

O man that justly desirest great wisdom, how blessed will be  
 thy life amongst Athenians and Greeks, retentive of memory  
 and thinker that thou art, with endurance of toil for thy  
 character; never art thou weary whether standing or walk-

<sup>a</sup> *Clouds*, 412-417.

οὔτε ριγῶν ἄχθει λίαν, οὔτ' ἀρίστων ἐπιθυμεῖς,  
οἶνον τ' ἀπέχει κἀδηφαγίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
ἀνοήτων.

28 Ἀμεψίας δ' ἐν τρίβωνι παράγων αὐτὸν φησὶν  
οὕτως·

Σώκρατες ἀνδρῶν βέλτιστ' ὀλίγων, πολλῶ δὲ  
ματαιόταθ', ἥκεις

καὶ σὺ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. καρτερικός γ' εἶ. πόθεν ἄν σοι  
χλαῖνα γένοιτο;

B. τοῦτ' ὁ κακὸν κατ' ἐπήρειαν τῶν σκυτοτόμων  
γεγένηται.

A. οὗτος μέντοι πεινῶν οὕτως οὐπώποτ' ἔτλη  
κολακεῦσαι.

τοῦτο δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ὑπεροπτικὸν καὶ μεγαλόφρον  
ἐμφαίνει καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης λέγων οὕτως,

ὅτι βρενθύει τ' ἐν ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς, καὶ τῷφθαλμῷ  
παραβάλλεις,

κἀνυπόδητος κακὰ πόλλ' ἀνέχει, κἀν ἡμῖν σεμνο-  
προσωπεῖς.

καίτοι ἐνίστε πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς ἀρμοττόμενος καὶ  
λαμπρὰ ἡμπίσχετο· καθάπερ ἐν τῷ Πλάτωνος  
συμποσίῳ παρ' Ἀγάθωνα βαδίζων.

29 Ἰκανὸς δ' ἀμφοτέρω ἦν, καὶ προτρέψαι καὶ  
ἀποτρέψαι. ὥσπερ τὸν Θεαίτητον περὶ ἐπι-  
στήμης διαλεχθεὶς ἔνθεον ἀπέπεμψε, καθὰ καὶ  
Πλάτων φησὶν. Εὐθύφρονα δὲ τῷ πατρὶ γραψά-  
μενον ξενοκτονίας δίκην περὶ οἴου τινα διαλεχθεὶς  
ἀπήγαγε. καὶ τὸν Λύσιον δὲ ἠθικώτατον ἐποίησε  
προτρέψας. ἦν γὰρ ἰκανὸς ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων  
τοὺς λόγους εὐρίσκειν. ἐνέτρεψε δὲ καὶ Λαμπρο-

ing, never numb with cold, never hungry for breakfast; from  
wine and from gross feeding and all other frivolities thou  
dost turn away.

Ameipsias too, when he puts him on the stage  
wearing a cloak, says <sup>a</sup> :

A. You come to join us, Socrates, worthiest of a small  
band and emptiest by far ! You are a robust fellow. Where  
can we get you a proper coat ?

B. Your sorry plight is an insult to the cobblers.

A. And yet, hungry as he is, this man has never stooped  
to flatter.

This disdainful, lofty spirit of his is also noticed by  
Aristophanes when he says <sup>b</sup> :

Because you stalk along the streets, rolling your eyes,  
and endure, barefoot, many a hardship, and gaze up at us  
[the clouds].

And yet at times he would even put on fine clothes  
to suit the occasion, as in Plato's *Symposium*,<sup>c</sup> where  
he is on his way to Agathon's house.

He showed equal ability in both directions, in  
persuading and dissuading men; thus, after con-  
versing with Theaetetus about knowledge, he sent  
him away, as Plato says, fired with a divine impulse ;  
but when Euthyphro had indicted his father for  
manslaughter, Socrates, after some conversation with  
him upon piety, diverted him from his purpose.  
Lysis, again, he turned, by exhortation, into a most  
virtuous character. For he had the skill to draw  
his arguments from facts. And when his son

<sup>a</sup> Sc. in the *Connus*, Meineke, *C.G.F.* i. 201 sq., ii. 703.

<sup>b</sup> *Clouds*, 362.

<sup>c</sup> 174 A.

κλέα τὸν υἱὸν τῇ μητρὶ ἀγριαινόμενον, ὥς που καὶ  
 Ξενοφῶν εἴρηκε. καὶ Γλαύκων μὲν τὸν Πλάτωνος  
 ἀδελφὸν θέλοντα πολιτεύεσθαι ἀπέστησε διὰ τὸ  
 ἀπείρως ἔχειν, ὥς φησι Ξενοφῶν. Χαρμίδην δὲ  
 τοῦναντίον ἔχοντα οἰκείως ἐπέστησεν.

80 Ἐπῆρε δὲ καὶ εἰς φρόνημα Ἴφικράτην τὸν  
 στρατηγόν, δείξας αὐτῷ τοῦ κουρέως Μειδίου  
 ἀλεκτρυόνας ἀντίον τῶν Καλλίου περυξαμένους.  
 καὶ αὐτὸν Γλαυκωνίδης ἡξίου τῇ πόλει περιποιεῖν  
 καθάπερ φασιανὸν ὄρνιν ἢ ταύ.

Ἔλεγε δὲ ὡς θαυμαστὸν πρᾶβατα μὲν ἕκαστον  
 εἰπεῖν ἂν ραδίως ὅσα ἔχει, φίλους δ' οὐκ ἂν ὀνο-  
 μάσαι ὁπόσους κέκτηται· οὕτως ὀλιγώρως ἔχειν  
 περὶ αὐτοῦς. ὁρῶν δ' Εὐκλείδην ἐσπουδακότα  
 περὶ τοὺς ἐριστικούς λόγους, "ὦ Εὐκλείδη," ἔφη,  
 "σοφισταῖς μὲν δυνήσῃ χρήσθαι, ἀνθρώποις δὲ  
 οὐδαμῶς." ἄχρηστον γὰρ ᾤετο εἶναι τὴν περὶ  
 ταῦτα γλίσχρολογίαν, ὡς καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Εὐθυδήμῳ  
 φησί.

81 Χαρμίδου τε οἰκέτας αὐτῷ διδόντος, ἢ ἀπ'  
 αὐτῶν προσοδεύοιτο, οὐχ εἴλετο· καὶ τὸ κάλλος  
 ὑπερεῖδεν Ἀλκιβιάδου κατὰ τινας. καὶ ἐπῆνε  
 σχολὴν ὡς κάλλιστον κτημάτων, καθὰ καὶ Ξενοφῶν  
 ἐν Συμποσίῳ φησίν. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ ἐν μόνον  
 ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, τὴν ἐπιστήμην, καὶ ἐν μόνον κακόν,  
 τὴν ἀμαθίαν· πλοῦτον δὲ καὶ εὐγένειαν οὐδὲν  
 σεμνὸν ἔχειν· πᾶν δὲ τοῦναντίον κακόν. εἰπόντος  
 γοῦν τινος αὐτῷ ὡς εἴη Ἀντισθένης μητρὸς

• Mem. iii. 7.

Lamprocles was violently angry with his mother,  
 Socrates made him feel ashamed of himself, as I  
 believe Xenophon has told us. When Plato's brother  
 Glaucon was desirous of entering upon politics,  
 Socrates dissuaded him, as Xenophon relates, because  
 of his want of experience; but on the contrary he  
 encouraged Charmides to take up politics because he  
 had a gift that way.<sup>a</sup>

He roused Iphicrates the general to a martial  
 spirit by showing him how the fighting cocks of  
 Midias the barber flapped their wings in defiance of  
 those of Callias. Glauconides demanded that he  
 should be acquired for the state as if he were some  
 pheasant or peacock.

He used to say it was strange that, if you asked  
 a man how many sheep he had, he could easily tell  
 you the precise number; whereas he could not name  
 his friends or say how many he had, so slight was  
 the value he set upon them. Seeing Euclides keenly  
 interested in eristic arguments, he said to him:  
 "You will be able to get on with sophists, Euclides,  
 but with men not at all." For he thought there  
 was no use in this sort of hair-splitting, as Plato shows  
 us in the *Euthydemus*.

Again, when Charmides offered him some slaves in  
 order that he might derive an income from them, he  
 declined the offer; and according to some he scorned  
 the beauty of Alcibiades. He would extol leisure as  
 the best of possessions, according to Xenophon in the  
*Symposium*. There is, he said, only one good, that  
 is, knowledge, and only one evil, that is, ignorance;  
 wealth and good birth bring their possessor no  
 dignity, but on the contrary evil. At all events,  
 when some one told him that Antisthenes' mother

Θράττης, “σὺ δ’ ὦρον,” ἔφη, “οὕτως ἂν γενναῖον ἐκ δυοῖν Ἀθηναίων γενέσθαι;” Φαίδωνα δὲ δι’ αἰχμαλωσίαν ἐπ’ οἰκήματος καθήμενον προσέταξε Κρίτωνι λυτρώσασθαι, καὶ φιλόσοφον ἀπειργάσατο.

52 Ἀλλὰ καὶ λυρίζειν ἐμάνθανεν ἤδη γηραιός,<sup>1</sup> μηδὲν λέγων ἄτοπον εἶναι ἃ τις μὴ οἶδεν ἐκμανθάνειν. ἔτι τε ὠρχεῖτο συνεχές, τῇ τοῦ σώματος εὐεξία λυσιτελεῖν ἡγούμενος τὴν τοιαύτην γυμνασίαν, ὡς καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἐν Συμποσίῳ φησὶν. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ προσημαίνειν τὸ δαιμόνιον τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτῷ· τό τε εὖ [ἄρχεσθαι] μικρὸν μὲν μὴ εἶναι, παρὰ μικρὸν δέ· καὶ εἰδέναι μὲν μηδὲν πλὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦτο [εἰδέναι]. τοὺς τε τὰ πρῶϊμα πολλοῦ ἐωνημένους ἀπογινώσκειν ἔλεγεν εἰς τὰς ὥρας ἐλθεῖν. καὶ ποτε ἐρωτηθεὶς, τίς ἀρετὴ νέου, “τὸ μηδὲν ἄγαν,” εἶπεν. ἔφασκε τε δεῖν γεωμετρεῖν μέχρι ἂν τις μέτρῳ δύνῃται γῆν παραλαβεῖν καὶ παραδοῦναι.

33 Εὐριπίδου δ’ ἐν τῇ Αὐγῇ εἰπόντος περὶ ἀρετῆς, κράτιστον εἰκὴ ταῦτ’ εἶναι ἀφειμένα,

ἀναστὰς ἐξῆλθε, φήσας γελοῖον εἶναι ἀνδράποδον μὲν μὴ εὐρισκόμενον ἀξιοῦν ζητεῖν, ἀρετὴν δ’ οὕτως εἶναι ἀπολωλέναι. ἐρωτηθεὶς πότερον γῆμαι ἢ μὴ, ἔφη, “ὃ ἂν αὐτῶν ποιήσης, μεταγνώσῃ.” ἔλεγέ τε θαυμάζειν τῶν τὰς λιθίνας εἰκόνας κατα-

<sup>1</sup> ἢδη γηραιός] corr. Cobet: ὅτε καιρός vulg.: ὅτε <οὐκέτι> καιρός Reiske.

\* This line, now found in Eur. *Electra*, 379, may have come into our text from the lost play *Auge*: cf. Nauck, *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 437, s.v. ATTH.

was a Thracian, he replied, “Nay, did you expect a man so noble to have been born of two Athenian parents?” He made Crito ransom Phaedo who, having been taken prisoner in the war, was kept in degrading slavery, and so won him for philosophy.

Moreover, in his old age he learnt to play the lyre, declaring that he saw no absurdity in learning a new accomplishment. As Xenophon relates in the *Symposium*, it was his regular habit to dance, thinking that such exercise helped to keep the body in good condition. He used to say that his supernatural sign warned him beforehand of the future; that to make a good start was no trifling advantage, but a trifle turned the scale; and that he knew nothing except just the fact of his ignorance. He said that, when people paid a high price for fruit which had ripened early, they must despair of seeing the fruit ripen at the proper season. And, being once asked in what consisted the virtue of a young man, he said, “In doing nothing to excess.” He held that geometry should be studied to the point at which a man is able to measure the land which he acquires or parts with.

On hearing the line of Euripides’ play *Auge* where the poet says of virtue:

‘Tis best to let her roam at will,\*

he got up and left the theatre. For he said it was absurd to make a hue and cry about a slave who could not be found, and to allow virtue to perish in this way. Some one asked him whether he should marry or not, and received the reply, “Whichever you do you will repent it.” He used to express his astonishment that the sculptors of marble statues



σκευαζομένων τοῦ μὲν λίθου προνοεῖν ὅπως ὁμοί-  
 οτάτος ἔσται, αὐτῶν δ' ἀμελεῖν, ὥς μὴ ὁμοίους τῷ  
 λίθῳ φαίνεσθαι. ἡξίου δὲ καὶ τοὺς νέους συνεχῆς  
 κατοπτρίζεσθαι, ἵν' εἰ μὲν καλοὶ εἴεν, ἄξιοι γί-  
 γνοντο· εἰ δ' αἰσχροί, παιδείᾳ τὴν δυσείδειαν  
 ἐπικαλύπτοιεν.

- 34 Καλέσας ἐπὶ δείπνον πλουσίους, καὶ τῆς Ξανθί-  
 πης αἰδουμένης ἔφη, "θάρρει· εἰ μὲν γὰρ  
 εἴεν μέτριοι, συμπεριενεχθεῖεν ἄν· εἰ δὲ φαῦλοι,  
 ἡμῖν αὐτῶν οὐδὲν μελήσει." ἔλεγέ τε τοὺς μὲν  
 ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ζῆν ἵν' ἐσθίοιεν· αὐτὸς δὲ  
 ἐσθίειν ἵνα ζῷ. πρὸς τὸ οὐκ ἀξιόλογον πλήθος  
 ἔφασκεν ὅμοιον εἶ τις τετραδραχμον ἐν ἀπο-  
 δοκιμάζων τὸν ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων σωρὸν ὥς δόκιμον  
 ἀποδέχοιτο. Αἰσχίνου δὲ εἰπόντος, "πένης εἰμὶ  
 καὶ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἔχω, δίδωμι δέ σοι ἑμαυτόν,"  
 "ἄρ' οὖν," εἶπεν, "οὐκ αἰσθάνη τὰ μέγιστα μοι  
 δίδους;" τὸν ἀποδυσπετοῦντα ἐπὶ τῷ παρορᾶσθαι,  
 ὁπότε ἐπανεστήσαν οἱ τριάκοντα, "ἄρα," ἔφη,  
 35 "μήτι σοι μεταμέλει;" πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, "θάνατόν  
 σου κατέγνωσαν Ἀθηναῖοι," "κακείνων," εἶπεν,  
 "ἡ φύσις." οἱ δὲ τοῦτ' Ἀναξαγόρου φασί, "τῆς  
 γυναικὸς εἰπούσης, "ἀδίκως ἀποθνήσκεις," "σὺ  
 δέ," ἔφη, "δικαίως ἐβούλου;" ὅναρ δόξας τινὰ αὐτῷ  
 λέγειν,

ἥματί κεν τριτάτῳ Φθίνῃ ἐρίβωλον ἴκοιο,  
 πρὸς Αἰσχίνην ἔφη, "εἰς τρίτην ἀποθανοῦμαι."  
 μέλλοντί τε αὐτῷ τὸ κώνειον πίεσθαι Ἀπολλόδωρος

\* Hom. *Il.* ix. 363.

\* The proposal that Socrates should escape from prison  
 was attributed to Aeschines as well as to Crito (see below,  
 § 60). The Homeric citation occurs in Plato's *Crito*, 44 a.

should take pains to make the block of marble into  
 a perfect likeness of a man, and should take no pains  
 about themselves lest they should turn out mere  
 blocks, not men. He recommended to the young  
 the constant use of the mirror, to the end that hand-  
 some men might acquire a corresponding behaviour,  
 and ugly men conceal their defects by education.

He had invited some rich men and, when Xanthippe  
 said she felt ashamed of the dinner, "Never mind,"  
 said he, "for if they are reasonable they will put up  
 with it, and if they are good for nothing, we shall  
 not trouble ourselves about them." He would say  
 that the rest of the world lived to eat, while he  
 himself ate to live. Of the mass of men who do  
 not count he said it was as if some one should object  
 to a single tetradrachm as counterfeit and at the  
 same time let a whole heap made up of just such  
 pieces pass as genuine. Aeschines said to him, "I  
 am a poor man and have nothing else to give, but  
 I offer you myself," and Socrates answered, "Nay,  
 do you not see that you are offering me the greatest  
 gift of all?" To one who complained that he was  
 overlooked when the Thirty rose to power, he said,  
 "You are not sorry for that, are you?" To one  
 who said, "You are condemned by the Athenians to  
 die," he made answer, "So are they, by nature."  
 But some ascribe this to Anaxagoras. When his  
 wife said, "You suffer unjustly," he retorted, "Why,  
 would you have me suffer justly?" He had a dream  
 that some one said to him<sup>a</sup>:

On the third day thou shalt come to the fertile fields of  
 Phthia;

and he told Aeschines, "On the third day I shall  
 die."<sup>b</sup> When he was about to drink the hemlock,

ἱμάτιον ἐδίδου καλόν, ἔν' ἐκείνῳ ἐναποθάνοι· καὶ  
 ὅς, "τί δέ," ἔφη, "τὸ ἐμὸν ἱμάτιον ἐμβιώναι μὲν  
 ἐπιτήδειον, ἐναποθανεῖν δὲ οὐχί;" πρὸς τὸν  
 εἰπόντα, "κακῶς ὁ δεινά σε λέγει," "καλῶς γάρ,"  
 36 ἔφη, "λέγειν οὐκ ἔμαθε." στρέψαντος δὲ Ἀντι-  
 σθένους τὸ διερρωγὸς τοῦ τρίβωνος εἰς τοῦμφανές,  
 "ὀρώ σου," ἔφη, "διὰ τοῦ τρίβωνος τὴν κενοδοξίαν."  
 πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, "οὐ σοὶ λοιδορεῖται ὁ δεινά;"  
 "οὐχί," ἔφη. "ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐ πρόσεστι ταῦτα." ἔλεγε  
 δὲ τοῖς κωμικοῖς δεῖν ἐπίτηδες ἑαυτὸν διδόναι· εἰ  
 μὲν γάρ τι τῶν προσόντων λέξειαν, διορθῶσονται·  
 εἰ δ' οὐ, οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. πρὸς Ξανθίππην  
 πρότερον μὲν λοιδοροῦσαν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ περι-  
 χέασαν αὐτῷ, "οὐκ ἔλεγον," εἶπεν, "ὅτι Ξανθίππη  
 βροντῶσα καὶ ὕδωρ ποιήσει;" πρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην  
 εἰπόντα ὡς οὐκ ἀνεκτὴ ἡ Ξανθίππη λοιδοροῦσα,  
 "ἀλλ' ἔγωγ'," ἔφη, "συνείθισμαι, καθαπερεὶ καὶ  
 37 τροχιλίας ἀκούων συνεχές. καὶ σὺ μὲν," εἶπε,  
 "χηνῶν βοώντων ἀνέχη." τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, "ἀλλὰ  
 μοι ᾧ καὶ νεοττοὺς τίκτουςι," "κάμοι," φησί,  
 "Ξανθίππη παιδία γεννᾷ." ποτὲ αὐτῆς ἐν ἀγορᾷ  
 καὶ τοῖς ἱμάτιον περιελομένης συνεβούλευον οἱ γνώ-  
 ριμοὶ χερσὶν ἀμύνασθαι, "νῆ Δί'," εἶπεν, "ἔν' ἡμῶν  
 πυκτευόντων ἕκαστος ὑμῶν λέγῃ, εὖ Σώκρατες,  
 εὖ Ξανθίππη." ἔλεγε συνεῖναι τραχεῖα γυναικί  
 καθάπερ οἱ ἵπποκοὶ θυμοειδέσιν ἵπποις. "ἀλλ' ὡς  
 ἐκείνοι," φησί, "τούτων κρατήσαντες ῥαδίως τῶν  
 ἄλλων περιγίνονται, οὕτω καὶ γὰρ Ξανθίππη χρώ-  
 μενος τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις συμπεριενεχθήσομαι."

Ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τοιαῦτα λέγων καὶ πράττων πρὸς

Apollodorus offered him a beautiful garment to  
 die in: "What," said he, "is my own good  
 enough to live in but not to die in?" When  
 he was told that So-and-so spoke ill of him, he  
 replied, "True, for he has never learnt to speak  
 well." When Antisthenes turned his cloak so that  
 the tear in it came into view, "I see," said he,  
 "your vanity through your cloak." To one who  
 said, "Don't you find so-and-so very offensive?" his  
 reply was, "No, for it takes two to make a quarrel."  
 We ought not to object, he used to say, to be sub-  
 jects for the Comic poets, for if they satirize our  
 faults they will do us good, and if not they do not  
 touch us. When Xanthippe first scolded him and  
 then drenched him with water, his rejoinder was,  
 "Did I not say that Xanthippe's thunder would end  
 in rain?" When Alcibiades declared that the scold-  
 ing of Xanthippe was intolerable, "Nay, I have got  
 used to it," said he, "as to the continued rattle of  
 a windlass. And you do not mind the cackle of  
 geese." "No," replied Alcibiades, "but they fur-  
 nish me with eggs and goslings." "And Xanthippe,"  
 said Socrates, "is the mother of my children." When  
 she tore his coat off his back in the market-place and  
 his acquaintances advised him to hit back, "Yes, by  
 Zeus," said he, "in order that while we are sparring  
 each of you may join in with 'Go it, Socrates!'  
 'Well done, Xanthippe!'" He said he lived with  
 a shrew, as horsemen are fond of spirited horses,  
 "but just as, when they have mastered these, they  
 can easily cope with the rest, so I in the society of  
 Xanthippe shall learn to adapt myself to the rest of  
 the world."

These and the like were his words and deeds, to

τῆς Πυθίας ἐμαρτυρήθη, Χαιρεφῶντι ἀνελοῦσης  
 ἐκεῖνο δὴ τὸ περιφερόμενον,

ἀνδρῶν ἀπάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.

38 ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐφθονήθη μάλιστα· καὶ δὴ καὶ οἱ  
 διήλεγχε τοὺς μέγα φρονοῦντας ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ὡς  
 ἀνοήτους, καθάπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τὸν Ἄνυτον, ὡς  
 καὶ ἐν τῷ Πλάτωνός ἐστι Μένωνι. οὗτος γὰρ  
 οὐ φέρων τὸν ὑπὸ Σωκράτους χλευασμὸν πρῶτον  
 μὲν ἐπήλευσεν αὐτῷ τοὺς περὶ Ἀριστοφάνην,  
 ἔπειτα καὶ Μέλητον συνέπεισεν ἀπενέγκασθαι κατ'  
 αὐτοῦ γραφὴν ἀσεβείας καὶ τῶν νέων διαφθορᾶς.

Ἀπηνέγκατο μὲν οὖν τὴν γραφὴν ὁ Μέλητος,  
 εἶπε δὲ τὴν δίκην Πολύεукτος, ὡς φησι Φαβωρίνος  
 ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ· συνέγραψε δὲ τὸν λόγον  
 Πολυκράτης ὁ σοφιστής, ὡς φησιν Ἑρμιππος, ἢ  
 Ἄνυτος, ὡς τινες· προητοίμασε δὲ πάντα Λύκων  
 ὁ δημαγωγός.

39 Ἀντισθένης δ' ἐν ταῖς τῶν φιλοσόφων Διαδοχαῖς  
 καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Ἀπολογίᾳ τρεῖς αὐτοῦ κατη-  
 γορησαί φασιν, Ἄνυτον καὶ Λύκωνα καὶ Μέλητον·  
 τὸν μὲν Ἄνυτον ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν δημιουργῶν καὶ τῶν  
 πολιτικῶν ὀργιζόμενον· τὸν δὲ Λύκωνα ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 ῥητόρων· καὶ τὸν Μέλητον ὑπὲρ τῶν ποιητῶν, οὓς  
 ἅπαντας ὁ Σωκράτης διέσυρε. Φαβωρίνος δὲ  
 φησιν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων μὴ  
 εἶναι ἀληθῆ τὸν λόγον τὸν Πολυκράτους κατὰ  
 Σωκράτους· ἐν αὐτῷ γάρ, φησί, μνημονεύει τῶν  
 ὑπὸ Κόνωνος τειχῶν ἀνασταθέντων, ἃ γέγονεν

a 95 A.

b The confusion in the last sentence of § 38 is due to the  
 insertion in the wrong place of two extracts, one from

which the Pythian priestess bore testimony when  
 she gave Chaerephon the famous response :

Of all men living Socrates most wise.

For this he was most envied ; and especially because  
 he would take to task those who thought highly of  
 themselves, proving them to be fools, as to be sure  
 he treated Anytus, according to Plato's *Meno*.<sup>a</sup> For  
 Anytus could not endure to be ridiculed by Socrates,  
 and so in the first place stirred up against him Aristo-  
 phanes and his friends ; then afterwards he helped to  
 persuade Meletus to indict him on a charge of im-  
 piety and corrupting the youth.

The indictment was brought by Meletus, and the  
 speech was delivered by Polyeuctus, according to  
 Favorinus in his *Miscellaneous History*. The speech  
 was written by Polycrates the sophist, according to  
 Hermippus ; but some say that it was by Anytus.  
 Lycon the demagogue had made all the needful  
 preparations.<sup>b</sup>

Antisthenes in his *Successions of Philosophers*, and  
 Plato in his *Apology*, say that there were three  
 accusers, Anytus, Lycon and Meletus ; that Anytus  
 was roused to anger on behalf of the craftsmen and  
 politicians, Lycon on behalf of the rhetoricians,  
 Meletus of the poets, all three of which classes had  
 felt the lash of Socrates. Favorinus in the first  
 book of his *Memorabilia* declares that the speech of  
 Polycrates against Socrates is not authentic ; for he  
 mentions the rebuilding of the walls by Conon, which

Favorinus and the other from Hermippus. When these are  
 removed, the parts assigned to the three accusers, Meletus,  
 Anytus and Lycon, become clear : ἀπηνέγκατο μὲν οὖν τὴν  
 γραφὴν ὁ Μέλητος, εἶπε δὲ τὴν δίκην Ἄνυτος, προητοίμασε δὲ  
 πάντα Λύκων ὁ δημαγωγός.

ἔτεσιν ἐξ τῆς τοῦ Σωκράτους τελευτῆς ὕστερον.  
 καὶ ἔστιν οὕτως ἔχον.

- 40 Ἡ δ' ἀντωμοσία τῆς δίκης τοῦτον εἶχε τὸν  
 τρόπον· ἀνάκειται γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν, φησὶ Φαβωρίνος,  
 ἐν τῷ Μητρῷ. "τάδε ἐγράψατο καὶ ἀντωμόσατο  
 Μέλητος Μελήτου Πιτθεὺς Σωκράτει Σωφρονίσκου  
 Ἀλωπεκῆθεν· ἀδικεῖ Σωκράτης, οὓς μὲν ἡ πόλις  
 νομίζει θεοὺς οὐ νομίζων, ἕτερα δὲ καινὰ δαιμόνια  
 εἰσηγούμενος· ἀδικεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς νέους διαφθείρων.  
 τίμημα θάνατος." ὁ δ' οὖν φιλόσοφος, Λυσίου  
 γράψαντος ἀπολογίαν αὐτῷ, διαναγνοὺς ἔφη, "καλὸς  
 μὲν ὁ λόγος, ὦ Λυσία, οὐ μὴν ἀρμόττων γ' ἐμοί."  
 δηλαδὴ γὰρ ἦν τὸ πλέον δικανικὸς ἢ ἐμφιλόσοφος.  
 41 εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Λυσίου, "πῶς, εἰ καλὸς ἔστιν ὁ  
 λόγος, οὐκ ἂν σοι ἀρμόττοι;" ἔφη, "οὐ γὰρ καὶ  
 ἱμάτια καλὰ καὶ ὑποδήματα εἶη ἂν ἐμοὶ ἀνάρμοστα;"

Κρινομένου δ' αὐτοῦ φησιν Ἰούστος ὁ Τιβεριεύς  
 ἐν τῷ Στέμματι Πλάτωνα ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα  
 καὶ εἰπεῖν, "νεώτατος ὢν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,  
 τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀναβάντων." τοὺς δὲ δικαστὰς  
 ἐκβοῆσαι, Κατάβα, κατάβα [τουτέστι κατάβηθι].  
 ὅτ' οὖν<sup>1</sup> καὶ κατεδικάσθη διακοσίαις ὀδοῇκοντα  
 μιᾷ πλείοσι ψήφοις τῶν ἀπολλουουσῶν καὶ τιμα-  
 μένων τῶν δικαστῶν τί χρὴ παθεῖν αὐτὸν ἢ  
 ἀποτίσαι, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔφη δραχμάς ἀποτίσειν.  
 Εὐβουλίδης μὲν γὰρ φησιν ἑκατὸν ὁμολογῆσαι·  
 42 θορυβησάντων δὲ τῶν δικαστῶν, "ἔνεκα μὲν,"  
 εἶπε, "τῶν ἐμοὶ διαπεπραγμένων τιμῶμαι τὴν  
 δίκην τῆς ἐν πρυτανείῳ σιτήσεως."

Καὶ οἱ θάνατον αὐτοῦ κατέγνωσαν, προσθέντες  
 ἄλλας ψήφους ὀδοῇκοντα. καὶ δεθεῖς μετ' οὐ

<sup>1</sup> ὅτ' οὖν] ὁ δ' οὖν Richards.

did not take place till six years after the death of  
 Socrates. And this is the case.

The affidavit in the case, which is still preserved, says  
 Favorinus, in the *Metroön*, ran as follows: "This in-  
 dictment and affidavit is sworn by Meletus, the son  
 of Meletus of Pitthos, against Socrates, the son of  
 Sophroniscus of Alopecce: Socrates is guilty of refus-  
 ing to recognize the gods recognized by the state, and  
 of introducing other new divinities. He is also guilty  
 of corrupting the youth. The penalty demanded is  
 death." The philosopher then, after Lysias had  
 written a defence for him, read it through and said:  
 "A fine speech, Lysias; it is not, however, suitable  
 to me." For it was plainly more forensic than  
 philosophical. Lysias said, "If it is a fine speech,  
 how can it fail to suit you?" "Well," he replied,  
 "would not fine raiment and fine shoes be just as  
 unsuitable to me?"

Justus of Tiberias in his book entitled *The Wreath*  
 says that in the course of the trial Plato mounted  
 the platform and began: "Though I am the  
 youngest, men of Athens, of all who ever rose to  
 address you"—whereupon the judges shouted out,  
 "Get down! Get down!" When therefore he was  
 condemned by 281 votes more than those given for  
 acquittal, and when the judges were assessing what  
 he should suffer or what fine he should pay, he pro-  
 posed to pay 25 drachmae. Eubulides indeed says  
 he offered 100. When this caused an uproar among  
 the judges, he said, "Considering my services, I  
 assess the penalty at maintenance in the Prytaneum  
 at the public expense."

Sentence of death was passed, with an accession  
 of eighty fresh votes. He was put in prison, and a

πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἔπιε τὸ κώνειον, πολλὰ καλὰ  
κάγαθα διαλεχθεῖς, ἃ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Φαίδωvί  
φησιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ παιᾶνα κατὰ τινὰς ἐποίησεν,  
οὗ ἡ ἀρχή·

Δῆλι' Ἀπολλων χαῖρε, καὶ Ἀρτεμι, παῖδε κλεεινώ.

Διονυσόδωρος δὲ φησὶ μὴ εἶναι αὐτοῦ τὸν παιᾶνα.  
ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ μῦθον Αἰσωπίειον οὗ πᾶν ἐπι-  
τετευγμένως, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή·

Αἰσωπὸς ποτ' ἔλεξε Κορίνθιον ἄστν νέμουσι,  
μὴ κρίνειν ἀρετὴν λαοδικῶ σοφίῃ.

43 Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἦν· Ἀθηναῖοι δ' εὐθὺς  
μετέγνωσαν, ὥστε κλεῖσαι καὶ παλαίστρας καὶ  
γυμνάσια. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους<sup>1</sup> ἐφυγάδευσαν,  
Μελήτου δὲ θάνατον κατέγνωσαν· Σωκράτην δὲ  
χαλκῇ εἰκόνι ἐτίμησαν, ἣν ἔθεσαν ἐν τῷ πομπείῳ,  
Λυσίππου ταύτην ἐργασαμένου. Ἄνυτον τε ἐπι-  
δημήσαντα αὐθιμερὸν ἐξεκέρυξαν Ἡρακλεῶται.  
οὐ μόνον δ' ἐπὶ Σωκράτους Ἀθηναῖοι πεπόνθασι  
τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον ὅσων. καὶ γὰρ  
Ὀμηρον, καθά φησιν Ἡρακλείδης, πενήτηκοντα  
δραχμαῖς ὡς μαινόμενον ἐξημίωσαν, καὶ Τυρταῖον  
παρακόπτειν ἔλεγον, καὶ Ἀστυδάμαντα πρότερον  
44 τῶν περὶ Αἰσχύλον ἐτίμησαν εἰκόνι χαλκῇ. Εὐρι-  
πίδης δὲ καὶ ὀνειδίζει αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ Παλαμήδει  
λέγων· "ἐκάνετ' ἐκάνετε τὰν πάνσοφον τὰν οὐδὲν  
ἀλγύνουσιν ἀηδόνα μουσᾶν." καὶ τότε μὲν ὤδε.  
Φιλόχορος δὲ φησὶ προτελευτήσαι τὸν Εὐριπίδην  
τοῦ Σωκράτους.

<sup>1</sup> <ἄλλους> Richards.

few days afterwards drank the hemlock, after much  
noble discourse which Plato records in the *Phaedo*.  
Further, according to some, he composed a paean  
beginning :

All hail, Apollo, Delos' lord !  
Hail Artemis, ye noble pair !

Dionysodorus denies that he wrote the paean. He  
also composed a fable of Aesop, not very skilfully,  
beginning " :

" Judge not, ye men of Corinth," Aesop cried,  
" Of virtue as the jury-courts decide."

So he was taken from among men ; and not long  
afterwards the Athenians felt such remorse that they  
shut up the training grounds and gymnasia. They  
banished the other accusers but put Meletus to death ;  
they honoured Socrates with a bronze statue, the  
work of Lysippus, which they placed in the hall  
of processions. And no sooner did Anytus visit  
Heraclea than the people of that town expelled him  
on that very day. Not only in the case of Socrates  
but in very many others the Athenians repented in  
this way. For they fined Homer (so says Heraclides<sup>b</sup>)  
50 drachmae for a madman, and said Tyrtaeus was  
beside himself, and they honoured Astydamas before  
Aeschylus and his brother poets with a bronze statue.  
Euripides upbraids them thus in his *Palamedes* : " Ye  
have slain, have slain, the all-wise, the innocent,  
the Muses' nightingale." <sup>c</sup> This is one account ; but  
Philochorus asserts that Euripides died before  
Socrates.

<sup>a</sup> *Anth. Plan.* iv. 16.

<sup>b</sup> Most probably Heraclides of Pontus. This remarkable  
assertion may have occurred in one of his dialogues, and  
was perhaps not meant to be taken seriously.

<sup>c</sup> Nauck, *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup>, *Eur.* 588.

Ἐγεννήθη δέ, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς, ἐπὶ Ἀψεφίωνος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς ἑβδόμης Ὀλυμπιάδος, Θαργελίωνος ἕκτη, ὅτε καθαίρουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἀρτεμιν Δῆλιοι γενέσθαι φασιν. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἐνενηκοστῆς πέμπτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, γεγονώς ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα. ταῦτά φησι καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς. ἐνιοὶ δὲ ἐξήκοντα ἐτῶν τελευτήσαι αὐτὸν φασιν.

45 Ἀμφότεροι δ' ἤκουσαν Ἀναξαγόρου, καὶ οὗτος καὶ Εὐριπίδης, ὃς καὶ τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς πέμπτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐγεννήθη ἐπὶ Καλλιάρχου.

Δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ περὶ τῶν φυσικῶν ὁ Σωκράτης διεiléχθαι· ὅπου γε καὶ περὶ προνοίας τινα διαλέγεται, καθά φησι καὶ Ξενοφῶν, καίτοι περὶ μόνων τῶν ἡθικῶν ποιέσθαι τοὺς λόγους αὐτὸν εἰπών. ἀλλὰ καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τῇ Ἀπολογίᾳ μνησθεὶς Ἀναξαγόρου καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν φυσικῶν, ἃ Σωκράτης ἀρνείται, περὶ τούτων αὐτὸς λέγει, καίπερ ἀνατιθεὶς πάντα Σωκράτει.

Φησὶ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης μάγον τινα ἐλθόντα ἐκ Συρίας εἰς Ἀθήνας τὰ τε ἄλλα καταγνῶναι τοῦ Σωκράτους, καὶ δὴ καὶ βίαιον ἔσεσθαι τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτῷ.

46 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτω·

πίνε νυν ἐν Διὸς ὤν, ὦ Σώκρατες· ἡ σε γὰρ ὄντως καὶ σοφὸν εἶπε θεός, καὶ θεὸς ἡ σοφία.  
πρὸς γὰρ Ἀθηναίων κώνειον ἀπλῶς σὺ ἐδέξω·  
αὐτοὶ δ' ἐξέπιον τοῦτο τεῷ στόματι.

Τούτῳ τις, καθά φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τρίτῳ

He was born, according to Apollodorus in his *Chronology*, in the archonship of Apsephion, in the fourth year of the 77th Olympiad,<sup>a</sup> on the 6th day of the month of Thargelion, when the Athenians purify their city, which according to the Delians is the birthday of Artemis. He died in the first year of the 95th Olympiad<sup>b</sup> at the age of seventy. With this Demetrius of Phalerum agrees; but some say he was sixty when he died.

Both were pupils of Anaxagoras, I mean Socrates and Euripides, who was born in the first year of the 75th Olympiad in the archonship of Calliades.<sup>c</sup>

In my opinion Socrates discoursed on physics as well as on ethics, since he holds some conversations about providence, even according to Xenophon, who, however, declares that he only discussed ethics. But Plato, after mentioning Anaxagoras and certain other physicists in the *Apology*,<sup>d</sup> treats for his own part themes which Socrates disowned, although he puts everything into the mouth of Socrates.

Aristotle relates that a magician came from Syria to Athens and, among other evils with which he threatened Socrates, predicted that he would come to a violent end.

I have written verses about him too, as follows<sup>e</sup>:

Drink then, being in Zeus's palace, O Socrates; for truly did the god pronounce thee wise, being wisdom himself; for when thou didst frankly take the hemlock at the hands of the Athenians, they themselves drained it as it passed thy lips.

He was sharply criticized, according to Aristotle

<sup>a</sup> 469-468 B.C.

<sup>c</sup> 480-479 B.C.

<sup>b</sup> 400-399 B.C.

<sup>d</sup> 26 D.

<sup>e</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 96.

Περὶ ποιητικῆς, ἐφιλονέικει Ἀντίλοχος Λήμιος καὶ Ἀντιφῶν ὁ τερατοσκόπος, ὡς Πυθαγόρα Κύλων Κροτωνιάτης· καὶ Σάαγρος Ὁμήρῳ ζῶντι, ἀποθανόντι δὲ Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος· καὶ Κέρκωψ Ἡσιδῶ ζῶντι, τελευτήσαντι δὲ ὁ προειρημένος Ξενοφάνης· καὶ Πινδάρῳ Ἀμφιμένης ὁ Κῶος· Θάλητι δὲ Φερεκύδης καὶ Βίαντι Σάλαρος Πριηνεύς· Πιττακῷ Ἀντιμενίδας καὶ Ἀλκαῖος, Ἀναξαγόρα Σωσίβιος, καὶ Σιμωνίδῃ Τιμοκρέων.

47 Τῶν δὲ διαδεξαμένων αὐτόν τῶν λεγομένων Σωκρατικῶν οἱ κορυφαῖότατοι μὲν Πλάτων, Ξενοφῶν, Ἀντισθένης· τῶν δὲ φερομένων δέκα οἱ διασημώτατοι τέσσαρες, Αἰσχίνης, Φαίδων, Εὐκλείδης, Ἀρίστιππος. λεκτέον δὲ πρῶτον περὶ Ξενοφώντος, εἶτα περὶ Ἀντισθένους ἐν τοῖς κυνικοῖς, ἔπειτα περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν, εἴθ' οὕτω περὶ Πλάτωνος, ἐπεὶ κατάρχει τῶν δέκα αἰρέσεων καὶ τὴν πρώτην Ἀκαδημείαν αὐτὸς συνεστήσατο. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀκολουθία τοῦτον ἔχέτω τὸν τρόπον.

Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἕτερος Σωκράτης, ἱστορικός, περιήγησιν Ἀργαυς γεγραφώς· καὶ ἄλλος περιπατητικός, Βιθυνός· καὶ ἕτερος ἐπιγραμματῶν ποιητής· καὶ ὁ Κῶος, ἐπικλήσεις θεῶν γεγραφώς.

### Κεφ. 5'. ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ

48 Ξενοφῶν Γρύλλου μὲν ἦν υἱός, Ἀθηναῖος, τῶν δῆμων Ἐρχιεύς· αἰδήμων δὲ καὶ εὐειδέστατος εἰς

\* The text would perhaps be clearer if we transposed thus: τῶν δὲ διαδεξαμένων αὐτόν οἱ κορυφαῖότατοι μὲν Πλάτων, Ξενοφῶν, Ἀντισθένης. τῶν δὲ <Λεγομένων Σωκρατικῶν> οἱ διασημώτατοι τέσσαρες, Αἰσχίνης, Φαίδων, Εὐκλείδης, Ἀρίστιππος κτλ. . . . εἴθ' οὕτω περὶ Πλάτωνος· ἐπεὶ κατάρχει τῶν <φερομένων> δέκα

in his third book *On Poetry*, by a certain Antilochus of Lemnos, and by Antiphon the soothsayer, just as Pythagoras was by Cylon of Croton, or as Homer was assailed in his lifetime by Syagrus, and after his death by Xenophanes of Colophon. So too Hesiod was criticized in his lifetime by Cercops, and after his death by the aforesaid Xenophanes; Pindar by Amphimenes of Cos; Thales by Pherecydes; Bias by Salarus of Priene; Pittacus by Antimenidas and Alcaeus; Anaxagoras by Sosibius; and Simonides by Timocreon.

Of those who succeeded him and were called Socratics<sup>a</sup> the chief were Plato, Xenophon, Antisthenes, and of ten names on the traditional list the most distinguished are Aeschines, Phaedo, Euclides, Aristippus. I must first speak of Xenophon; Antisthenes will come afterwards among the Cynics; after Xenophon I shall take the Socratics proper, and so pass on to Plato. With Plato the ten schools begin: he was himself the founder of the First Academy. This then is the order which I shall follow.

Of those who bear the name of Socrates there is one, a historian, who wrote a geographical work upon Argos; another, a Peripatetic philosopher of Bithynia; a third, a poet who wrote epigrams; lastly, Socrates of Cos, who wrote on the names of the gods.

### CHAPTER 6. XENOPHON (426?-354 B.C.)

Xenophon, the son of Gryllus, was a citizen of Athens and belonged to the deme Erchia; he was αἰρέσεων. The division of moral philosophers into ten schools was mentioned above, i. 18.

ὑπερβολήν. τούτῳ δὲ ἐν στενωπῷ φασιν ἀπαντή-  
 σαντα Σωκράτην διατείνειν τὴν βακτηρίαν καὶ κω-  
 λύνειν παριέναι, πυνθανόμενον ποῦ πιπράσκοιτο τῶν  
 προσφερομένων ἕκαστον· ἀποκρινάμενον δὲ πάλιν  
 πυθέσθαι, ποῦ δὲ καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ γίνονται ἄνθρωποι·  
 ἀπορήσαντος δέ, “ἔπου τοῖνυν,” φάναι, “καὶ  
 μάθανε.” καὶ τοῦντεῦθεν ἀκροατῆς Σωκράτους  
 ἦν. καὶ πρῶτος ὑποσημειωσάμενος τὰ λεγόμενα  
 εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἤγαγεν, Ἀπομνημονεύματα ἐπι-  
 γράψας. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱστορίαν φιλοσόφων πρῶτος  
 ἔγραψε.

Καὶ αὐτόν φησιν Ἀρίστιππος ἐν τετάρτῳ Περὶ  
 49 παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς ἐρασθῆναι Κλεινίου· πρὸς ὃν καὶ  
 ταῦτα εἰπεῖν· “νῦν γὰρ ἐγὼ Κλεινίαν ἥδιον μὲν  
 θεῶμαι ἢ τὰλλα πάντα τὰ ἐν ἀνθρώποις καλὰ· τυφλὸς  
 δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων δεξαίμην ἂν ἢ Κλεινίου ἐνός  
 ὄντος γενέσθαι· ἄχθομαι δὲ καὶ νυκτὶ καὶ ὕπνῳ,  
 ὅτι ἐκείνον οὐχ ὁρῶ· ἡμέρᾳ δὲ καὶ ἡλίῳ τὴν  
 μεγίστην χάριν οἶδα, ὅτι μοι Κλεινίαν ἀνα-  
 φαίνουσι.”

Κύρῳ δὲ φίλος ἐγένετο οὗτον τὸν τρόπον. ἦν  
 αὐτῷ συνήθης Πρόξενος δοῖμα, γένος Βοιωτίας,  
 μαθητῆς μὲν Γοργίου τοῦ Λεοντίνου, φίλος δὲ Κύρῳ.  
 οὗτος ἐν Σάρδεσι διατρίβων παρὰ τῷ Κύρῳ ἔπεμψεν  
 εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐπιστολὴν Ξενοφῶντι, καλῶν αὐτὸν ἵνα  
 γένηται Κύρῳ φίλος. ὁ δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δευκνύει  
 50 Σωκράτει καὶ σύμβουλον ἤρειτο. καὶ ὃς ἀπέστειλεν  
 αὐτὸν εἰς Δελφοὺς χρησόμενον τῷ θεῷ. πείθεται  
 Ξενοφῶν ἥκει παρὰ τὸν θεόν· πυνθάνεται οὐχὶ εἰ  
 χρὴ ἀπιέναι πρὸς Κύρον, ἀλλ’ ὅπως· ἐφ’ ᾧ καὶ

a man of rare modesty and extremely handsome.  
 The story goes that Socrates met him in a narrow  
 passage, and that he stretched out his stick to bar  
 the way, while he inquired where every kind of  
 food was sold. Upon receiving a reply, he put  
 another question, “And where do men become good  
 and honourable?” Xenophon was fairly puzzled;  
 “Then follow me,” said Socrates, “and learn.” From  
 that time onward he was a pupil of Socrates. He  
 was the first to take notes of, and to give to the  
 world, the conversation of Socrates, under the title  
 of *Memorabilia*. Moreover, he was the first to write  
 a history of philosophers.

Aristippus, in the fourth book of his work *On the  
 Luxury of the Ancients*, declares that he was enamoured  
 of Clinias, and said in reference to him, “It is  
 sweeter for me to gaze on Clinias than on all the fair  
 sights in the world. I would be content to be blind  
 to everything else if I could but gaze on him alone.  
 I am vexed with the night and with sleep because  
 I cannot see Clinias, and most grateful to the day  
 and the sun for showing him to me.”

He gained the friendship of Cyrus in the following  
 way. He had an intimate friend named Proxenus,  
 a Boeotian, a pupil of Gorgias of Leontini and a  
 friend of Cyrus. Proxenus, while living in Sardis  
 at the court of Cyrus, wrote a letter to Xenophon at  
 Athens, inviting him to come and seek the friendship  
 of Cyrus. Xenophon showed this letter to Socrates  
 and asked his advice, which was that he should go  
 to Delphi and consult the oracle. Xenophon com-  
 plied and came into the presence of the god. He  
 inquired, not *whether* he should go and seek service  
 with Cyrus, but *in what way* he should do so. For



Σωκράτης αὐτὸν ἡτιάσατο, συνεβούλευσε δὲ ἐξελθεῖν. καὶ ὃς γίνεται παρὰ Κύρῳ, καὶ τοῦ Προξένου φίλος οὐχ ἦττον ἦν αὐτῷ. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀνάβασιν γενόμενα καὶ τὴν κάθοδον ἱκανῶς αὐτὸς ἡμῖν διηγείται. ἐχθρῶς δὲ διέκειτο πρὸς Μένωνα τὸν Φαρσάλιον παρὰ τὸν χρόνον τῆς ἀναβάσεως τὸν ξεναγόν· ὅτε καὶ λοιδορῶν αὐτὸν φησιν αὐτοῦ μείζοσι κεκρῆσθαι παιδικοῖς. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίδῃ τινὶ ὀνειδίζει τετρηῆσθαι τὰ ὦτα.

51 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τ' ἀνάβασιν καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ συμφορὰς καὶ τὰς παρασπονδήσεις τὰς Σεύθου τοῦ τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν βασιλέως ἤκεν εἰς Ἀσίαν πρὸς Ἀγησίλαον τὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέα, μισθοῦ τοὺς Κύρου στρατιώτας αὐτῷ παρασχών· φίλος τ' ἦν εἰς ὑπερβολήν. παρ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐπὶ Λακωνισμῷ φυγὴν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων κατεγνώσθη. γενόμενος δ' ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καὶ χρυσίον ἔχων τὸ μὲν ἡμῖσι Μεγαβύζῳ δίδωσι τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερεῖ φυλάττειν, ἕως ἂν ἐπανέλθοι· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀγαλμα ποιησάμενον ἀναθεῖναι τῇ θεῷ. τοῦ δὲ ἡμίσεος ἔπεμψεν εἰς Δελφούς ἀναθήματα. ἐντεῦθεν ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μετ' Ἀγησίλαου, κεκλημένον εἰς τὸν πρὸς Θηβαίους πόλεμον· καὶ αὐτῷ προξενίαν ἔδοσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

52 Ἐντεῦθεν ἔασας τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἤκεν εἰς Σκιλλοῦντα, χωρίον τῆς Ἡλείας ὀλίγον τῆς πόλεως ἀπέχον. εἶπετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ γύναιον ὄνομα Φιλησία, καθά φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης, καὶ δύο υἱεῖς, Γρύλλος καὶ Διδώρος, ὥς φησι Δείναρχος ἐν τῷ πρὸς

• *Anab.* iii. 1. 26-31.

this Socrates blamed him, yet at the same time he advised him to go. On his arrival at the court of Cyrus he became as warmly attached to him as Proxenus himself. We have his own sufficient narrative of all that happened on the expedition and on the return home. He was, however, at enmity with Meno of Pharsalus, the mercenary general, throughout the expedition, and, by way of abuse, charges him with having a favourite older than himself. Again, he reproaches one Apollonides with having had his ears bored.<sup>a</sup>

After the expedition and the misfortunes which overtook it in Pontus and the treacheries of Seuthes, the king of the Odrysians, he returned to Asia, having enlisted the troops of Cyrus as mercenaries in the service of Agesilaus, the Spartan king, to whom he was devoted beyond measure. About this time he was banished by the Athenians for siding with Sparta. When he was in Ephesus and had a sum of money, he entrusted one half of it to Megabyzus, the priest of Artemis, to keep until his return, or if he should never return, to apply to the erection of a statue in honour of the goddess. But the other half he sent in votive offerings to Delphi. Next he came to Greece with Agesilaus, who had been recalled to carry on the war against Thebes. And the Lacedaemonians conferred on him a privileged position.

He then left Agesilaus and made his way to Scillus, a place in the territory of Elis not far from the city. According to Demetrius of Magnesia he was accompanied by his wife Philesia, and, in a speech written for the freedman whom Xenophon prosecuted for neglect of duty, Dinarchus mentions that his two

Ξενοφῶντα ἀποστασίῳ, οἱ καὶ Διόσκουροι ἐπεκαλοῦντο. ἀφικομένου δὲ τοῦ Μεγαβύζου κατὰ πρόφασιν τῆς πανηγύρεως, κοιμισάμενος τὰ χρήματα χωρίον ἐπρίατο καὶ καθιέρωσε τῇ θεῷ, δι' οὗ ποταμὸς ἔρρει Σελινοῦς, ὁμώνυμος τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. τοῦντεῦθεν διετέλει κυνηγετῶν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐστιῶν καὶ τὰς ἱστορίας συγγράφων. φησὶ δ' ὁ Δείναρχος ὅτι καὶ οἰκίαν καὶ ἀγρὸν αὐτῷ ἔδωσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

- 53 Ἀλλὰ καὶ Φυλοπίδαν τὸν Σπαρτιάτην φασὶν αὐτῷ πέμψαι αὐτόν· δωρεὰν ἀνδράποδα αἰχμάλωτα ἐκ Δαρδάνου· καὶ τὸν διαθέσθαι αὐτὰ ὡς ἡβούλετο· Ἡλείους τε στρατευσαμένους εἰς τὸν Σκιλλοῦντα [καὶ] βραδυνόντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξελεῖν τὸ χωρίον. ὅτε καὶ τοὺς υἱέας αὐτοῦ εἰς Λέπρεον ὑπεξελθεῖν μετ' ὀλίγων οἰκετῶν, καὶ αὐτὸν Ξενοφῶντα εἰς τὴν Ἥλιν πρότερον, εἶτα [καὶ] εἰς Λέπρεον πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας, κάκειθεν σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰς Κόρινθον διασωθῆναι καὶ αὐτόθι κατοικῆσαι. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ψηφισαμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων βοηθεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους ἔπειμψε τοὺς παῖδας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας
- 54 στρατευσομένους ὑπὲρ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. καὶ γὰρ ἐπεπαίδευντο αὐτόθι ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, καθὰ φησι Διοκλῆς ἐν τοῖς Βίοις τῶν φιλοσόφων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Διόδωρος οὐδὲν ἐπιφανὲς πράξας ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀνασώζεται, καὶ αὐτῷ υἱὸς ὁμώνυμος γίνεται τὰδελεφῶ. ὁ δὲ Γρύλλος τεταγμένος κατὰ τοὺς ἱππέας—ἦν δὲ ἡ μάχη ἡ περὶ τὴν Μαντίνειαν—ισχυρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος ἐτελεύτησεν, ὥς φησιν Ἐφώρος ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ· Κηφισοδώρου μὲν ἱππ-

sons Gryllus and Diodorus, the Dioscuri as they were called, also went with him. Megabyzus having arrived to attend the festival, Xenophon received from him the deposit of money and bought and dedicated to the goddess an estate with a river running through, which bears the same name Selinus as the river at Ephesus. And from that time onward he hunted, entertained his friends, and worked at his histories without interruption. Dinarchus, however, asserts that it was the Lacedaemonians who gave him a house and land.

At the same time we are told that Phylopidas the Spartan sent to him at Scillus a present of captive slaves from Dardanus, and that he disposed of them as he thought fit, and that the Elians marched against Scillus, and owing to the slowness of the Spartans captured the place, whereupon his sons retired to Lepreum with a few of the servants, while Xenophon himself, who had previously gone to Elis, went next to Lepreum to join his sons, and then made his escape with them from Lepreum to Corinth and took up his abode there. Meanwhile the Athenians passed a decree to assist Sparta, and Xenophon sent his sons to Athens to serve in the army in defence of Sparta. According to Diocles in his *Lives of the Philosophers*, they had been trained in Sparta itself. Diodorus came safe out of the battle without performing any distinguished service, and he had a son of the same name (Gryllus) as his brother. Gryllus was posted with the cavalry and, in the battle which took place about Mantinea, fought stoutly and fell, as Ephorus relates in his twenty-fifth book, Cephisodorus being in command of the cavalry

αρχοῦντος, Ἡγησίλεω δὲ στρατηγοῦντος. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἔπεσε. τῆνικαῦτα δὲ καὶ τὸν Ξενοφῶντά φασι θύειν ἑστεμμένον· ἀπαγγελλέντος δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ θανάτου ἀποστεφανώσασθαι· ἔπειτα μαθόντα ὅτι γενναίως, πάλιν ἐπιθέσθαι τὸν  
55 στέφανον. ἔνιοι δὲ οὐδὲ δακρῦσαί φασι αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ \* γὰρ εἰπεῖν, "ἦδεν θνητὸν γεγεννηκώς." φησὶ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης ὅτι ἐγκώμια καὶ ἐπιτάφιον Γρύλλου μυρίοι ὅσοι συνέγραψαν, τὸ μέρος καὶ τῷ πατρὶ χαριζόμενοι. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑρμιππος ἐν τῷ περὶ Θεοφράστου καὶ Ἰσοκράτην φησὶ Γρύλλου ἐγκώμιον γεγραφέναι. Τίμων δ' ἐπισκώπτει αὐτὸν ἐν τούτοις·

ἀσθενική τε λόγων δυὰς ἢ τριάς ἢ ἔτι πρόσσω, οἷος Ξενοφῶν ἦτ' Αἰσχίνου οὐκ ἀπιθῆς <ἵς> γράφαι. . . .

Καὶ ὁ μὲν βίος αὐτῷ τοιόσδε. ἤκμαζε δὲ κατὰ τὸ τέταρτον ἔτος τῆς τετάρτης καὶ ἐνενηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, καὶ ἀναβέβηκε σὺν Κύρῳ ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ξεναϊέτου ἐν πρότερον ἔτει τῆς Σωκράτους τελευτῆς.

56 Κατέστρεψε δέ, καθά φησι Κτησικλείδης<sup>1</sup> ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ Ὀλυμπιονικῶν ἀναγραφῇ, ἔτει πρώτῳ τῆς πέμπτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Καλλιδημίδου, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου Μακεδόνων ἡρξε. τέθνηκε δ' ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης, ἤδη δηλαδὴ γηραιὸς ἱκανῶς· ἀνὴρ τὰ τ' ἄλλα γεγωνὺς ἀγαθὸς καὶ δὴ καὶ Φίλιππος καὶ φιλοκύνηγος καὶ τακτικός, ὡς ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων

<sup>1</sup> Σησικλείδης vulg.; corr. Wilamowitz.

and Hegesilaus commander-in-chief. In this battle Epaminondas also fell. On this occasion Xenophon is said to have been sacrificing, with a chaplet on his head, which he removed when his son's death was announced. But afterwards, upon learning that he had fallen gloriously, he replaced the chaplet on his head. Some say that he did not even shed tears, but exclaimed, "I knew my son was mortal." Aristotle mentions that there were innumerable authors of epitaphs and eulogies upon Gryllus, who wrote, in part at least, to gratify his father. Hermippus too, in his *Life of Theophrastus*, affirms that even Isocrates wrote an encomium on Gryllus. Timon, however, jeers at Xenophon in the lines<sup>a</sup>:

A feeble pair or triad of works, or even a greater number, such as would come from Xenophon or the might of Aeschines, that not unpersuasive writer.

Such was his life. He flourished in the fourth year of the 94th Olympiad,<sup>b</sup> and he took part in the expedition of Cyrus in the archonship of Xenaenetus in the year before the death of Socrates.

He died, according to Ctesiclides<sup>c</sup> of Athens in his list of archons and Olympic victors, in the first year of the 105th Olympiad, in the archonship of Callidemides,<sup>d</sup> the year in which Philip, the son of Amyntas, came to the throne of Macedon. He died at Corinth, as is stated by Demetrius of Magnesia, obviously at an advanced age. He was a worthy man in general, particularly fond of horses and hunting, an able tactician as is clear from his writings,

<sup>a</sup> Fr. 26 D.

<sup>b</sup> 401-400 B.C.

<sup>c</sup> Ctesiclides is known to us from Athenaeus, who cites his *Chronology*, vi. 272 c, x. 445 d. It may seem rash to intrude him here; but cf. iv. 5, where a similar error is certain.

<sup>d</sup> 360-359 B.C.

δῆλον· εὐσεβής τε καὶ φιλοθύτης καὶ ἱερεῖα δια-  
γνώναι ἱκανὸς καὶ Σωκράτην ζηλώσας ἀκριβῶς.

Συνέγραψε δὲ βιβλία πρὸς τὰ τετταράκοντα,  
ἄλλων ἄλλως διαιρούντων·

- 57 Τὴν τ' Ἀνάβασιν, ἧς κατὰ βιβλίον μὲν ἐποίησε  
προοίμιον, δλης δὲ οὐ· καὶ  
Κύρου Παιδείαν καὶ  
Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ  
Ἀπομνημονεύματα·  
Συμπόσιόν τε καὶ  
Οἰκονομικὸν καὶ  
Περὶ ἵππικῆς καὶ  
Κυνηγετικὸν καὶ  
Ἱππαρχικόν,  
Ἀπολογίαν τε Σωκράτους καὶ  
Περὶ πόρων καὶ  
Ἱέρωνα ἢ Τυραννικόν,  
Ἀγροσίλαόν τε καὶ  
Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων Πολιτείαν,

ἣν φησιν οὐκ εἶναι Ξενοφώντος ὁ Μάγνης Δημή-  
τριος. λέγεται δ' ὅτι καὶ τὰ Θουκυδίδου βιβλία  
λανθάνοντα ὑφελέσθαι δυνάμενος αὐτὸς εἰς δόξαν  
ἤγαγεν. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Ἀττικὴ Μοῦσα γλυκύ-  
τητι τῆς ἐρμηνείας· ὅθεν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ζηλο-  
τύπως εἶχον αὐτὸς τε καὶ Πλάτων, ὡς ἐν τῷ περὶ  
Πλάτωνος λέξομεν.

- 58 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἡμῶν ἐπιγράμματα  
τοῦτον ἔχοντα τὸν τρόπον·

οὐ μόνον εἰς Πέρσας ἀνέβη Ξενοφῶν διὰ Κύρον,  
ἀλλ' ἀνοδὸν ζητῶν ἐς Διὸς ἦτις ἄγοι.

pious, fond of sacrificing, and an expert in augury  
from the victims; and he made Socrates his exact  
model.

He wrote some forty books in all, though the  
division into books is not always the same, namely:

- The Anabasis, with a preface to each separate  
book but not one to the whole work.  
Cyropaedia.  
Hellenica.  
Memorabilia.  
Symposium.  
Oeconomicus.  
On Horsemanship.  
On Hunting.  
On the Duty of a Cavalry General.  
A Defence of Socrates.  
On Revenues.  
Hieron or Of Tyranny.  
Agesilaus.  
The Constitutions of Athens and Sparta.

Demetrius of Magnesia denies that the last of  
these works is by Xenophon. There is a tradition  
that he made Thucydides famous by publishing his  
history, which was unknown, and which he might  
have appropriated to his own use. By the sweetness  
of his narrative he earned the name of the Attic  
Muse. Hence he and Plato were jealous of each  
other, as will be stated in the chapter on Plato.

There is an epigram of mine on him also \*:

Up the steep path to fame toiled Xenophon  
In that long march of glorious memories;

\* Anth. Pal. vii. 97.

παιδείης γὰρ ἤης Ἑλληνικὰ πράγματα δείξας,  
ὥς καλὸν ἢ σοφὴν μνήσατο Σωκράτεος.

ἄλλο, ὥς ἐτελεύτα·

εἰ καὶ σέ, Ξενοφῶν, Κραναοῦ Κέκροπός τε  
πολίται

φεύγειν κατέγων, τοῦ φίλου χάριν Κύρου·  
ἀλλὰ Κόρινθος ἔδεκτο φιλόξενος, ἥ σὺ φιληδῶν  
οὕτως ἀρέσκη· κείθι καὶ μένειν ἔγνω.

59 Εὐρον δ' ἀλλαχόθι ἀκμάσαι αὐτὸν περὶ τὴν ἐνά-  
την καὶ ὀγδοηκοστήν Ὀλυμπιάδα σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις  
Σωκρατικοῖς, καὶ Ἰστρος φησὶν αὐτὸν φυγεῖν κατὰ  
ψήφισμα Εὐβούλου, καὶ κατελθεῖν κατὰ ψήφισμα  
τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Γεγόνασι δὲ Ξενοφῶντες ἑπτὰ· πρῶτος αὐτὸς  
οὗτος· δεύτερος Ἀθηναῖος, ἀδελφὸς Πυθοστράτου  
τοῦ τὴν Θησιῆδα πεποιηκότος, γεγραφώς ἄλλα τε  
καὶ βίον Ἐπαμεινώνδου καὶ Πελοπίδου· τρίτος  
ιατρός Κῶος· τέταρτος ἱστορίαν Ἀννιβαϊκὴν γε-  
γραφώς· πέμπτος μυθώδη τερατεῖαν πεπραγμα-  
τευμένος· ἕκτος Πάριος, ἀγαματοποιός· ἕβδομος  
κωμωδίας ἀρχαίας ποιητής.

## Κεφ. ζ'. ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ

60 Αἰσχίνης Χαρίνου τοῦ ἀλλαντοποιοῦ, οἱ δὲ Λυ-  
σανίου, Ἀθηναῖος, ἐκ νέου φιλόπονος· διὸ καὶ  
Σωκράτους οὐκ ἀπέστη. ὅθεν ἔλεγε, "μόνος ἡμᾶς  
οἶδε τιμᾶν ὁ τοῦ ἀλλαντοποιοῦ." τοῦτον ἔφη

\* Or in plain prose: "Not only for Cyrus's sake did  
Xenophon go up to Persia, but because he sought the path  
which leads to the abode of Zeus. For, having shown that

In deeds of Greece, how bright his lesson shone!  
How fair was wisdom seen in Socrates! \*

There is another on the circumstances of his death <sup>b</sup>:

Albeit the countrymen of Cranaus and Cecrops condemned  
thee, Xenophon, to exile on account of thy friendship for  
Cyrus, yet hospitable Corinth welcomed thee, so well con-  
tent with the delights of that city wast thou, and there didst  
resolve to take up thy rest.

In other authorities I find the statement that he  
flourished, along with the other Socratics, in the  
89th Olympiad,<sup>c</sup> and Istrus affirms that he was  
banished by a decree of Eubulus and recalled by a  
decree of the same man.

There have been seven Xenophons: the first our  
subject himself; the second an Athenian, brother  
of Pythostratus, who wrote the *Theseid*, and himself  
the author, amongst other works, of a biography of  
Epaminondas and Pelopidas; the third a physician of  
Cos; the fourth the author of a history of Hannibal;  
the fifth an authority on legendary marvels; the  
sixth a sculptor, of Paros; the seventh a poet of the  
Old Comedy.

## CHAPTER 7. AESCHINES (c. 400 B.C.)

Aeschines was the son of Charinus the sausage-  
maker, but others make his father's name Lysanias.  
He was a citizen of Athens, industrious from his  
birth up. For this reason he never quitted Socrates;  
hence Socrates' remark, "Only the sausage-maker's  
son knows how to honour me." Idomeneus declared  
the great deeds of Greece are the outcome of his training, he  
recalled what a beautiful thing was the wisdom of Socrates."

<sup>b</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 98.

<sup>c</sup> This would be 424-420 B.C., a date obviously absurd as  
the *floruit* for either Xenophon or Plato.

Ἰδομενεὺς ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ συμβουλευσάσθαι περὶ τῆς φυγῆς Σωκράτει, καὶ οὐ Κρίτωνι. Πλάτωνα δέ, ὅτι ἦν Ἀριστίππῳ μᾶλλον φίλος, Κρίτωνι περιθεῖναι τοὺς λόγους. διεβάλλετο δ' ὁ Αἰσχίνης καὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὸ Μενεδήμου τοῦ Ἐρετριέως ὡς τοὺς πλείστους διαλόγους ὄντας Σωκράτους ὑποβάλλοιτο, λαμβάνων παρὰ Ξανθίππης· ὧν οἱ μὲν καλούμενοι ἀκέφαλοι σφόδρ' εἰσὶν ἐκλελυμένοι καὶ οὐκ ἐπιφαίνοντες τὴν Σωκρατικὴν εὐτονίαν· οὓς καὶ Πεισίστρατος ὁ Ἐφέσιος ἔλεγε μὴ εἶναι Αἰσχίνου.

61 καὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους Περσαῖός φησι Πασιφώντος εἶναι τοῦ Ἐρετρικοῦ, εἰς τοὺς Αἰσχίνου δὲ κατατάξαι. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν Ἀντισθέους τὸν τε μικρὸν Κῦρον καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τὸν ἐλάσσω καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ἐσκευώρηται. οἱ δ' οὖν τῶν Αἰσχίνου τὸ Σωκρατικὸν ἦθος ἀπομεμαγμένοι εἰσὶν ἐπτὰ· πρῶτος Μιλτιάδης, διὸ καὶ ἀσθενέστερόν πως ἔχει· Καλλίας, Ἀξίοχος, Ἀσπασία, Ἀλκιβιάδης, Τηλαύγης, Ῥίνων.

Φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν δι' ἀπορίαν ἐλθεῖν εἰς Σικελίαν πρὸς Διονύσιον, καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν Πλάτωνος παροφθῆναι, ὑπὸ δ' Ἀριστίππου συστήναι· δόντα τέ τινας τῶν

62 διαλόγων δῶρα λαβεῖν. ἔπειτ' ἀφικόμενον Ἀθηναζε μὴ τολμᾶν σοφιστεύειν, εὐδοκούντων τότε τῶν περὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Ἀριστίππον. ἐμίσθους δ' ἀκροάσεις ποιεῖσθαι· εἰτα συγγράφειν λόγους δικανικοὺς τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις· διὸ καὶ τὸν Τίμωνα εἰπεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ "ἦτ' Αἰσχίνου οὐκ ἀπιθῆς <ῖς> γράψαι." φασὶ δ' αὐτῷ λέγειν Σωκράτην, ἐπειδή-

\* Idomeneus, it may be conjectured, relied on some Socratic dialogue in which the part assigned by Plato to Crito was given to Aeschines.

that it was Aeschines, not Crito, who advised Socrates in the prison about making his escape,<sup>a</sup> but that Plato put the words into the mouth of Crito because Aeschines was more attached to Aristippus than to himself. It was said maliciously—by Menedemus of Eretria in particular—that most of the dialogues which Aeschines passed off as his own were really dialogues of Socrates obtained by him from Xanthippe. Those of them which are said to have no beginning (ἀκέφαλοι) are very slovenly and show none of the vigour of Socrates; Pisistratus of Ephesus even denied that they were written by Aeschines. Persaeus indeed attributes the majority of the seven to Pasiphon of the school of Eretria, who inserted them among the dialogues of Aeschines. Moreover, Aeschines made use of the *Little Cyrus*, the *Lesser Heracles* and the *Alcibiades* of Antisthenes as well as dialogues by other authors. However that may be, of the writings of Aeschines those stamped with a Socratic character are seven, namely *Miltiades*, which for that reason is somewhat weak; then *Callias*, *Axiochus*, *Aspasia*, *Alcibiades*, *Telauges*, and *Rhion*.

They say that want drove him to Sicily to the court of Dionysius, and that Plato took no notice of him, but he was introduced to Dionysius by Aristippus, and on presenting certain dialogues received gifts from him. Afterwards on his return to Athens he did not venture to lecture owing to the popularity of Plato and Aristippus. But he took fees from pupils, and subsequently composed forensic speeches for aggrieved clients. This is the point of Timon's reference to him as "the might of Aeschines, that not unconvincing writer." They say that Socrates,

περ ἐπιέζετο ὑπὸ πενίας, παρ' ἑαυτοῦ δανείζεσθαι τῶν σιτίων ὑφαίρουντα. τούτου τοὺς διαλόγους καὶ Ἀριστιππος ὑπώπτευν. ἐν γοῦν Μεγάρῳ ἀναγινώσκοντος αὐτοῦ φασὶ σκῶψαι εἰπόντα, "πόθεν σοι, ληστὰ, ταῦτα;"

63 Φησὶ δὲ Πολύκριτος ὁ Μενδαῖος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν περὶ Διονύσιον ἄχρι τῆς ἐκπτώσεως συμβῶναι αὐτὸν τῷ τυράννῳ καὶ ἕως τῆς Δίωνος εἰς Συρακοῦσας καθόδου, λέγων εἶναι σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ Καρκίνον τὸν τραγωδιοποιόν. φέρεται δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Διονύσιον Αἰσχίνου. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ῥητορικοῖς ἱκανῶς γεγυμνασμένος· ὥς δῆλον ἔκ τε τῆς ἀπολογίας τοῦ πατρὸς Φαίακος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ Δίωνος. μάλιστα δὲ μιμεῖται Γοργίαν τὸν Λεοντίνον. καὶ Λυσίας δὲ κατ' αὐτοῦ γέγραφε λόγον, [περὶ] συκοφαντίας ἐπιγράψας· ἐξ ὧν δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ῥητορικός τις ἦν. γινώριμος δ' αὐτοῦ φέρεται εἰς, Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ Μύθος ἐπικληθεὶς.

64 Πάντων μέντοι τῶν Σωκρατικῶν διαλόγων Παναίτιος ἀληθεὶς εἶναι δοκεῖ τοὺς Πλάτωνος, Ξενοφώντος, Ἀντισθένης, Αἰσχίνου· διστάζει δὲ περὶ τῶν Φαίδωνος καὶ Εὐκλείδου, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀναιρεῖ πάντας.

Γεγόνασι δ' Αἰσχίνοι ὀκτώ· πρῶτος αὐτὸς οὗτος· δεῦτερος δ' ὁ τὰς τέχνας γεγραφὼς τὰς ῥητορικάς· τρίτος ὁ ῥήτωρ ὁ κατὰ Δημοσθένην· τέταρτος Ἀρκάς, μαθητὴς Ἰσοκράτους· πέμπτος ὁ Μυτιληναῖος, ὃν καὶ ῥητορομάστιγα ἐκάλουν· ἕκτος Νεαπολίτης, φιλόσοφος Ἀκαδημαϊκός, Μελανθίου τοῦ Ῥοδίου μαθητὴς καὶ παιδικά· ἕβδομος Μιλήσιος, πολιτικός συγγραφεὺς· ὄγδοος ἀνδριαντοποιός.

seeing how he was pinched by poverty, advised him to borrow from himself by reducing his rations. Aristippus among others had suspicions of the genuineness of his dialogues. At all events, as he was reading one at Megara, Aristippus rallied him by asking, "Where did you get that, you thief?"

Polycritus of Mende, in the first book of his *History of Dionysius*, says that he lived with the tyrant until his expulsion from Syracuse, and survived until the return of Dion, and that with him was Carcinus the tragic poet. There is also extant an epistle of Aeschines to Dionysius. That he had received a good rhetorical training is clear from his defence of the father of Phaeax the general, and from his defence of Dion. He is a close imitator of Gorgias of Leontini. Moreover, Lysias attacked him in a speech which he entitled "On dishonesty." And from this too it is clear that he was a rhetorician. A single disciple of his is mentioned, Aristotle, whose nickname was "Story."

Panaetius thinks that, of all the Socratic dialogues, those by Plato, Xenophon, Antisthenes and Aeschines are genuine; he is in doubt about those ascribed to Phaedo and Euclides; but he rejects the others one and all.

There are eight men who have borne the name of Aeschines: (1) our subject himself; (2) the author of handbooks of rhetoric; (3) the orator who opposed Demosthenes; (4) an Arcadian, a pupil of Isocrates; (5) a Mitylenean whom they used to call the "scourge of rhetoricians"; (6) a Neapolitan, an Academic philosopher, a pupil and favourite of Melanthius of Rhodes; (7) a Milesian who wrote upon politics; (8) a sculptor.

Κεφ. η'. ΑΡΙΣΤΙΠΠΟΣ

- 65 Ἀριστίππος τὸ μὲν γένος ἦν Κυρηναῖος, ἀφ-  
 υγμένος δ' Ἀθηναῖζε, καθά φησιν Αἰσχίνης, κατὰ  
 κλέος Σωκράτους. οὗτος σοφιστεύσας, ὡς φησι  
 Φανίας ὁ περιπατητικὸς ὁ Ἑρέσιος, πρῶτος τῶν  
 Σωκρατικῶν μισθοὺς εἰσεπράξατο καὶ ἀπέστειλε  
 χρήματα τῷ διδασκάλῳ. καὶ ποτε πέμψας αὐτῷ  
 μνᾶς εἴκοσι παλινδρόμους ἀπέλαβεν, εἰπόντος  
 Σωκράτους τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν·  
 ἐδυσχέραινε γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ. Ξενοφῶν τ' εἶχε πρὸς  
 αὐτὸν δυσμενῶς· διὸ καὶ τὸν κατὰ τῆς ἡδονῆς λόγον  
 Σωκράτει κατ' Ἀριστίππου περιτέθεικεν. οὐ μὴν  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ Θεόδωρος ἐν τῷ Περὶ αἰρέσεων ἐκάκισεν  
 αὐτὸν καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς, ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις  
 εἰρήκαμεν.
- 66 Ἦν δὲ ἱκανὸς ἀρμόσασθαι καὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ  
 καὶ προσώπῳ, καὶ πᾶσαν περίστασιν ἀρμοδίως  
 ὑποκρίνασθαι· διὸ καὶ παρὰ Διονυσίῳ τῶν ἄλλων  
 εὐδοκίμει μᾶλλον, αἰεὶ τὸ προσπεσὸν εὖ διατιθέ-  
 μενος. ἀπέλαυε μὲν γὰρ ἡδονῆς τῶν παρόντων,  
 οὐκ ἔθῃρα δὲ πόνῳ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν οὐ παρόντων·  
 ὅθεν καὶ Διογένης βασιλικὸν κύνα ἔλεγεν αὐτόν.  
 ὁ δὲ Τίμων παρέφαγεν ὡς θρυπτόμενον, οὕτωςί  
 πως εἰπών·

a Mem. ii. 1.

b In the Introduction to the *Phaedo*, 59 c, Aristippus is said to have been in Aegina on the day when Socrates drank the hemlock. How little this justifies the use of the terms ἐκάκισεν and διαβάλλων may be seen from the previous statement in the *Phaedo* that Plato himself is said to have been absent through illness on that occasion. Notice

CHAPTER 8. ARISTIPPUS (c. 435-350 B.C.)

Aristippus was by birth a citizen of Cyrene and, as Aeschines informs us, was drawn to Athens by the fame of Socrates. Having come forward as a lecturer or sophist, as Phanias of Eresus, the Peripatetic, informs us, he was the first of the followers of Socrates to charge fees and to send money to his master. And on one occasion the sum of twenty minae which he had sent was returned to him, Socrates declaring that the supernatural sign would not let him take it; the very offer, in fact, annoyed him. Xenophon was no friend to Aristippus; and for this reason he has made Socrates direct against Aristippus the discourse in which he denounces pleasure.<sup>a</sup> Not but what Theodorus in his work *On Sects* abuses him, and so does Plato in the dialogue *On the Soul*,<sup>b</sup> as has been shown elsewhere.

He was capable of adapting himself to place, time and person, and of playing his part appropriately under whatever circumstances. Hence he found more favour than anybody else with Dionysius, because he could always turn the situation to good account. He derived pleasure from what was present, and did not toil to procure the enjoyment of something not present. Hence Diogenes called him the king's poodle<sup>c</sup> Timon, too, sneered at him for luxury in these words<sup>d</sup>:

that Diogenes Laertius refers to the Life of Plato as already written; see iii. 36.

c Or "royal cynic." It is impossible to preserve the *double entendre* here, for κύων, dog, also means "cynic"; in fact the very name of that sect proclaims that they gloried in their dog-like attributes, especially in snarling and biting.

d Fr. 27 D.



οἷά τ' Ἀριστίππου τρυφερῇ φύσει ἀμφοφόωντος  
ψεύδη.

τοῦτόν φασί ποτε κελεύσαι πέρδικα πεντήκοντα  
δραχμῶν ὠνηθῆναι· αἰτιασαμένου δέ τινος, "σὺ δ'  
οὐκ ἂν," εἶπεν, "ὀβολοῦ τοῦτον ἐπρίω;" ἐπινεύ-  
σαντος δέ, "τοσοῦτον," ἔφη, "ἐμοὶ δύνανται αἱ  
67 πεντήκοντα δραχμαί." Διονυσίου δέ ποτε τριῶν  
ἐταίρων οὐσῶν μίαν ἐκλέξασθαι κελεύσαντος, τὰς  
τρεῖς ἀπήγαγεν εἰπών, "οὐδὲ τῷ Πάριδι συνήνεγκε  
μίαν προκρίναι." ἀπαγαγὼν μέντοι, φασίν, αὐτὰς  
ἄχρι τοῦ θυρώνος ἀπέλυσεν. οὕτως ἦν καὶ ἐλέσθαι  
καὶ καταφρονῆσαι πολὺς. διό ποτε Στράτωνα, οἱ  
δὲ Πλάτωνα, πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, "σοὶ μόνῳ δέδοται  
καὶ χλανίδα φορεῖν καὶ ῥάκος." Διονυσίου δέ προσ-  
πτύσαντος αὐτῷ ἠνέσχετο. μεμψαμένου δέ τινος,  
"εἴτα οἱ μὲν ἄλιεῖς," εἶπεν, "ὑπομένουσι ραί-  
νεσθαι τῇ θαλάττῃ, ἵνα κωβιδὸν θηράσωσιν· ἐγὼ  
δὲ μὴ ἀνάσχωμαι κράματι ῥανθῆναι, ἵνα βλέννοι  
λάβω;"

68 Παριόντα ποτὲ αὐτὸν λάχανα πλύνων Διογένης  
ἔσκωψε, καὶ φησιν,<sup>1</sup> "εἰ ταῦτα ἔμαθες προσφέ-  
ρεσθαι, οὐκ ἂν τυράννων αὐλὰς ἐθεράπευες." ὁ δέ,  
"καὶ σύ," εἶπεν, "εἴπερ ἦδεις ἀνθρώποις ὀμιλεῖν,  
οὐκ ἂν λάχανα ἔπλυνες." ἐρωτηθεὶς τί αὐτῷ περι-  
γέγονεν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας, ἔφη, "τὸ δύνασθαι πᾶσι  
βαρρουντῶς ὀμιλεῖν." ὀνειδιζόμενός ποτ' ἐπὶ τῷ  
πολυτελεῶς ζῆν, "εἰ τοῦτ'," ἔφη, "φαῦλον ἦν, οὐκ  
ἂν ἐν ταῖς τῶν θεῶν ἑορταῖς ἐγίνετο." ἐρωτηθεὶς

<sup>1</sup> φησιν] "σύ" φησιν Richards: ἔφη "σύ Postgate.

\* This alludes to his doctrine of sensation, sometimes called "internal touch." Compare *infra* § 92, and more fully 196

Such was the delicate nature of Aristippus, who groped after error by touch.\*

He is said to have ordered a partridge to be bought at a cost of fifty drachmae, and, when someone censured him, he inquired, "Would not you have given an obol for it?" and, being answered in the affirmative, rejoined, "Fifty drachmae are no more to me." And when Dionysius gave him his choice of three courtesans, he carried off all three, saying, "Paris paid dearly for giving the preference to one out of three." And when he had brought them as far as the porch, he let them go. To such lengths did he go both in choosing and in disdaining. Hence the remark of Strato, or by some accounts of Plato, "You alone are endowed with the gift to flaunt in robes or go in rags." He bore with Dionysius when he spat on him, and to one who took him to task he replied, "If the fishermen let themselves be drenched with sea-water in order to catch a gudgeon, ought I not to endure to be wetted with negus in order to take a blenny?"

Diogenes, washing the dirt from his vegetables, saw him passing and jeered at him in these terms, "If you had learnt to make these your diet, you would not have paid court to kings," to which his rejoinder was, "And if you knew how to associate with men, you would not be washing vegetables." Being asked what he had gained from philosophy, he replied, "The ability to feel at ease in any society." Being reproached for his extravagance, he said, "If it were wrong to be extravagant, it would not be in vogue at the festivals of the gods."

Sext. Emp. *Adv. mathem.* vii. 191. It has been paraphrased thus: "quae potuit tactu a falso discernere verum."

ποτε τί πλέον ἔχουσιν οἱ φιλόσοφοι, ἔφη, "ἐὰν πάντες οἱ νόμοι ἀναιρεθῶσιν, ὁμοίως βιωσόμεθα." 69 ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ Διονυσίου διὰ τί οἱ μὲν φιλόσοφοι ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν πλουσίων θύρας ἔρχονται, οἱ δὲ πλούσιοι ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν φιλοσόφων οὐκ ἔτι, ἔφη, "ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἴσασιν ὧν δέονται, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἴσασιν." ὀνειδίζομενός ποτ' ἐπὶ τῷ πολυτελῶς ζῆν ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος, ἔφη, "ἄρα φαίνεται σοι Διονύσιος ἀγαθός;" τοῦ δ' ὁμολογήσαντος, "καὶ μὴν," ἔφη, "ζῇ ἐμοῦ πολυτελέστερον ὥστ' οὐδὲν κωλύει καὶ πολυτελῶς καὶ καλῶς ζῆν." ἐρωτηθεὶς τίνα διαφέρουσιν οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν, ἔφη, "ὥπερ οἱ δεδασμένοι ἵπποι τῶν ἀδασμάτων." εἰσιῶν ποτε εἰς ἐταίρας οἰκίαν, καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ μειρακίων τινὸς ἐρυθριάσαντος, "οὐ τὸ εἰσελθεῖν," ἔφη, "χαλεπόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἐξελθεῖν." 70 Αἰνιγματὶς τινος αὐτῷ προτείναντος καὶ εἰπόντος, "λύσον," "τί, ὦ μάταιε," ἔφη, "λύσαι θέλεις, ὃ καὶ δεδεμένον ἡμῖν πράγματα παρέχει;" ἄμεινον ἔφη ἐπαίτην ἢ ἀπαιδευτον εἶναι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ χρημάτων, οἱ δ' ἀνθρωπισμοῦ δέονται. λοιδορούμενός ποτε ἀνεχώρει· τοῦ δ' ἐπιδιώκοντος εἰπόντος, "τί φεύγεις;" "ὅτι," φησί, "τοῦ μὲν κακῶς λέγειν σὺ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχεις, τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἀκούειν ἐγώ." εἰπόντος τινὸς ὡς αἰετοὺς φιλοσόφους βλέπει παρὰ ταῖς τῶν πλουσίων θύραις, "καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἱατροί," φησί, "παρὰ ταῖς τῶν νοσοῦντων· ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτό τις ἂν ἔλοιτο νοσεῖν ἢ ἱατρεύειν."

Being once asked what advantage philosophers have, he replied, "Should all laws be repealed, we shall go on living as we do now." When Dionysius inquired what was the reason that philosophers go to rich men's houses, while rich men no longer visit philosophers, his reply was that "the one know what they need while the other do not." When he was reproached by Plato for his extravagance, he inquired, "Do you think Dionysius a good man?" and the reply being in the affirmative, "And yet," said he, "he lives more extravagantly than I do. So that there is nothing to hinder a man living extravagantly and well." To the question how the educated differ from the uneducated, he replied, "Exactly as horses that have been trained differ from untrained horses." One day, as he entered the house of a courtesan, one of the lads with him blushed, whereupon he remarked, "It is not going in that is dangerous, but being unable to go out."

Some one brought him a knotty problem with the request that he would untie the knot. "Why, you simpleton," said he, "do you want it untied, seeing that it causes trouble enough as it is?" "It is better," he said, "to be a beggar than to be uneducated; the one needs money, the others need to be humanized." One day that he was reviled, he tried to slip away; the other pursued him, asking, "Why do you run away?" "Because," said he, "as it is your privilege to use foul language, so it is my privilege not to listen." In answer to one who remarked that he always saw philosophers at rich men's doors, he said, "So, too, physicians are in attendance on those who are sick, but no one for that reason would prefer being sick to being a physician."

- 71 Εἰς Κόρινθον αὐτῷ πλεοντί ποτε καὶ χειμα-  
 ζομένῳ συνέβη παραχθῆναι. πρὸς οὖν τὸν εἰπόντα,  
 "ἡμεῖς μὲν οἱ ἰδιῶται οὐ δεδοίκαμεν, ὑμεῖς δ' οἱ  
 φιλόσοφοι δειλιᾶτε," "οὐ γὰρ περὶ ὁμοίας," ἔφη.  
 "ψυχῆς ἀγωνιῶμεν ἐκάτεροι." σεμνυνομένου τινὸς  
 ἐπὶ πολυμαθείᾳ ἔφη, "ὥσπερ οὐχ οἱ τὰ πλείστα  
 ἐσθίοντες [καὶ γυμναζόμενοι] ὑγιαίνουνσι μᾶλλον  
 τῶν τὰ δέοντα προσφερομένων, οὕτως οὐδὲ οἱ  
 πολλὰ ἄλλ' οἱ χρήσιμα ἀναγινώσκοντές εἰσι σπου-  
 δαῖοι." πρὸς τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λογογράφον δίκην  
 εἰπόντα καὶ νυκθίσαντα, ἔπειτα φάσκοντα πρὸς  
 αὐτόν, "τί σε ὦνσε Σωκράτης;" ἔφη, "τοῦτο,  
 τοὺς λόγους, οὓς εἶπας ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἀληθεῖς εἶναι."  
 72 Τὰ ἄριστα ὑπετίθετο τῇ θυγατρὶ Ἀρήτῃ, συνασκῶν  
 αὐτὴν ὑπεροπτικὴν τοῦ πλέονος εἶναι. ἐρωτηθεὶς  
 ὑπὸ τινος τί αὐτοῦ ὁ υἱὸς ἀμείνων ἔσται παιδευθεὶς,  
 "καὶ εἰ μὴδὲν ἄλλο," εἶπεν, "ἐν γούν τῷ θεάτρῳ  
 οὐ καθεδεύεται λίθος ἐπὶ λίθῳ." συνιστάντος τινὸς  
 αὐτῷ υἱὸν ἤγησε πεντακοσίας δραχμάς· τοῦ δ'  
 εἰπόντος, "τοσούτου δύναμαι ἀνδράποδον ὠνήσα-  
 σθαι," "πρίῳ," ἔφη, "καὶ ἔξεις δύο." ἀργύριον  
 εἶπε παρὰ τῶν γνωρίμων λαμβάνειν, οὐχ ἵν' αὐτὸς  
 χρῶτο, ἀλλ' ἵν' ἐκείνοι εἰδεῖεν εἰς τίνα δεῖ χρῆσθαι  
 τοῖς ἀργυρίοις. ὀνειδιζόμενός ποτε ὅτι δίκην ἔχων  
 ἐμισθώσατο ῥήτορα, "καὶ γάρ," ἔφη, "ὅταν δέιπνον  
 ἔχω, μάγειρον μισθοῦμαι."  
 73 Ἀναγκαζόμενός ποτε ὑπὸ Διονυσίου εἰπεῖν τι  
 τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας, "γελοῖον," ἔφη, "εἰ τὸ λέγειν  
 μὲν παρ' ἐμοῦ μανθάνεις, τὸ δὲ πότε δεῖ λέγειν

It happened once that he set sail for Corinth and, being overtaken by a storm, he was in great consternation. Some one said, "We plain men are not alarmed, and are you philosophers turned cowards?" To this he replied, "The lives at stake in the two cases are not comparable." When some one gave himself airs for his wide learning, this is what he said: "As those who eat most and take the most exercise are not better in health than those who restrict themselves to what they require, so too it is not wide reading but useful reading that tends to excellence." An advocate, having pleaded for him and won the case, thereupon put the question, "What good did Socrates do you?" "Thus much," was the reply, "that what you said of me in your speech was true."

He gave his daughter Arete the very best advice, training her up to despise excess. He was asked by some one in what way his son would be the better for being educated. He replied, "If nothing more than this, at all events, when in the theatre he will not sit down like a stone upon stone." When some one brought his son as a pupil, he asked a fee of 500 drachmae. The father objected, "For that sum I can buy a slave." "Then do so," was the reply, "and you will have two." He said that he did not take money from his friends for his own use, but to teach them upon what objects their money should be spent. When he was reproached for employing a rhetorician to conduct his case, he made reply, "Well, if I give a dinner, I hire a cook."

Being once compelled by Dionysius to enunciate some doctrine of philosophy, "It would be ludicrous," he said, "that you should learn from me what to

σύ με διδάσκεις." ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὴ ἀγανακτήσαντα τὸν Διονύσιον ἔσχατον αὐτὸν κατακλῖναι· καὶ τόν, "ἐνδοξότερον," φάναι, "τὸν τόπον ἠθέλησας ποιῆσαι." αὐχοῦντός τινος ἐπὶ τῷ κολυμβᾶν, "οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ," εἶπεν, "ἐπὶ δελφίνος ἔργοις ἀλαζονευόμενος;" ἐρωτηθεὶς ποτε τίνι διαφέρει ὁ σοφὸς τοῦ μὴ σοφοῦ, ἔφη, "εἰς ἀγνώτας τοὺς δύο γυμνοὺς ἀπόστειλον, καὶ εἷσῃ." αὐχοῦντός τινος ἐπὶ τῷ πολλὰ πίνειν καὶ μὴ μεθύσκεσθαι, "τοῦτο καὶ ἡμίονος," φησί.

- 74 Πρὸς τὸν αἰτιώμενον ὅτι ἐταίρα συνοικεῖ, "ἄρα γε," εἶπε, "μή τι διενέγκαι <ἄν> οἰκίαν λαβεῖν ἐν ἧ πολλοὶ ποτε ὤκησαν ἢ μηδεῖς;" εἰπόντος δὲ οὐ, "τί δὲ πλεῦσαι ἐν νηὶ ἢ μυρίοι ποτὲ ἐνέπλευσαν ἢ μηδεῖς;" "οὐδαμῶς." "οὐδ' ἄρα γυναικί," ἔφη, "συνεῖναι ἢ πολλοὶ κέχρηται ἢ μηδεῖς." πρὸς τὸν αἰτιώμενον ὅτι Σωκράτους μαθητὴς ὢν ἀργύριον λαμβάνει, "καὶ μάλα," εἶπε· "καὶ γὰρ Σωκράτης, πεμπόντων αὐτῷ τινων καὶ σίτον καὶ οἶνον, ὀλίγα λαμβάνων τὰ λοιπὰ ἀπέπεμπεν· εἶχε γὰρ ταμίας τοὺς πρώτους Ἀθηναίων, ἐγὼ δ' Εὐτυχίδην ἀργυρώνητον." ἐχρήτο καὶ Λαίδι τῇ ἐταίρᾳ, καθά
- 75 φησι Σωτίων ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Διαδοχῶν. πρὸς οὖν τοὺς μεμφομένους αὐτῷ ἔφη, "ἔχω [Λαῖδα], ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχομαι· ἐπεὶ τὸ κρατεῖν καὶ μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι

say, and yet instruct me when to say it." At this, they say, Dionysius was offended and made him recline at the end of the table. And Aristippus said, "You must have wished to confer distinction on the last place." To some one who boasted of his diving, "Are you not ashamed," said he, "to brag of that which a dolphin can do?" Being asked on one occasion what is the difference between the wise man and the unwise, "Strip them both," said he, "and send them among strangers and you will know." To one who boasted that he could drink a great deal without getting drunk, his rejoinder was, "And so can a mule."

To one who accused him of living with a courtesan, he put the question, "Why, is there any difference between taking a house in which many people have lived before and taking one in which nobody has ever lived?" The answer being "No," he continued, "Or again, between sailing in a ship in which ten thousand persons have sailed before and in one in which nobody has ever sailed?" "There is no difference." "Then it makes no difference," said he, "whether the woman you live with has lived with many or with nobody." To the accusation that, although he was a pupil of Socrates, he took fees, his rejoinder was, "Most certainly I do, for Socrates, too, when certain people sent him corn and wine, used to take a little and return all the rest; and he had the foremost men in Athens for his stewards, whereas mine is my slave Eutychides." He enjoyed the favours of Laïs, as Sotion states in the second book of his *Successions of Philosophers*. To those who censured him his defence was, "I have Laïs, not she me; and it is not abstinence from

ἡδονῶν ἀριστον, οὐ τὸ μὴ χρῆσθαι." πρὸς τὸν  
 ὀνειδίσαντα αὐτῷ πολυτελῇ ὀψωνίαν ἔφη, "σὺ δ'  
 οὐκ ἂν τριωβόλου ταύτ' ἐπρίω;" ὁμολογήσαντος  
 δέ, "οὐκέτι τοίνυν," ἔφη, "φιλήδονος ἐγώ, ἀλλὰ σὺ  
 φιλάργυρος." Σίμου ποτὲ τοῦ Διονυσίου ταμίου  
 πολυτελεῖς οἴκους αὐτῷ καὶ λιθοστρώτους δεικνύν-  
 τος—ἦν δὲ Φρυγῆ καὶ ὄλεθρος—ἀναχρεμψάμενος  
 προσέειπε, "τόπον ἐπιτηδεύοντα, οὐκ  
 εἶχον," εἶπε, "τόπον ἐπιτηδεύοντα."

76 Πρὸς Χαράνδαν εἰπόντα, οἱ δὲ πρὸς Φαίδωνα, τίς  
 ὁ μεμυρισμένος; "ἐγώ," φησὶν, "ὁ κακοδαίμων,  
 κάμου κακοδαιμονέστερος ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς.  
 ἀλλ' ὅρα μὴ ὡς οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλων ζῶν παρὰ τοῦτό  
 τι ἐλαττοῦται, οὕτως οὐδ' ἂν ὁ ἄνθρωπος. κακοὶ  
 κακῶς δ' ἀπόλυντο οἱ κίναδοι, οἷτινες καλὸν ἡμῖν  
 ἄλειμμα διαβάλλουσιν." ἐρωτώμενος πῶς ἀπέθανε  
 Σωκράτης, ἔφη, "ὡς ἂν ἐγὼ εὐξαίμην." Πολυ-  
 ξένου ποτὲ τοῦ σοφιστοῦ εἰσελθόντος πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ  
 θεασαμένου γυναικῆς τε καὶ πολυτελῇ ὀψωνίαν,  
 ἔπειτα αἰτιασαμένου, μικρὸν διαλιπών, "δύνασαι,"  
 77 ἔφη, "καὶ σὺ σήμερον μεθ' ἡμῶν γενέσθαι;" τοῦ  
 δ' ἐπινεύσαντος, "τί οὖν," ἔφη, "ἐμέμφου; ἔοικας  
 γὰρ οὐ τὴν ὀψωνίαν ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀνάλωμα αἰτιάσθαι."  
 τοῦ δὲ θεράποντος ἐν ὁδῷ βαστάζοντος ἀργύριον  
 καὶ βαρυνομένου, ὥς φασιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Βίωνα ἐν  
 ταῖς Διατριβαῖς, "ἀπόχεε," ἔφη, "τὸ πλεόν καὶ ὅσον  
 δύνασαι βάσταξε." πλέων ποτὲ ἐπεὶ τὸ σκάφος

pleasures that is best, but mastery over them without  
 ever being worsted." To one who reproached him  
 with extravagance in catering, he replied, "Wouldn't  
 you have bought this if you could have got it for  
 three obols?" The answer being in the affirmative,  
 "Very well, then," said Aristippus, "I am no longer  
 a lover of pleasure, it is you who are a lover of  
 money." One day Simus, the steward of Dionysius,  
 a Phrygian by birth and a rascally fellow, was show-  
 ing him costly houses with tessellated pavements,  
 when Aristippus coughed up phlegm and spat in his  
 face. And on his resenting this he replied, "I could  
 not find any place more suitable."

When Charondas (or, as others say, Phaedo) in-  
 quired, "Who is this who reeks with unguents?"  
 he replied, "It is I, unlucky wight, and the still more  
 unlucky Persian king. But, as none of the other  
 animals are at any disadvantage on that account,  
 consider whether it be not the same with man.  
 Confound the effeminate who spoil for us the use of  
 good perfume." Being asked how Socrates died, he  
 answered, "As I would wish to die myself." Poly-  
 xenus the sophist once paid him a visit and, after  
 having seen ladies present and expensive entertain-  
 ment, reproached him with it later. After an in-  
 terval Aristippus asked him, "Can you join us to-  
 day?" On the other accepting the invitation,  
 Aristippus inquired, "Why, then, did you find fault?  
 For you appear to blame the cost and not the enter-  
 tainment." When his servant was carrying money  
 and found the load too heavy—the story is told by  
 Bion in his *Lectures*—Aristippus cried, "Pour away  
 the greater part, and carry no more than you can  
 manage." Being once on a voyage, as soon as he

ἔγνω πειρατικόν, λαβὼν τὸ χρυσίον ἡρίθμει· ἔπειτα εἰς θάλατταν ὡς μὴ θέλων παρακατέβαλε καὶ δῆθεν ἀνῶμωξεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπειπεῖν φασιν αὐτὸν ὡς ἄμεινον ταῦτα δι' Ἀριστιππον ἢ διὰ ταῦτα Ἀριστιππον ἀπολέσθαι. Διονυσίου ποτ' ἐρομένου ἐπὶ τί ἦκοι, ἔφη ἐπὶ τῷ μεταδώσειν ὧν ἔχοι, καὶ 78 μεταλήψεσθαι ὧν μὴ ἔχοι. ἔνιοι δ' οὕτως ἀποκρίνασθαι, "ὁπότε μὲν σοφίας ἐδεόμην, ἦκον παρὰ τὸν Σωκράτην· νῦν δὲ χρημάτων δεόμενος παρὰ σέ ἦκω." κατεγίνωσκε τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὡς τὰ σκευὴ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἀγορασίαις κομπούντων, τοὺς δὲ βίους εἰκῇ δοκιμαζόντων· οἱ δὲ τοῦτο Διογένης φασί. καὶ ποτε παρὰ πότον κελεύσαντος Διονυσίου ἕκαστον ἐν πορφύρᾳ ἐσθῆτι ὀρχήσασθαι, τὸν μὲν Πλάτωνα μὴ προσέσθαι, εἰπόντα·

οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην θῆλυν ἐνδύναι στολήν·

τὸν δ' Ἀριστιππον λαβόντα καὶ μέλλοντα ὀρχήσασθαι εὐστόχως εἰπεῖν·

καὶ γὰρ ἐν βακχεύμασιν  
οὐσ' ἢ γε σῶφρων οὐ διαφθαρήσεται.

79 Δεόμενός ποτε ὑπὲρ φίλου Διονυσίου καὶ μὴ ἐπιτυγχάνων εἰς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἔπεσε· πρὸς οὖν τὸν ἐπισκώψαντα, "οὐκ ἐγώ," φησὶν, "αἴτιος, ἀλλὰ Διονύσιος ὁ ἐν τοῖς ποσὶ τὰς ἀκοὰς ἔχων." διατρίβων ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ ληφθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀρταφέρνηου τοῦ σατραπόου πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, "καὶ ὧδε θαρρεῖς;" 206

discovered the vessel to be manned by pirates, he took out his money and began to count it, and then, as if by inadvertence, he let the money fall into the sea, and naturally broke out into lamentation. Another version of the story attributes to him the further remark that it was better for the money to perish on account of Aristippus than for Aristippus to perish on account of the money. Dionysius once asked him what he was come for, and he said it was to impart what he had and obtain what he had not. But some make his answer to have been, "When I needed wisdom, I went to Socrates; now that I am in need of money, I come to you." He used to complain of mankind that in purchasing earthenware they made trial whether it rang true, but had no regular standard by which to judge life. Others attribute this remark to Diogenes. One day Dionysius over the wine commanded everybody to put on purple and dance. Plato declined, quoting the line :

I could not stoop to put on women's robes.

Aristippus, however, put on the dress and, as he was about to dance, was ready with the repartee :

Even amid the Bacchic revelry  
True modesty will not be put to shame.\*

He made a request to Dionysius on behalf of a friend and, failing to obtain it, fell down at his feet. And when some one jeered at him, he made reply, "It is not I who am to blame, but Dionysius who has his ears in his feet." He was once staying in Asia and was taken prisoner by Artaphernes, the satrap. "Can you be cheerful under these circumstances?"

\* Eur. *Bacch.* 836.

\* *ib.* 317.

“ πότε γάρ,” εἶπεν, “ ὦ μάταιε, θαρρήσαιμι ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν, ὅτε μέλλω Ἀρταφέρνην διαλέξεσθαι;” τοὺς τῶν ἐγκυκλίων παιδευμάτων μετασχόντας, φιλοσοφίας δὲ ἀπολειφθέντας ὁμοίους ἔλεγεν εἶναι τοῖς τῆς Πηνελόπης μνηστῆρσι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους Μελανθῶ μὲν καὶ Πολυδώραν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας θεραπαίνας ἔχειν, πάντα δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτὴν τὴν  
 80 δέσποιναν δύνασθαι γῆμαι. τὸ δ’ ὁμοιον καὶ Ἀρίστων· τὸν γὰρ Ὀδυσσεύα καταβάντα εἰς ᾄδου τοὺς μὲν νεκροὺς πάντας σχεδὸν ἑωρακέναι καὶ συντετυχηκέναι, τὴν δὲ βασιλίσσαν αὐτὴν μὴ τεθεᾶσθαι.

Ὁ δ’ οὖν Ἀριστίππος ἐρωτηθεὶς τίνα ἐστὶν ἃ δεῖ τοὺς καλοὺς παῖδας μαθάνειν, ἔφη, “ οἷς ἄνδρες γενόμενοι χρῆσονται.” πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα ἐν αἰτίᾳ ὡς ἀπὸ Σωκράτους πρὸς Διονύσιον ἔλθοι, “ ἀλλὰ πρὸς Σωκράτην μὲν,” εἶπεν, “ ἦλθον παιδείας ἕνεκεν, πρὸς δὲ Διονύσιον παιδιᾶς.” ἐξ ὁμίλιας αὐτῷ χρηματισαμένῳ φησὶ Σωκράτης, “ πόθεν σοι τοσαῦτα;” καὶ ὁ, “ ὅθεν σοι τὰ ὀλίγα.”

81 Ἐταίρας εἰπούσης πρὸς αὐτόν, “ ἐκ σοῦ κυῶ,” “ οὐ μᾶλλον,” ἔφη, “ γινώσκεις ἢ εἰ δι’ ὀλοσχοίωνων ἰοῦσα ἔφασκες ὑπὸ τοῦδε κεκεντησθαι.” ἡτιάσατό τις αὐτόν τὸν υἱὸν ἀπορριπτοῦντα ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ γεγονότα· καὶ ὁ, “ καὶ τὸ φλέγμα,” φησί, “ καὶ τοὺς φθεῖρας ἐξ ἡμῶν ἴσμεν γεννωμένους, ἀλλ’ ἀχρεῖα ὄντα ὡς πορρωτάτῳ ριπτοῦμεν.” ἐκδεξάμενος τὸ ἀργύριον παρὰ Διονυσίου, Πλάτωνος ἄραντος βιβλίον, πρὸς τὸν αἰτιασάμενον,  
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some one asked. “ Yes, you simpleton,” was the reply, “ for when should I be more cheerful than now that I am about to converse with Artaphernes ? ” Those who went through the ordinary curriculum, but in their studies stopped short at philosophy, he used to compare to the suitors of Penelope. For the suitors won Melantho, Polydora and the rest of the handmaidens, but were anything but successful in their wooing of the mistress. A similar remark is ascribed to Ariston. For, he said, when Odysseus went down into the under-world, he saw nearly all the dead and made their acquaintance, but he never set eyes upon their queen herself.

Again, when Aristippus was asked what are the subjects which handsome boys ought to learn, his reply was, “ Those which will be useful to them when they are grown up.” To the critic who censured him for leaving Socrates to go to Dionysius, his rejoinder was, “ Yes, but I came to Socrates for education and to Dionysius for recreation.” When he had made some money by teaching, Socrates asked him, “ Where did you get so much ? ” to which he replied, “ Where you got so little ”

A courtesan having told him that she was with child by him, he replied, “ You are no more sure of this than if, after running through coarse rushes, you were to say you had been pricked by one in particular ” Someone accused him of exposing his son as if it was not his offspring Whereupon he replied, “ Phlegm, too, and vermin we know to be of our own begetting, but for all that, because they are useless, we cast them as far from us as possible.” He received a sum of money from Dionysius at the same time that Plato carried off a book and, when

"ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ," εἶπεν, "ἀργυρίων, Πλάτων δὲ βιβλίων ἐστὶν ἐνδεής." πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα τίνος ἔνεκα ἐλέγχεται παρὰ Διονυσίου, "οὐ ἔνεκα," φησὶν, "οἱ ἄλλοι ἐλέγχουσιν."

82 "Ἦτις Διονύσιον ἀργύριον, καὶ ὅς, "ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔφησ' οὐκ ἀπορήσειν τὸν σοφόν." ὁ δ' ὑπολαβὼν, "δός," εἶπε, "καὶ περὶ τούτου ζητῶμεν." δόντος δέ, "ὄρᾳς," ἔφη, "ὅτι οὐκ ἠπόρηκα;" εἰπόντος πρὸς αὐτὸν Διονυσίου·

ὅστις γὰρ ὡς τύραννον ἐμπορεύεται,  
κείνου ὅστις δοῦλος, καὶ ἐλεύθερος μὸλη·

ὑπολαβὼν,

οὐκ ἔστι δοῦλος, ἀν' ἐλεύθερος μὸλη.

τοῦτο Διοκλῆς φησιν ἐν τῷ Περὶ βίων φιλοσόφων· ἄλλοι γὰρ εἰς Πλάτωνα ἀναφέρουσιν. ὀργισθεὶς πρὸς Αἰσχίνην μετ' οὐ πολὺ, "οὐ διαλλαχθισόμεθα, σὺ παυσόμεθα," εἶπε, "ληροῦντες, ἀλλ' ἀναμεινέως ἕως ἂν ἐπὶ τῇ κύλικος ἡμᾶς διαλλάξῃ τις;" καὶ 83 ὅς, "ἄσμενος," ἔφη. "μνημόνευε τοῖνυν," εἶπεν ὁ Ἀριστιππος, "ὅτι σοι πρότερος πρεσβύτερος ὢν προσῆλθον." καὶ ὁ Αἰσχίνης, "εὖγε, νῆ την Ἥραν, εὐλόγως εἶπας, ἐπεὶ πολλῶ μου βελτίων ὑπάρχεις· ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἔχθρας, σὺ δὲ φιλάς ἄρχεις." καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφέρεται.

Γεγόνασι δ' Ἀριστιπποὶ τέσσαρες· περὶ οὗ τε ὁ λόγος καὶ δεύτερος ὁ τὰ περὶ Ἀρκαδίας γεγραφώς·

\* Nauck, *T.G.F.*, *Soph.* 789.

† From a lost play of Sophocles: Plutarch, *De audiendis poetis*, 12, p. 33 D, *Vita Pomp.* 78, p. 661 s.f.

he was twitted with this, his reply was, "Well, I want money, Plato wants books." Some one asked him why he let himself be refuted by Dionysius. "For the same reason," said he, "as the others refute him."

Dionysus met a request of his for money with the words, "Nay, but you told me that the wise man would never be in want." To which he retorted, "Pay! Pay! and then let us discuss the question;" and when he was paid, "Now you see, do you not," said he, "that I was not found wanting?" Dionysius having repeated to him the lines:

Whoso betakes him to a prince's court  
Becomes his slave, albeit of free birth,\*

he retorted:

If a free man he come, no slave is he. †

This is stated by Diocles in his work *On the Lives of Philosophers*; other writers refer the anecdotes to Plato. After getting in a rage with Aeschines, he presently addressed him thus: "Are we not to make it up and desist from vapouring, or will you wait for some one to reconcile us over the wine-bowl?" To which he replied, "Agreed." "Then remember," Aristippus went on, "that, though I am your senior, I made the first approaches." Thereupon Aeschines said, "Well done, by Hera, you are quite right; you are a much better man than I am. For the quarrel was of my beginning, you make the first move to friendship." Such are the repartees which are attributed to him.

There have been four men called Aristippus, (1) our present subject, (2) the author of a book about



τρίτος ὁ μητροδιδάκτος, θυγατρίδους τοῦ πρώτου·  
τέταρτος ὁ ἐκ τῆς νεωτέρας Ἀκαδημίας.

Τοῦ δὲ Κυρηναϊκοῦ φιλοσόφου φέρεται βιβλία  
τρία μὲν ἱστορίας τῶν κατὰ Λιβύην, ἀπεσταλμένα  
Διονυσίῳ· ἐν δὲ ἐν ᾧ διάλογοι πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι,  
οἱ μὲν Ἀτθίδι, οἱ δὲ Δωρίδι διαλέκτῳ γεγραμμένοι  
οἶδε·

84 Ἀρτάβαζος.

Πρὸς τοὺς ναυαγούς.

Πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας.

Πρὸς πτωχόν.

Πρὸς Λαῖδα.

Πρὸς Πώρον.

Πρὸς Λαῖδα περὶ τοῦ κατόπτρου.

Ἑρμείας.

Ἐνύπνιον.

Πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κύλικος.

Φιλόμηλος.

Πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους.

Πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτιμῶντας ὅτι κέκτηται οἶνον παλαιὸν  
καὶ ἐταίρας.

Πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτιμῶντας ὅτι πολυτελῶς ὀψωνεῖ.

Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ἀρήτην τὴν θυγατέρα.

Πρὸς τὸν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν γυμνάζοντα ἑαυτόν.

Ἑρώτησις.

\* Ἄλλη Ἑρώτησις.

Χρεία πρὸς Διονύσιον.

\* Ἄλλη ἐπὶ τῆς εἰκόνας.

\* Ἄλλη ἐπὶ τῆς Διονυσίου θυγατρὸς.

Πρὸς τὸν οἰόμενον ἀτιμάζεσθαι.

Πρὸς τὸν συμβουλευεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντα.

\* Ἐνιοὶ δὲ καὶ διατριβῶν αὐτόν φασιν ἕξ γεγρα-

Arcadia, (3) the grandchild by a daughter of the  
first Aristippus, who was known as his mother's pupil,  
(4) a philosopher of the New Academy.

The following books by the Cyrenaic philosopher  
are in circulation : a history of Libya in three Books,  
sent to Dionysius ; one work containing twenty-five  
dialogues, some written in Attic, some in Doric, as  
follows :

Artabazus.

To the shipwrecked.

To the Exiles.

To a Beggar.

To Laïs.

To Porus.

To Laïs, On the Mirror.

Hermias.

A Dream.

To the Master of the Revels.

Philomelus.

To his Friends.

To those who blame him for his love of old wine  
and of women.

To those who blame him for extravagant living.

Letter to his daughter Arete.

To one in training for Olympia.

An Interrogatory.

Another Interrogatory.

An Occasional Piece to Dionysius.

Another, On the Statue.

Another, On the daughter of Dionysius.

To one who considered himself slighted.

To one who essayed to be a counsellor.

Some also maintain that he wrote six Books of

φέναι, οἱ δ' οὐδ' ὅλως γράψαι· ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Σωσι-  
 κράτης ὁ Ῥόδιος.

85 Κατὰ δὲ Σωτίωνα ἐν δευτέρῳ καὶ Παναίτιον  
 ἔστιν αὐτῷ συγγράμματα τάδε·

Περὶ παιδείας.

Περὶ ἀρετῆς.

Προτρεπτικός.

Ἀρτάβαζος.

Ναναγοί.

Φυγάδες.

Διατριβῶν ἑξ.

Χρειῶν τρία.

Πρὸς Λαῖδα.

Πρὸς Πῶρον.

Πρὸς Σωκράτην.

Περὶ τύχης.

Τέλος δ' ἀπέφαινε τὴν λείαν κίνησιν εἰς αἴσθησιν  
 ἀναδιδομένην.

Ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπειδὴ τὸν βίον ἀνεγράψαμεν αὐτοῦ,  
 φέρε νῦν διέλθωμεν τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Κυρηναϊκοὺς,  
 οἱ τινες ἑαυτοὺς οἱ μὲν Ἠγησιακοὺς, οἱ δὲ Ἀννι-  
 κερεῖους, οἱ δὲ Θεοδωρεῖους προσωνόμαζον. οὐ  
 μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Φαίδωνος, ὧν τοὺς κορυ-  
 88 φαιοτάτους Ἐρετρικοὺς. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως· Ἀριστ-  
 ιππου διήκουσεν ἡ θυγάτηρ Ἀρήτη καὶ Αἰθίοψ

<sup>a</sup> This sentence is a sort of preface to the valuable summary  
 of Hedonistic tenets which occupies §§ 86-99 under four  
 heads, Aristippus (86-93), Hegesias (93-96), Anniceris (96,  
 97), and Theodorus (97-99). Cf. note on i. 19 and Epiphanius  
 (Diels, *Dox. Gr.* 591). It seems as if the sentence τέλος δὲ  
 . . . ἀναδιδομένην ought to follow, not to precede, this preface.  
 But before the doctrines comes a list of disciples, including  
 Hegesias, Anniceris, and Theodorus, whose divergencies from  
 Aristippus are noted below. The intrusion of Phaedo and

Essays; others, and among them Sosicrates of  
 Rhodes, that he wrote none at all.

According to Sotion in his second book, and  
 Panaetius, the following treatises are his:

On Education.

On Virtue.

Introduction to Philosophy.

Artabazus.

The Ship-wrecked.

The Exiles.

Six books of Essays.

Three books of Occasional Writings (χρεῖαι).

To Laïs.

To Porus.

To Socrates.

On Fortune.

He laid down as the end the smooth motion result-  
 ing in sensation.

Having written his life, let me now proceed to  
 pass in review the philosophers of the Cyrenaic school  
 which sprang from him, although some call them-  
 selves followers of Hegesias, others followers of  
 Anniceris, others again of Theodorus.<sup>a</sup> Not but  
 what we shall notice further the pupils of Phaedo,  
 the chief of whom were called the school of Eretria.  
 The case stands thus. The disciples of Aristippus  
 were his daughter Arete, Aethiops of Ptolemais,<sup>b</sup>  
 the Eretrians at this stage is certainly strange: it looks as  
 if Diogenes Laertius jotted down a direction for his own  
 future guidance.

<sup>b</sup> If the city was so named after a Ptolemy, it is im-  
 possible that one of its citizens could have been contemporary  
 with the first Aristippus, the companion of Socrates. Even  
 if Aristippus II. was the teacher of Aethiops the difficulty is  
 not removed.

Πτολεμαεὺς καὶ Ἀντίπατρος Κυρηναῖος· Ἀρήτης δὲ Ἀριστίππος ὁ μητροδιδάκτος ἐπικληθεὶς, οὗ Θεόδωρος ὁ ἄθεος, εἶτα θεός· Ἀντιπάτρου δ' Ἐπιτιμίδης Κυρηναῖος, οὗ Παραιβάτης, οὗ Ἡγησίας ὁ πεισιθάνατος καὶ Ἀννίκερις [ὁ Πλάτων αὐτῶν ἀσόμενος].

Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγωγῆς τῆς Ἀριστίππου μείναντες καὶ Κυρηναῖκοι προσαγορευθέντες δόξαις ἐχρῶντο τοιαύταις· δύο πάθη ὑφίσταντο, πόνον καὶ ἡδονήν, τὴν μὲν λείαν κίνησιν, τὴν ἡδονήν, τὸν δὲ πόνον τραχείαν κίνησιν. μὴ διαφέρειν τε ἡδονὴν ἡδονῆς, μηδὲ ἡδίων τι εἶναι· καὶ τὴν μὲν εὐδοκητὴν πᾶσι ζώοις, τὸν δ' ἀποκρουστικόν. ἡδονὴν μέντοι τὴν τοῦ σώματος, ἣν καὶ τέλος εἶναι, καθά φησι καὶ Παναίτιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν αἰρέσεων, οὗ τὴν καταστηματικὴν ἡδονὴν τὴν ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει ἀλγηδόνων καὶ οἶον ἀνοχλησίαν, ἣν ὁ Ἐπίκουρος ἀποδέχεται καὶ τέλος εἶναι φησι. δοκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τέλος εὐδαιμονίας διαφέρειν. τέλος μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τὴν κατὰ μέρος ἡδονήν, εὐδαιμονίαν δὲ τὸ ἐκ τῶν μερικῶν ἡδονῶν σύστημα, αἷς συναριθμοῦνται καὶ αἱ παρωχηκυῖαι καὶ αἱ μέλλουσαι.

Εἶναι τε τὴν μερικὴν ἡδονὴν δι' αὐτὴν αἰρετήν· τὴν δ' εὐδαιμονίαν οὐ δι' αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἡδονάς. πιστὴν δ' εἶναι τοῦ τέλους εἶναι τὴν ἡδονὴν τὸ ἀπροαιρέτως ἡμᾶς ἐκ παίδων ὥκειώσθαι πρὸς αὐτήν, καὶ τυχόντας αὐτῆς μηθὲν ἐπιζητεῖν μηθὲν τε οὕτω φεύγειν ὥς τὴν ἐναντίαν αὐτῇ ἀλγηδόνα. εἶναι δὲ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσχημοτάτων γένηται, καθά φησι Ἱππόβοτος ἐν τῷ Περὶ αἰρέσεων. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἡ πράξις ἀτοπος

and Antipater of Cyrene. The pupil of Arete was Aristippus, who went by the name of mother-taught, and his pupil was Theodorus, known as the atheist, subsequently as "god." Antipater's pupil was Epitimidēs of Cyrene, his was Paraebates, and he had as pupils Hegesias, the advocate of suicide, and Anniceris, who ransomed Plato.

Those then who adhered to the teaching of Aristippus and were known as Cyrenaics held the following opinions. They laid down that there are two states, pleasure and pain, the former a smooth, the latter a rough motion, and that pleasure does not differ from pleasure nor is one pleasure more pleasant than another. The one state is agreeable and the other repellent to all living things. However, the bodily pleasure which is the end is, according to Panaetius in his work *On the Sects*, not the settled pleasure following the removal of pains, or the sort of freedom from discomfort which Epicurus accepts and maintains to be the end. They also hold that there is a difference between "end" and "happiness." Our end is particular pleasure, whereas happiness is the sum total of all particular pleasures, in which are included both past and future pleasures.

Particular pleasure is desirable for its own sake, whereas happiness is desirable not for its own sake but for the sake of particular pleasures. That pleasure is the end is proved by the fact that from our youth up we are instinctively attracted to it, and, when we obtain it, seek for nothing more, and shun nothing so much as its opposite, pain. Pleasure is good even if it proceed from the most unseemly conduct, as Hippobotus says in his work *On the Sects*. For even if the action be irregular,

εἴη, ἀλλ' οὖν ἡ ἡδονὴ δι' αὐτὴν αἰρετὴ καὶ ἀγαθόν.  
 89 ἢ δὲ τοῦ ἀλγοῦντος ὑπεξαίρεσις, ὥς εἴρηται παρ'  
 Ἐπικούρῳ, δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς μὴ εἶναι ἡδονή· οὐδὲ ἡ  
 ἀηδονία ἀλγηδών. ἐν κινήσει γὰρ εἶναι ἀμφοτέρω,  
 μὴ οὐσης τῆς ἀπονίας ἢ τῆς ἀηδονίας κινήσεως,  
 ἐπεὶ ἡ ἀπονία οἰονεῖ καθεύδοντός ἐστι κατὰστασις.  
 δύνασθαι δὲ φασὶ καὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν τινὰς μὴ αἰρεῖσθαι  
 κατὰ διαστροφὴν· οὐ πάσας μέντοι τὰς ψυχικὰς  
 ἡδονὰς καὶ ἀλγηδόνας ἐπὶ σωματικαῖς ἡδοναῖς  
 καὶ ἀλγηδόσι γίνεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ ψιλῇ τῇ τῆς  
 πατρίδος εὐημερίᾳ ὥσπερ τῇ ἰδίᾳ χαρὰν ἐγγίνεσθαι.  
 ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ κατὰ μνήμην τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἢ προσ-  
 δοκίαν ἡδονὴν φασιν ἀποτελεῖσθαι· ὅπερ ἤρεσκεν  
 90 Ἐπικούρῳ. ἐκλύεσθαι γὰρ τῷ χρόνῳ τὸ τῆς  
 ψυχῆς κίνημα. λέγουσι δὲ μηδὲ κατὰ ψιλὴν τὴν  
 ὄρασιν ἢ τὴν ἀκοὴν γίνεσθαι ἡδονάς. τῶν γοῦν  
 μιμουμένων θρήνους ἡδέως ἀκούομεν, τῶν δὲ κατ'  
 ἀλήθειαν ἀηδῶς. μέσας τε καταστάσεις ὠνόμαζον  
 ἀηδονίαν καὶ ἀπονίαν. πολὺ μέντοι τῶν ψυχικῶν  
 τὰς σωματικὰς ἀμείνους εἶναι, καὶ τὰς ὀχλήσεις  
 χεῖρους τὰς σωματικὰς. ὅθεν καὶ ταύταις κολά-  
 ζεσθαι μᾶλλον τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας. χαλεπώτερον  
 γὰρ τὸ πονεῖν, οἰκειώτερον δὲ τὸ ἡδεσθαι ὑπελάμ-  
 βανον. ὅθεν καὶ πλείονα οἰκονομίαν περὶ θάτερον  
 ἐποιοῦντο. διὸ καὶ καθ' αὐτὴν αἰρετῆς οὐσης  
 τῆς ἡδονῆς τὰ ποιητικὰ ἐνίων ἡδονῶν ὀχληρὰ

still, at any rate, the resultant pleasure is desirable  
 for its own sake and is good. The removal of  
 pain, however, which is put forward in Epicurus,  
 seems to them not to be pleasure at all, any more  
 than the absence of pleasure is pain. For both  
 pleasure and pain they hold to consist in motion,  
 whereas absence of pleasure like absence of pain is  
 not motion, since painlessness is the condition of one  
 who is, as it were, asleep. They assert that some  
 people may fail to choose pleasure because their  
 minds are perverted; not all mental pleasures and  
 pains, however, are derived from bodily counter-  
 parts. For instance, we take disinterested delight  
 in the prosperity of our country which is as real as  
 our delight in our own prosperity. Nor again do they  
 admit that pleasure is derived from the memory or  
 expectation of good, which was a doctrine of Epicurus.  
 For they assert that the movement affecting the mind  
 is exhausted in course of time. Again they hold  
 that pleasure is not derived from sight or from  
 hearing alone. At all events, we listen with pleasure  
 to imitation of mourning, while the reality causes  
 pain. They gave the names of absence of pleasure  
 and absence of pain to the intermediate conditions.  
 However, they insist that bodily pleasures are far  
 better than mental pleasures, and that this is the reason  
 why offenders are punished with the former. For  
 they assumed pain to be more repellent, pleasure  
 more congenial. For these reasons they paid more  
 attention to the body than to the mind. Hence,  
 although pleasure is in itself desirable, yet they hold  
 that the things which are productive of certain  
 pleasures are often of a painful nature, the very

πολλάκις ἐναντιοῦσθαι. ὡς δυσκολώτατον αὐτοῖς φαίεσθαι τὸν ἀθροισμὸν τῶν ἡδονῶν εὐδαιμονίαν ποιούντων.

91 Ἀρέσκει δ' αὐτοῖς μήτε τὸν σοφὸν πάντα ἡδέως ζῆν, μήτε πάντα φαῦλον ἐπιπόνως, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ πλείστον. ἀρκεῖ δὲ καὶ ἓν κατὰ μίαν τις προσπίπτουσαν ἡδέως ἐπανάγη. τὴν φρόνησιν ἀγαθὸν μὲν εἶναι λέγουσιν, οὐ δι' αὐτὴν δὲ αἰρετήν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς περιγινόμενα. τὸν φίλον τῆς χρείας ἔνεκα. καὶ γὰρ μέρος σώματος, μέχρις ἂν παρῇ, ἀσπάξεσθαι. τῶν ἀρετῶν ἑνίας καὶ περὶ τοῦς ἄφρονας συνίστασθαι. τὴν σωματικὴν ἀσκήσιν συμβάλλεσθαι πρὸς ἀρετῆς ἀνάληψιν. τὸν σοφὸν μήτε φθονήσκειν μήτε ἐρασθήσεσθαι ἢ δεισιδαιμονήσκειν. γίνεσθαι γὰρ ταῦτα παρὰ κενὴν δόξαν. λυπήσεσθαι μέντοι καὶ φοβήσεσθαι. φυσικῶς γὰρ 92 γίνεσθαι. καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον δὲ ποιητικὸν ἡδονῆς εἶναι, οὐ δι' αὐτὸν αἰρετὸν ὄντα.

Τὰ τε πάθη καταληπτὰ. ἔλεγον οὖν αὐτά, οὐκ ἀφ' ὧν γίνεται. ἀφίσταντο δὲ καὶ τῶν φυσικῶν διὰ τὴν ἐμφαινομένην ἀκαταληψίαν. τῶν δὲ λογικῶν διὰ τὴν εὐχρηστίαν ἥπτοντο. Μελέαγρος δ' ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ δοξῶν καὶ Κλειτόμαχος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ αἰρέσεων φασὶν αὐτοὺς ἀχρηστα ἡγεῖσθαι τό τε φυσικὸν μέρος καὶ τὸ διαλεκτικόν. δύνασθαι γὰρ καὶ εὖ λέγειν καὶ δεισιδαιμονίας ἐκτὸς εἶναι καὶ τὸν περὶ θανάτου φόβον ἐκφεύγειν τὸν <τὸν> περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν λόγον ἐκμεμαθη- 93 κότα. μηδὲν τε εἶναι φύσει δίκαιον ἢ καλὸν ἢ αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ καὶ ἔθει. ὁ μέντοι σπουδαῖος

opposite of pleasure; so that to accumulate the pleasures which are productive of happiness appears to them a most irksome business.

They do not accept the doctrine that every wise man lives pleasantly and every fool painfully, but regard it as true for the most part only. It is sufficient even if we enjoy but each single pleasure as it comes. They say that prudence is a good, though desirable not in itself but on account of its consequences; that we make friends from interested motives, just as we cherish any part of the body so long as we have it; that some of the virtues are found even in the foolish; that bodily training contributes to the acquisition of virtue; that the sage will not give way to envy or love or superstition, since these weaknesses are due to mere empty opinion; he will, however, feel pain and fear, these being natural affections; and that wealth too is productive of pleasure, though not desirable for its own sake.

They affirm that mental affections can be known, but not the objects from which they come; and they abandoned the study of nature because of its apparent uncertainty, but fastened on logical inquiries because of their utility. But Meleager in his second book *On Philosophical Opinions*, and Clitomachus in his first book *On the Sects*, affirm that they maintain Dialectic as well as Physics to be useless, since, when one has learnt the theory of good and evil, it is possible to speak with propriety, to be free from superstition, and to escape the fear of death. They also held that nothing is just or honourable or base by nature, but only by convention and custom. Nevertheless the good man will be deterred from

οὐδὲν ἄτοπον πράξει διὰ τὰς ἐπικειμένας ζημίας  
 καὶ δόξας· εἶναι δὲ τὸν σοφόν. προκοπὴν τε  
 ἀπολείπουσι καὶ ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις.  
 φασὶ δὲ καὶ λυπεῖσθαι ἄλλον ἄλλου μᾶλλον, καὶ  
 τὰς αἰσθήσεις μὴ πάντοτε ἀληθεύειν.

Οἱ δὲ Ἑγησιακοὶ λεγόμενοι σκοποὺς μὲν εἶχον  
 τοὺς αὐτοὺς, ἡδονὴν καὶ πόνον. μήτε δὲ χάριν τι  
 εἶναι μήτε φιλίαν μήτε εὐεργεσίαν, διὰ τὸ μὴ δι'  
 αὐτὰ ταῦτα αἰρεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς αὐτά, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς  
 χρείας αὐτάς, ὧν ἀπόντων μὴδ' ἐκεῖνα ὑπάρχειν.  
 94 τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ὅλως ἀδύνατον εἶναι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ  
 σῶμα πολλῶν ἀναπεπλησθαι παθημάτων, τὴν δὲ  
 ψυχὴν συμπαθεῖν τῷ σώματι καὶ ταράττεσθαι,  
 τὴν δὲ τύχην πολλὰ τῶν κατ' ἐλπίδα κωλύειν,  
 ὥστε διὰ ταῦτα ἀνύπαρκτον τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν εἶναι.  
 τὴν τε ζωὴν καὶ τὸν θάνατον αἰρετόν. φύσει τ'  
 οὐδὲν ἡδὺ ἢ ἀηδὲς ὑπελάμβανον· διὰ δὲ σπάνιν ἢ  
 ξενισμὸν ἢ κόρον τοὺς μὲν ἡδεσθαι, τοὺς δ' ἀηδῶς  
 ἔχειν. πενίαν καὶ πλοῦτον πρὸς ἡδονῆς λόγον  
 εἶναι οὐδέν· μὴ γὰρ διαφερόντως ἡδεσθαι τοὺς  
 πλουσίους ἢ τοὺς πένητας. δουλείαν ἐπίσης ἐλευ-  
 θερίᾳ ἀδιάφορον πρὸς ἡδονῆς μέτρον, καὶ εὐγένειαν  
 95 δυσγενεῖα, καὶ δόξαν ἀδοξίᾳ. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἄφρονι  
 τὸ ζῆν λυσιτελὲς εἶναι· τῷ δὲ φρονίμῳ ἀδιάφορον.  
 τὸν τε σοφὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἕνεκα πάντα πράξειν· οὐδένα  
 γὰρ ἡγεῖσθαι τῶν ἄλλων ἐπίσης ἄξιον αὐτῷ. καὶ  
 γὰρ τὰ μέγιστα δοκῇ παρὰ τοῦ καρποῦσθαι, μὴ

wrong-doing by the penalties imposed and the pre-  
 judices that it would arouse. Further that the wise  
 man really exists. They allow progress to be attain-  
 able in philosophy as well as in other matters. They  
 maintain that the pain of one man exceeds that of  
 another, and that the senses are not always true and  
 trustworthy.

The school of Hegesias, as it is called, adopted the  
 same ends, namely pleasure and pain. In their view  
 there is no such thing as gratitude or friendship or  
 beneficence, because it is not for themselves that we  
 choose to do these things but simply from motives  
 of interest, apart from which such conduct is nowhere  
 found. They denied the possibility of happiness, for  
 the body is infected with much suffering, while the  
 soul shares in the sufferings of the body and is a  
 prey to disturbance, and fortune often disappoints.  
 From all this it follows that happiness cannot be  
 realized. Moreover, life and death are each desirable  
 in turn. But that there is anything naturally  
 pleasant or unpleasant they deny; when some men  
 are pleased and others pained by the same objects,  
 this is owing to the lack or rarity or surfeit of such  
 objects. Poverty and riches have no relevance to  
 pleasure; for neither the rich nor the poor as such  
 have any special share in pleasure. Slavery and  
 freedom, nobility and low birth, honour and dis-  
 honour, are alike indifferent in a calculation of  
 pleasure. To the fool life is advantageous, while to  
 the wise it is a matter of indifference. The wise man  
 will be guided in all he does by his own interests,  
 for there is none other whom he regards as equally  
 deserving. For supposing him to reap the greatest  
 advantages from another, they would not be equal to

εἶναι ἀντάξια ὧν αὐτὸς παράσχη. ἀνήρουν δὲ καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις <ὥς> οὐκ ἀκριβοῦσας τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν, τῶν τ' εὐλόγως φαινομένων πάντα πράττειν. ἔλεγον τὰ ἁμαρτήματα συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐκόντα ἁμαρτάνειν, ἀλλὰ τινι πάθει καταπραγκασμένον. καὶ μὴ μισήσιν, μᾶλλον δὲ μεταδιδάξιν. τὸν τε σοφὸν οὐχ οὕτω πλεονάσσειν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰρέσει, ὥς ἐν τῇ τῶν κακῶν φυγῇ, τέλος τιθέμενον τὸ μὴ ἐπιπόνως ζῆν μηδὲ λυπηρῶς·  
 96 ὁ δὲ περιγίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀδιαφορήσασιν περὶ τὰ ποιητικά τῆς ἡδονῆς.

Οἱ δ' Ἀννικέρειοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ ταῦτα τούτοις· ἀπέλιπον δὲ καὶ φιλίαν ἐν βίῳ καὶ χάριν καὶ πρὸς γονέας τιμὴν καὶ ὑπὲρ πατρίδος τι πράξειν. ὅθεν διὰ ταῦτα, κἂν ὀχλήσεις ἀναδέξεται ὁ σοφός, οὐδὲν ἥττον εὐδαιμονήσιν, κἂν ὀλίγα ἡδέα περιγένηται αὐτῷ. τὴν τε τοῦ φίλου εὐδαιμονίαν δι' αὐτὴν μὴ εἶναι αἰρετήν· μηδὲ γὰρ αἰσθητὴν τῷ πέλας ὑπάρχειν· μὴ εἶναι τε αὐτάρκη τὸν λόγον πρὸς τὸ θαρρῆσαι καὶ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν δόξης ὑπεράνω γενέσθαι· δεῖν δ' ἀνεθίζεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐκ πολλοῦ συντραφεῖσαν ἡμῖν φαύλην διάθεσιν.  
 97 τὸν τε φίλον μὴ διὰ τὰς χρεῖας μόνον ἀποδέχεσθαι, ὧν ὑπολειπουσῶν μὴ ἐπιστρέφεσθαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τὴν γεγονυῖαν εὖνοιαν, ἧς ἕνεκα καὶ πόνους ὑπομενεῖν. καίτοι τιθέμενον ἡδονὴν τέλος καὶ ἀχθόμενον ἐπὶ τῷ στέρεσθαι αὐτῆς ὁμῶς ἐκουσίως ὑπομενεῖν διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν φίλον στοργήν.

Οἱ δὲ Θεοδώρειοι κληθέντες τὴν μὲν ὀνομασίαν  
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what he contributes himself. They also disallow the claims of the senses, because they do not lead to accurate knowledge. Whatever appears rational should be done. They affirmed that allowance should be made for errors, for no man errs voluntarily, but under constraint of some suffering; that we should not hate men, but rather teach them better. The wise man will not have so much advantage over others in the choice of goods as in the avoidance of evils, making it his end to live without pain of body or mind. This then, they say, is the advantage accruing to those who make no distinction between any of the objects which produce pleasure.

The school of Anniceris in other respects agreed with them, but admitted that friendship and gratitude and respect for parents do exist in real life, and that a good man will sometimes act out of patriotic motives. Hence, if the wise man receive annoyance, he will be none the less happy even if few pleasures accrue to him. The happiness of a friend is not in itself desirable, for it is not felt by his neighbour. Instruction is not sufficient in itself to inspire us with confidence and to make us rise superior to the opinion of the multitude. Habits must be formed because of the bad disposition which has grown up in us from the first. A friend should be cherished not merely for his utility—for, if that fails, we should then no longer associate with him—but for the good feeling for the sake of which we shall even endure hardships. Nay, though we make pleasure the end and are annoyed when deprived of it, we shall nevertheless cheerfully endure this because of our love to our friend.

The Theodoreans derived their name from Theo-

ἔσπασαν ἀπὸ Θεοδώρου τοῦ προγεγραμμένου, καὶ δόγμασιν ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς αὐτοῦ. ἦν δ' ὁ Θεόδωρος παντάπασιν ἀναιρῶν τὰς περὶ θεῶν δόξας· καὶ αὐτοῦ περιετύχουμεν βιβλίῳ ἐπιγεγραμμένῳ Περὶ θεῶν, οὐκ εὐκαταφρονήτῳ· ἐξ οὗ φασιν Ἐπικουρον λαβόντα τὰ πλεῖστα εἰπεῖν.

98 Ἦκουσε δὲ καὶ Ἀννικέριδος ὁ Θεόδωρος καὶ Διονυσίου τοῦ διαλεκτικοῦ, καθά φησιν Ἀντισθένης ἐν Φιλοσόφων διαδοχαῖς. τέλος δ' ὑπελάμβανε χαρὰν καὶ λύπην· τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ φρονήσει, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ ἀφροσύνῃ· ἀγαθὰ δὲ φρόνησι καὶ δικαιοσύνην, κακὰ δὲ τὰς ἐναντίας ἔξεις, μέσα δὲ ἡδονὴν καὶ πόνον. ἀνῆρει δὲ καὶ φιλίαν, διὰ τὸ μήτ' ἐν ἀφροσύνῃ αὐτὴν εἶναι, μήτ' ἐν σοφοῖς. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ τῆς χρείας ἀναιρεθείσης καὶ τὴν φιλίαν ἐκποδῶν εἶναι· τοὺς δὲ σοφοὺς αὐτάρκειας ὑπάρχοντας μὴ δεῖσθαι φίλων. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ εὐλογον εἶναι τὸν σπουδαῖον ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος μὴ ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτόν· οὐ γὰρ ἀποβαλεῖν τὴν φρόνησιν ἕνεκα τῆς τῶν ἀφρόνων ὠφελείας.

99 Εἶναι τε πατρίδα τὸν κόσμον. κλέψειν τε καὶ μοιχεύσειν καὶ ἱεροσυλήσειν ἐν καιρῷ· μηδὲν γὰρ τούτων φύσει αἰσχρὸν εἶναι, τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δόξης αἰρομένης, ἣ σύγκειται ἕνεκα τῆς τῶν ἀφρόνων συνοχῆς. φανερώς δὲ τοῖς ἐρωμένοις ἀνευ πάσης ὑφοράσεως χρῆσθαι τὸν σοφόν. διὸ καὶ τοιοῦτους λόγους ἡρώτα· “ἀρά γε γυνὴ γραμματικὴ χρήσιμος ἂν εἴη παρ' ὅσον γραμματικὴ ἐστὶ;” “ναί.” “καὶ παῖς καὶ νεανίσκος γραμματικὸς χρήσιμος ἂν εἴη παρ' ὅσον γραμματικὸς ἐστὶ;”

dorus, who has already been mentioned, and adopted his doctrines. Theodorus was a man who utterly rejected the current belief in the gods. And I have come across a book of his entitled *Of the Gods* which is not contemptible. From that book, they say, Epicurus borrowed most of what he wrote on the subject.

Theodorus was also a pupil of Anniceris and of Dionysius the dialectician, as Antisthenes mentions in his *Successions of Philosophers*. He considered joy and grief to be the supreme good and evil, the one brought about by wisdom, the other by folly. Wisdom and justice he called goods, and their opposites evils, pleasure and pain being intermediate to good and evil. Friendship he rejected because it did not exist between the unwise nor between the wise; with the former, when the want is removed, the friendship disappears, whereas the wise are self-sufficient and have no need of friends. It was reasonable, as he thought, for the good man not to risk his life in the defence of his country, for he would never throw wisdom away to benefit the unwise.

He said the world was his country. Theft, adultery, and sacrilege would be allowable upon occasion, since none of these acts is by nature base, if once you have removed the prejudice against them, which is kept up in order to hold the foolish multitude together. The wise man would indulge his passions openly without the least regard to circumstances. Hence he would use such arguments as this. “Is a woman who is skilled in grammar useful in so far as she is skilled in grammar?” “Yes.” “And is a boy or a youth skilled in grammar useful in so far as he is skilled in grammar?” “Yes.” “Again,



“ναί.” “οὐκοῦν καὶ γυνὴ καλὴ χρῆσίμη ἂν εἴη παρ’ ὅσον καλὴ ἐστὶ, καὶ παῖς καὶ νεανίσκος καλὸς χρήσιμος ἂν εἴη παρ’ ὅσον καλὸς ἐστὶ;” “ναί.” “καὶ παῖς ἄρα καὶ νεανίσκος καλὸς πρὸς τοῦτ’ ἂν εἴη χρήσιμος πρὸς ὃ καλὸς ἐστὶ;” “ναί.” “ἔστι δὲ χρήσιμος πρὸς τὸ πλησιάζειν.” ὦν δεδομένων ἐπήγεν· “οὐκοῦν εἴ τις πλησιασμῷ χρώμενος παρ’ ὅσον χρήσιμος ἐστὶν, οὐ διαμαρτάνει· οὐδ’ ἄρα εἰ κάλλει χρῆσταιτο παρ’ ὅσον χρήσιμὸν ἐστὶ, διαμαρτῆσεται.” τοιαῦτα ἅττα διερωτῶν ἴσχυε τῷ λόγῳ.

Δοκεῖ δὲ θεὸς κληθῆναι, Στίλπωνος αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσαντος οὕτως, “ἄρά γε, Θεόδωρε, ὃ φῆς εἶναι, τοῦτο καὶ εἰ;” ἐπινεύσαντος δέ, “φῆς δ’ εἶναι θεόν;” τοῦ δ’ ὁμολογήσαντος, “θεὸς εἰ ἄρα,” ἔφη. δεξαμένου δ’ ἀσμένως, γελάσας φησὶν, “ἀλλ’, ὦ μόχθηρε, τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ καὶ κολοιοὺς ἂν ὁμολογήσεις εἶναι καὶ ἄλλα μυρία.”

101 ‘Ο δ’ οὖν Θεόδωρος προσκαθίσας ποτὲ Εὐρυκλείδῃ τῷ ἱεροφάντῃ, “λέγε μοι,” ἔφη, “Εὐρυκλείδῃ, τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ ἀσεβοῦντες περὶ τὰ μυστήρια.” εἰπόντος δ’ ἐκείνου, “οἱ τοῖς ἀμυήτοις αὐτὰ ἐκφέροντες,” “ἀσεβεῖς ἄρα,” ἔφη, “καὶ σὺ, τοῖς ἀμυήτοις διηγούμενος.” καὶ μέντοι παρ’ ὀλίγον ἐκυνδύνευσε εἰς Ἀρείον ἀναχθῆναι πάγον, εἰ μὴ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς αὐτὸν ἐρρύσατο. Ἀμφικράτης δ’ ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν φησι κώνειον αὐτὸν πιεῖν καταδικασθέντα.

102 Διατρίβων δὲ παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Λάγῳ ἀπεστάλη ποθ’ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Λυσίμαχον πρεσβευτῆς. ὅτε καὶ παρρησιαζομένῳ φησὶν ὁ Λυσίμαχος, “λέγε μοι, Θεόδωρε, οὐ σὺ εἰ ὁ ἐκπεσὼν Ἀθήνηθεν;” καὶ ὅς, “ὀρθῶς ἀκήκοας· ἡ γὰρ τῶν

is a woman who is beautiful useful in so far as she is beautiful? And the use of beauty is to be enjoyed?” “Yes.” When this was admitted, he would press the argument to the conclusion, namely, that he who uses anything for the purpose for which it is useful does no wrong. And by some such interrogatories he would carry his point.

He appears to have been called θεός (god) in consequence of the following argument addressed to him by Stilpo. “Are you, Theodorus, what you declare yourself to be?” To this he assented, and Stilpo continued, “And do you say you are god?” To this he agreed. “Then it follows that you are god.” Theodorus accepted this, and Stilpo said with a smile, “But, you rascal, at this rate you would allow yourself to be a jackdaw and ten thousand other things.”

However, Theodorus, sitting on one occasion beside Euryclides, the hierophant, began, “Tell me, Euryclides, who they are who violate the mysteries?” Euryclides replied, “Those who disclose them to the uninitiated.” “Then you violate them,” said Theodorus, “when you explain them to the uninitiated.” Yet he would hardly have escaped from being brought before the Areopagus if Demetrius of Phalerum had not rescued him. And Amphicrates in his book *Upon Illustrious Men* says he was condemned to drink the hemlock.

For a while he stayed at the court of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, and was once sent by him as ambassador to Lysimachus. And on this occasion his language was so bold that Lysimachus said, “Tell me, are you not the Theodorus who was banished from Athens?” To which he replied, “Your in-

Ἀθηναίων πόλις οὐ δυναμένη με φέρειν, ὥσπερ ἡ Σεμέλη τὸν Διόνυσον, ἐξέβαλε." πάλιν δ' εἰπόντος τοῦ Λυσιμάχου, "[βλέπε] ὅπως μὴ παρέσῃ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔτι," "οὐκ ἂν," ἔφη, "ἂν μὴ Πτολεμαῖος ἀποστείλῃ." Μίθρου δὲ τοῦ διοικητοῦ τοῦ Λυσιμάχου παρεστῶτος καὶ εἰπόντος, "εἰκας σὺ μὴ μόνον θεοὺς ἀγνοεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέας," "πῶς," εἶπεν, "ἀγνοῶ, ὅπου γε καὶ θεοὺς σε ἐχθρόν εἶναι νομίζω;" φασὶ δὲ ποτε ἐν Κορίνθῳ παρέρχεσθαι αὐτὸν συχνοὺς ἐπαγόμενον μαθητάς, Μητροκλέα δὲ τὸν κυνικὸν σκάνδικας πλύνοντα εἰπεῖν, "σὺ ὁ σοφιστὴς οὐκ ἂν τοσοῦτων ἔχρηζες μαθητῶν, εἰ λάχανα ἐπλυνες." τὸν δ' ὑπολαβόντ' εἰπεῖν, "καὶ σὺ εἴπερ ἀνθρώποις ἥδεις ὀμιλεῖν, οὐκ ἂν τούτοις τοῖς λαχάνοις ἐχρῶ." τὸ ὁμοιον ἀναφέρεται, καθὰ προείρηται, καὶ εἰς Διογένην καὶ Ἀρίστιππον.

Τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ Θεόδωρος κἂν τούτοις. τελευταῖον δ' εἰς Κυρήνην ἀπελθὼν καὶ Μάγα συμβιοὺς ἐν πάσῃ τιμῇ διετελεῖ τυγχάνων. ἔνθεν τὸ πρῶτον ἐκβαλλόμενος λέγεται χάριέν τι εἰπεῖν. ἔφη γάρ, "καλῶς ποιεῖτε, ἄνδρες Κυρηναῖοι, ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα με ἐξορίζοντες."

Θεόδωροι δὲ γεγόνασιν εἴκοσι. πρῶτος Σάμιος, υἱὸς Ῥοίκου. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ συμβουλευσας ἀνθρακας ὑποτιθέναι τοῖς θεμελίοις τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ νεώ. καθύγρου γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ τόπου τοὺς ἀνθρακας ἔφη τὸ ξυλῶδες ἀποβαλόντας αὐτὸ τὸ στερεὸν ἀπαθὲς ἐξείναι ὕδατι. δεύτερος Κυρηναῖος, γεω-

<sup>1</sup> ἐξείναι] corr. Richards: ἔχειν vulg.

<sup>a</sup> See § 68.

formation is correct, for, when Athens could not bear me any more than Semele could Dionysus, she cast me out." And upon Lysimachus adding, "Take care you do not come here again," "I never will," said he, "unless Ptolemy sends me." Mithras, the king's minister, standing by and saying, "It seems that you can ignore not only gods but kings as well," Theodorus replied, "How can you say that I ignore the gods when I regard you as hateful to the gods?" He is said on one occasion in Corinth to have walked abroad with a numerous train of pupils, and Metrocles the Cynic, who was washing chervil, remarked, "You, sophist that you are, would not have wanted all these pupils if you had washed vegetables." Thereupon Theodorus retorted, "And you, if you had known how to associate with men, would have had no use for these vegetables." A similar anecdote is told of Diogenes and Aristippus, as mentioned above.<sup>a</sup>

Such was the character of Theodorus and his surroundings. At last he retired to Cyrene, where he lived with Magas and continued to be held in high honour. The first time that he was expelled from Cyrene he is credited with a witty remark: "Many thanks,<sup>b</sup> men of Cyrene," said he, "for driving me from Libya into Greece."

Some twenty persons have borne the name of Theodorus: (1) a Samian, the son of Rhoeucus. He it was who advised laying charcoal embers under the foundations of the temple in Ephesus; for, as the ground was very damp, the ashes, being free from woody fibre, would retain a solidity which is actually proof against moisture. (2) A Cyrenaean geometer,

<sup>b</sup> Or, if κακῶς is the right reading, "It is unkind of you." καλῶς is Stephanus's conjecture.

μέτρης οὐ διήκουσε Πλάτων· τρίτος δὲ προγεγραμ-  
 μένος φιλόσοφος· τέταρτος οὐ τὸ φωνασκικόν  
 104 φέρεται βιβλίον πάγκαλον· πέμπτος δὲ περὶ τῶν  
 νομοποιῶν πεπραγματευμένος, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ  
 Τερπάνδρου· ἕκτος στωικός· ἕβδομος δὲ τὰ περὶ  
 Ῥωμαίων πεπραγματευμένος· ὄγδοος Συρακόσιος,  
 περὶ τακτικῶν γεγραφώς· ἕνατος Βυζάντιος, ἀπὸ  
 λόγων πολιτικῶν· δέκατος ὁμοίως, οὐ Ἀριστο-  
 τέλης μνημονεύει διὰ τῆς ἐπιτομῆς τῶν ῥητόρων·  
 ἐνδέκατος Θηβαῖος, ἀνδριαντοποιός· δωδέκατος  
 ζωγράφος, οὐ μέμνηται Πολέμων· τρισκαίδέκατος  
 ζωγράφος, Ἀθηναῖος, ὑπὲρ οὗ γράφει Μηνόδοτος·  
 τεσσαρεσκαίδέκατος Ἐφέσιος, ζωγράφος, οὐ μέ-  
 μνηται Θεοφάνης ἐν τῷ περὶ γραφικῆς· πεντε-  
 καίδέκατος ποιητῆς ἐπιγραμμάτων· ἑκκαίδέκατος  
 γεγραφὼς περὶ ποιητῶν· ἑπτακαίδέκατος ἰατρός,  
 Ἀθηναίου μαθητῆς· ὀκτωκαίδέκατος Χῖος, φιλό-  
 σοφος στωικός· ἑνεακαίδέκατος Μιλήσιος, καὶ  
 αὐτὸς στωικός φιλόσοφος· εἰκοστὸς ποιητῆς τραγ-  
 ωδίας.

Κεφ. θ'. ΦΑΙΔΩΝ

105 Φαίδων Ἡλείος, τῶν εὐπατριδῶν, συνεάλω τῇ  
 πατρίδι καὶ ἡναγκάσθη στήναι ἐπ' οἰκήματος·  
 ἀλλὰ τὸ θύριον προστιθεὶς μετεῖχε Σωκράτους,  
 ἕως αὐτὸν λυτρώσασθαι τοὺς περὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην ἢ  
 Κρίτωνα προὔτρειψε· καὶ τοὺντεῦθεν ἐλευθερίως  
 ἐφιλοσόφει. Ἱερώνυμος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἐποχῆς  
 καταπατόμενος δοῦλον αὐτὸν εἶρηκε. διαλόγους  
 δὲ συνέγραψε γνησίους μὲν Ζώπυρον, Σίμωνα,  
 καὶ δισταζόμενον Νικίαν, Μήδιον, ὃν φασὶ τυγε  
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whose lectures Plato attended. (3) The philosopher  
 above referred to. (4) The author of a fine work on  
 practising the voice. (5) An authority upon musical  
 composers from Terpander onwards. (6) A Stoic.  
 (7) A writer upon the Romans. (8) A Syracusan  
 who wrote upon Tactics. (9) A Byzantine, famous  
 for his political speeches. (10) Another, equally  
 famous, mentioned by Aristotle in his Epitome of  
 Orators. (11) A Theban sculptor. (12) A painter,  
 mentioned by Polemo. (13) An Athenian painter,  
 of whom Menodotus writes. (14) An Ephesian  
 painter, who is mentioned by Theophanes in his  
 work upon painting. (15) A poet who wrote epi-  
 grams. (16) A writer on poets. (17) A physician,  
 pupil of Athenaeus. (18) A Stoic philosopher of  
 Chios. (19) A Milesian, also a Stoic philosopher  
 (20) A tragic poet.

CHAPTER 9. PHAEDO

Phaedo was a native of Elis, of noble family, who  
 on the fall of that city was taken captive and forcibly  
 consigned to a house of ill-fame. But he would  
 close the door and so contrive to join Socrates'  
 circle, and in the end Socrates induced Alcibiades  
 or Crito with their friends to ransom him; from that  
 time onwards he studied philosophy as became a  
 free man. Hieronymus in his work *On Suspense of  
 Judgement* attacks him and calls him a slave. Of the  
 dialogues which bear his name the *Zopyrus* and *Simon*  
 are genuine; the *Nicias* is doubtful; the *Medius* is  
 said by some to be the work of Aeschines, while  
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Αισχίνου, οἱ δὲ Πολυαῖνον· Ἀντίμαχον ἢ Πρεσβύτας· καὶ οὗτος διστάζεται· σκυτικὸν λόγους· καὶ τούτους τινὲς Αἰσχίνου φασί.

Διάδοχος δ' αὐτοῦ Πλείστανος Ἡλείος, καὶ τρίτος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ περὶ Μενέδημον τὸν Ἐρετριέα καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδην τὸν Φλιάσιον, μετὰγοντες ἀπὸ Στίλπωνος. καὶ ἕως μὲν τούτων Ἡλιακοὶ προσηγορεύοντο, ἀπὸ δὲ Μενεδήμου Ἐρετρικοί· περὶ οὗ λέξομεν ὕστερον διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτὸν κατάρχειν αἰρέσεως.

Κεφ. ι'. ΕΥΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ

106 Εὐκλείδης ἀπὸ Μεγάρων τῶν πρὸς Ἴσθμῳ, ἢ Γελῳς κατ' ἐνίους, ὥς φησιν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς. οὗτος καὶ τὰ Παρμενίδεια μετεχειρίζετο, καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Μεγαρικοὶ προσηγορεύοντο, εἰτ' ἐριστικοί, ὕστερον δὲ διαλεκτικοί, οὗς οὕτως ὠνόμασε πρῶτος Διονύσιος ὁ Χαλκηδόνιος, διὰ τὸ πρὸς ἐρώτησιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν τοὺς λόγους διατίθεσθαι. πρὸς τοῦτόν φησιν ὁ Ἑρμόδωρος ἀφικέσθαι Πάτωνα καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς φιλοσόφους μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Σωκράτους τελευτήν, δέισαντας τὴν ὀμότητα τῶν τυράννων. οὗτος ἐν τῷ ἀγαθὸν ἀπεφαίνετο πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι καλούμενον· ὅτε μὲν γὰρ φρόνησιν, ὅτε δὲ θεόν, καὶ ἄλλοτε νοῦν καὶ τὰ λοιπά. τὰ δ' ἀντικείμενα τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἀνῆρει, μὴ εἶναι φάσκων.

07 Ταῖς τε ἀποδείξεσιν ἐνίστατο οὐ κατὰ λήμματα, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐπιφοράν. καὶ τὸν διὰ παραβολῆς λόγον ἀνῆρει, λέγων ἦτοι ἐξ ὁμοίων αὐτὸν ἢ ἐξ

<sup>a</sup> So called to distinguish it from Megara Hyblaea, in Sicily.

others ascribe it to Polyænus; the *Antimachus* or *The Elders* is also doubted; the *Cobblers' Tales* are also by some attributed to Aeschines.

He was succeeded by Plistanus of Elis, and a generation later by Menedemus of Eretria and Asclepiades of Phlius, who came over from Stilpo's school. Till then the school was known as that of Elis, but from Menedemus onward it was called the Eretrian school. Of Menedemus we shall have to speak hereafter, because he too started a new school.

CHAPTER 10. EUCLIDES

Euclides was a native of Megara on the Isthmus,<sup>a</sup> or according to some of Gela, as Alexander states in his *Successions of Philosophers*. He applied himself to the writings of Parmenides, and his followers were called Megarians after him, then Eristics, and at a later date Dialecticians, that name having first been given to them by Dionysius of Chalcedon because they put their arguments into the form of question and answer. Hermodorus tells us that, after the death of Socrates, Plato and the rest of the philosophers came to him, being alarmed at the cruelty of the tyrants. He held the supreme good to be really one, though called by many names, sometimes wisdom, sometimes God, and again Mind, and so forth. But all that is contradictory of the good he used to reject, declaring that it had no existence.

When he impugned a demonstration, it was not the premisses but the conclusion that he attacked. He rejected the argument from analogy, declaring that it must be taken either from similars or from

ἀνομοίων συνίστασθαι· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐξ ὁμοίων, περὶ αὐτὰ δεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ οἷς ὁμοιά ἐστιν ἀναστρέφεισθαι, εἰ δ' ἐξ ἀνομοίων, παρέλκειν τὴν παράθεσιν. διὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτά φησι Τίμων, προσπαπατρώγων καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς Σωκρατικούς·

ἀλλ' οὐ μοι τούτων φλεδόνων μέλει, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλου οὐδενός, οὐ Φαίδωνος, οὔτις γένετ', οὐδ' ἐριδάντεω Εὐκλείδew, Μεγαρεῦσιν ὃς ἔμβαλε λύσσαν ἐρισμοῦ.

108 Διαλόγους δὲ συνέγραψεν ἕξ, Λαμπρίαν, Αἰσχίνην, Φοίνικα, Κρίτωνα, Ἀλκιβιάδην, Ἑρωτικόν. τῆς δ' Εὐκλείδου διαδοχῆς ἐστὶ καὶ Εὐβουλίδης ὁ Μιλήσιος, ὃς καὶ πολλοὺς ἐν διαλεκτικῇ λόγους ἠρώτησε, τὸν τε ψευδόμενον καὶ τὸν διαλανθάνοντα καὶ Ἠλέκτραν καὶ ἔγκεκαλυμμένον καὶ σωρίτην καὶ κερατίνην καὶ φαλακρόν. περὶ τούτου φησὶ τις τῶν κωμικῶν·

οὐριστικός δ' Εὐβουλίδης κερατίνας ἐρωτῶν καὶ ψευδαλαζόσων λόγοις τοὺς ῥήτορας κυλίων ἀπῆλθ' ἔχων Δημοσθένους τὴν ῥωποπερπερήθραν.

ἑώκει γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ Δημοσθένους ἀκηκοέναι καὶ 109 ῥωβικώτερος ὢν παύσασθαι. ὁ δ' Εὐβουλίδης καὶ πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην διεφέρετο, καὶ πολλὰ αὐτὸν διαβέβληκε.

Μεταξὺ δὲ ἄλλων ὄντων τῆς Εὐβουλίδου διαδοχῆς Ἀλεξίνος ἐγένετο Ἠλεῖος, ἀνὴρ φιλονεικότατος· διὸ καὶ Ἐλεγχίνος ἐπεκλήθη. διεφέρετο δὲ μάλιστα πρὸς Ζήνωνα. φησὶ δ' Ἑρμιππος περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἄρα ἀπελθὼν ἐκ τῆς Ἠλίδος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν αὐτόθι φιλοσοφίῃ. τῶν δὲ μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ πυνθανομένων διὰ τί τῇδε κατοικεῖ, φάναί 236

dissimilars. If it were drawn from similars, it is with these and not with their analogies that their arguments should deal; if from dissimilars, it is gratuitous to set them side by side. Hence Timon says of him, with a side hit at the other Socratics as well <sup>a</sup> :

But I care not for these babblers, nor for anyone besides, not for Phaedo whoever he be, nor wrangling Euclides, who inspired the Megarians with a frenzied love of controversy.

He wrote six dialogues, entitled *Lamprias*, *Aeschines*, *Phoenix*, *Crito*, *Alcibiades*, and a *Discourse on Love*. To the school of Euclides belongs Eubulides of Miletus, the author of many dialectical arguments in an interrogatory form, namely, *The Liar*, *The Disguised*, *Electra*, *The Veiled Figure*, *The Sorites*, *The Horned One*, and *The Bald Head*. Of him it is said by one of the Comic poets <sup>b</sup> :

Eubulides the Eristic, who propounded his quibbles about horns and confounded the orators with falsely pretentious arguments, is gone with all the braggadocio of a Demosthenes.

Demosthenes was probably his pupil and thereby improved his faulty pronunciation of the letter R. Eubulides kept up a controversy with Aristotle and said much to discredit him.

Among other members the school of Eubulides included Alexinus of Elis, a man very fond of controversy, for which reason he was called Elenxinus. In particular he kept up a controversy with Zeno. Hermippus says of him that he left Elis and removed to Olympia, where he studied philosophy. His pupils inquired why he took up his abode here, and were

<sup>a</sup> Fr. 28 D.

<sup>b</sup> Meineke, *C.G.F.* iv. 618.

βούλεσθαι αἰρεσιν συστήσασθαι ἣν Ὀλυμπικὴν κληθήσεσθαι. τοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐφοδίοις θλιβομένους καὶ τὸ χωρίον νοσερὸν καταγρόντας ἀπελθεῖν, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ διατρίβειν ἔρημον τὸν Ἀλεξίνον σὺν οἰκέτῃ μόνῳ· ἔπειτα μέντοι νηχόμενον ἐν τῷ Ἀλφειῷ νυχθῆναι καλὰ μὴ οὕτως τελευτήσῃαι.

110 Καὶ ἔστιν εἰς αὐτὸν ἡμῶν οὕτως ἔχον·

οὐκ ἄρα μῦθος ἦν ἐκείνος εἰκαῖος,  
ὥς ἀτυχῆς τις ἐὼν  
τὸν πόδα κολυμβῶν περιέπειρέ πως ἤλω.  
καὶ γὰρ ὁ σεμνὸς ἀνὴρ,  
πρὶν Ἀλφεὸν ποτ' ἐκπερᾶν, Ἀλεξίνος  
θνήσκε νυγεῖς καλὰ μὴ.

γέγραφε δ' οὐ μόνον πρὸς Ζήνωνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλα βιβλία καὶ πρὸς Ἐφορον τὸν ἱστοριογράφον.

Εὐβουλίδου δὲ καὶ Εὐφάντος γέγονε <γνώριμος> ὁ Ὀλύνθιος, ἱστορίας γεγραφὼς τὰς κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ τραγωδίας πλείους, ἐν αἷς εὐδοκίμει κατὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας. γέγονε δὲ καὶ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ βασιλέως διδάσκαλος, πρὸς ὃν καὶ λόγον γέγραφε Περὶ βασιλείας σφόδρα εὐδοκιμοῦντα. τὸν βίον δὲ γήρᾳ κατέστρεψεν.

111 Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι διακεκοῦτες Εὐβουλίδου, ἐν οἷς καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Κρόνος, ὃς Διόδωρος Ἀμενίου Ἰασεὺς, καὶ αὐτὸς Κρόνος ἐπὶ κλην, περὶ οὗ φησι Καλλίμαχος ἐν ἐπιγράμμασιν·

αὐτὸς ὁ Μῶμος  
ἔγραφεν ἐν τοίχοις, "ὁ Κρόνος ἐστὶ σοφός."

ἦν δὲ καὶ οὗτος διαλεκτικός, πρῶτος δόξας εὐρη-  
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told that it was his intention to found a school which should be called the Olympian school. But as their provisions ran short and they found the place unhealthy, they left it, and for the rest of his days Alexinus lived in solitude with a single servant. And some time afterwards, as he was swimming in the Alpheus, the point of a reed ran into him, and of this injury he died.

I have composed the following lines upon him \* :

It was not then a vain tale that once an unfortunate man, while diving, pierced his foot somehow with a nail ; since that great man Alexinus, before he could cross the Alpheus, was pricked by a reed and met his death.

He has written not only a reply to Zeno but other works, including one against Ephorus the historian.

To the school of Eubulides also belonged Euphantus of Olynthus, who wrote a history of his own times. He was besides a poet and wrote several tragedies, with which he made a great reputation at the festivals. He taught King Antigonus <sup>b</sup> and dedicated to him a work *On Kingship* which was very popular. He died of old age.

There are also other pupils of Eubulides, amongst them Apollonius surnamed Cronus. He had a pupil Diodorus, the son of Ameinias of Iasus, who was also nicknamed Cronus.<sup>c</sup> Callimachus in his *Epigrams* says of him :

Momus himself chalked up on the walls "Cronus is wise." He too was a dialectician and was supposed to have been the first who discovered the arguments

\* *Anth. Plan.* iii. 129.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. Antigonus Doson, born 262 B.C. Cf. *F.H.G.* iii. 20.

<sup>c</sup> See Strabo xiv. 658, who says the nickname was transferred from the teacher to the more celebrated pupil.

κέναι τὸν ἐγκεκαλυμμένον καὶ κερατίνην λόγον  
 κατὰ τινὰς. οὗτος παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Σωτῆρι  
 διατρίβων λόγους τινὰς διαλεκτικούς ἡρωτήθη  
 πρὸς Στίλπωνος· καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος παραχρήμα  
 διαλύσασθαι, ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐπ-  
 ετιμήθη καὶ δὴ καὶ Κρόνος ἤκουσεν ἐν σκώμματος  
 112 μέρει. ἐξελθὼν δὴ τοῦ συμποσίου καὶ λόγον  
 γράψας περὶ τοῦ προβλήματος ἀθυμία τὸν βίον  
 κατέστρεψε. καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτόν·

Κρόνε Διόδωρε, τίς σε δαιμόνων κακῇ  
 ἀθυμίῃ ξυνείρυσεν,  
 ἵν' αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἐμβάλης εἰς Τάρταρον  
 Στίλπωνος οὐ λύσας ἔπη  
 αἰνιγματώδη; τοιγὰρ εὐρέθης Κρόνος  
 ἔξωθε τοῦ ῥῶ κάππα τε.

Τῶν δ' ἀπ' Εὐκλείδου ἐστὶ καὶ Ἰχθύας Μετάλλου,  
 ἀνὴρ γενναῖος, πρὸς ὃν καὶ Διογένης ὁ κυνικὸς  
 διάλογον πεποιήται· Κλεινόμαχος θ' ὁ Θούριος,  
 ὃς πρῶτος περὶ ἀξιωμαίων καὶ κατηγορημάτων  
 καὶ τῶν τοιούτων συνέγραψε· καὶ Στίλπων ὁ  
 Μεγαρεὺς, διασημότατος φιλόσοφος, περὶ οὗ  
 λεκτέον.

# Κεφ. ια'. ΣΤΙΛΠΩΝ

113 Στίλπων Μεγαρεὺς τῆς Ἑλλάδος διήκουσε μὲν  
 τῶν ἀπ' Εὐκλείδου τινῶν· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ Εὐ-  
 κλείδου ἀκοῦσαι φασιν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Θρασυμάχου  
 τοῦ Κορινθίου, ὃς ἦν Ἰχθύα γνώριμος, καθά φησιν  
 Ἡρακλείδης. τοσοῦτον δ' εὐρεσιλογία καὶ σοφί-  
 στείᾳ προῆγε τοὺς ἄλλους, ὥστε μικροῦ δεῖξαι

known as the "Veiled Figure" and the "Horned  
 One." When he was staying with Ptolemy Soter,  
 he had certain dialectical questions addressed to him  
 by Stilpo, and, not being able to solve them on the  
 spot, he was reproached by the king and, among  
 other slights, the nickname Cronus was applied to  
 him by way of derision. He left the banquet and,  
 after writing a pamphlet upon the logical problem,  
 ended his days in despondency. Upon him too I  
 have written lines <sup>a</sup>:

Diodorus Cronus, what sad fate  
 Buried you in despair,  
 So that you hastened to the shades below,  
 Perplexed by Stilpo's quibbles?  
 You would deserve your name of Cronus better  
 If C and R were gone.<sup>b</sup>

The successors of Euclides include Ichthyas, the  
 son of Metallus, an excellent man, to whom Diogenes  
 the Cynic has addressed one of his dialogues; Clino-  
 machus of Thurii, who was the first to write about  
 propositions, predication and the like; and Stilpo of  
 Megara, a most distinguished philosopher, of whom  
 we have now to treat.

## CHAPTER 11. STILPO

Stilpo, a citizen of Megara in Greece, was a pupil  
 of some of the followers of Euclides, although others  
 make him a pupil of Euclides himself, and furthermore  
 of Thrasymachus of Corinth, who was the friend of  
 Ichthyas, according to Heraclides. And so far did  
 he excel all the rest in inventiveness and sophistry  
 that nearly the whole of Greece was attracted to

<sup>a</sup> *Anth. Plan.* vii. 19.

<sup>b</sup> Leaving *βνος* = "ass."

πάσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφορῶσαν εἰς αὐτὸν μεγαρίσαι.  
περὶ τούτου φησὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Μεγαρικὸς κατὰ  
λέξιν οὕτω· “παρὰ μὲν γὰρ Θεοφράστου Μητρό-  
δωρον τὸν θεωρητικὸν καὶ Τιμαγόραν τὸν Γελῶν  
ἀπέσπασε, παρ’ Ἀριστοτέλους δὲ τοῦ Κυρηναϊκοῦ  
Κλείταρχον καὶ Σιμμίαν· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν διαλεκτικῶν  
Παιώνειον μὲν ἀπ’ Ἀριστείδου, Δίφιλον δὲ τὸν  
Βοσποριανὸν Εὐφάντου καὶ Μύρμηκα τὸν Ἐξ-  
ανέτου παραγενομένους ὡς ἐλέγχοντας ἀμφοτέρους  
114 ζηλωτὰς ἔσχε.” χωρὶς τοίνυν τούτων Φρασιδήμον  
μὲν τὸν περιπατητικὸν καὶ φυσικῶν ἔμπειρον ὄντα  
προσηγάγετο, καὶ τὸν ῥητορικὸν Ἀλκιμον, ἀπάντων  
πρωτεύοντα τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ῥητόρων, Κράτητά  
τε καὶ ἄλλους πλείστους ὅσους ἐθήρασε· καὶ δὴ καὶ  
Ζήνωνα τὸν Φοίνικα μετὰ τούτων ἀφείλετο.

Ἦν δὲ καὶ πολιτικώτατος.

Καὶ γυναῖκα ἡγάγετο· καὶ ἐταῖρα συνῆν Νικαρέτη,  
ὡς φησὶ πού τις καὶ Ὀνήτωρ· καὶ θυγατέρα ἀκόλαστον  
ἐγέννησεν, ἣν ἔγχευε γνώριμός τις αὐτοῦ Σιμμίας  
Συρακόσιος. ταύτης οὐ κατὰ τρόπον βιούσης εἰπέ  
τις πρὸς τὸν Στίλπωνα, ὡς κατασχύνει αὐτόν· ὁ  
δέ, “οὐ μᾶλλον,” εἶπεν, “ἢ ἐγὼ ταύτην κοσμῶ.”  
115 Ἀπεδέχετο δ’ αὐτόν, φασί, καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ  
Σωτήρ. καὶ ἐγκρατῆς Μεγάρων γενόμενος ἐδίδου  
τε ἀργύριον αὐτῷ καὶ παρεκάλει εἰς Αἴγυπτον  
συμπλεῖν· ὁ δὲ μέτριον μὲν τι τὰργυριδίου προσ-  
ήκατο, ἀρνησάμενος δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν μετήλθεν εἰς Αἰγι-  
ναν, ἕως ἐκεῖνος ἀπέπλευσεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ Δημήτριος  
ὁ Ἀντιγόνου καταλαβὼν τὰ Μέγαρα τὴν τε οἰκίαν  
αὐτῷ φυλαχθῆναι καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀρπασθέντα  
προϋνόησεν ἀποδοθῆναι. ὅτε καὶ βουλομένῳ παρ’  
αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀναγραφὴν λαβεῖν ἔφη

him and joined the school of Megara. On this let  
me cite the exact words of Philippus the Megarian  
philosopher: “for from Theophrastus he drew away  
the theorist Metrodorus and Timagoras of Gela,  
from Aristotle the Cyrenaic philosopher, Clitarchus,  
and Simmias; and as for the dialecticians themselves,  
he gained over Paeonius from Aristides; Diphilus of  
Bosphorus, the son of Euphantus, and Myrmex, the  
son of Exaenetus, who had both come to refute him,  
he made his devoted adherents.” And besides these  
he won over Phrasidemus the Peripatetic, an accom-  
plished physicist, and Alcimus the rhetorician, the  
first orator in all Greece; Crates, too, and many  
others he got into his toils, and, what is more, along  
with these, he carried off Zeno the Phoenician.

He was also an authority on politics.

He married a wife, and had a mistress named  
Nicarete, as Onetor has somewhere stated. He had  
a profligate daughter, who was married to his friend  
Simmias of Syracuse. And, as she would not live  
by rule, some one told Stilpo that she was a disgrace  
to him. To this he replied, “Not so, any more than  
I am an honour to her.”

Ptolemy Soter, they say, made much of him, and  
when he had got possession of Megara, offered him  
a sum of money and invited him to return with him  
to Egypt. But Stilpo would only accept a very  
moderate sum, and he declined the proposed journey,  
and removed to Aegina until Ptolemy set sail.  
Again, when Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, had  
taken Megara, he took measures that Stilpo's house  
should be preserved and all his plundered property  
restored to him. But when he requested that a  
schedule of the lost property should be drawn up,



μηδὲν τῶν οἰκείων ἀπολωλέκенаι· παιδείαν γὰρ  
 μηδένα ἐξηνηροχέναι, τὸν τε λόγον ἔχειν καὶ τὴν  
 ἐπιστήμην.

116 Καὶ αὐτῷ διαλεχθεὶς περὶ ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίας  
 οὕτως εἶπεν ὥστε προσέχειν αὐτῷ. τοῦτόν φασιν  
 περὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς τοῦ Φειδίου τοιοῦτόν τινα  
 λόγον ἐρωτῆσαι· “ἀρά γε ἡ τοῦ Διὸς Ἀθηνᾶ θεὸς  
 ἐστι;” φήσαντος δέ, “ναί,” “αὕτη δέ γε,” εἶπεν,  
 “οὐκ ἔστι Διός, ἀλλὰ Φειδίου.” συγχωρουμένου δέ,  
 “οὐκ ἄρα,” εἶπε, “θεὸς ἐστίν.” ἐφ’ ᾧ καὶ εἰς  
 “Ἀρειον πάγον προσκληθέντα μὴ ἀρνήσασθαι, φά-  
 σκειν δ’ ὀρθῶς διειλέχθαι· μὴ γὰρ εἶναι αὐτὴν θεόν,  
 ἀλλὰ θεάν· θεοὺς δὲ εἶναι τοὺς ἄρρενας. καὶ μέντοι  
 τοὺς Ἀρεοπαγίτας εὐθέως αὐτὸν κελεύσαι τῆς  
 πόλεως ἐξελλθεῖν. ὅτε καὶ Θεόδωρον τὸν ἐπὶ κλῆν  
 θεὸν ἐπισκώπτοντα εἶπεῖν, “πόθεν δὲ τοῦτ’ ἦδει  
 Στίλπων; ἢ ἀνασύρας αὐτῆς τὸν κῆπον ἐθεάσατο;”  
 ἦν δ’ ἀληθῶς οὗτος μὲν θρασύτατος· Στίλπων δὲ  
 κομψότατος.

117 Κράτῃτος τοῖνον αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσαντος εἰ οἱ θεοὶ  
 χαίρουσι ταῖς προσκυνήσεσι καὶ εὐχαῖς, φασὶν  
 εἶπεῖν, “περὶ τούτων μὴ ἐρώτα, ἀνόητε, ἐν ὁδῷ,  
 ἀλλὰ μόνον.” τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ καὶ Βίωνα ἐρωτηθέντα  
 εἰ θεοὶ εἰσιν εἶπεῖν·

οὐκ ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ σκεδάσεις ὄχλον, ταλαπεῖριε πρέσβυ;

\*Ὦν δ’ ὁ Στίλπων καὶ ἀφελὴς καὶ ἀνεπίπλαστος  
 πρὸς τε τὸν ἰδιώτην εὐθετος. Κράτῃτος γοῦν ποτε  
 τοῦ κυνικοῦ πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἐρωτηθὲν οὐκ ἀποκρίνα-

Stilpo denied that he had lost anything which really  
 belonged to him, for no one had taken away his learn-  
 ing, while he still had his eloquence and knowledge.

And conversing upon the duty of doing good to  
 men he made such an impression on the king that  
 he became eager to hear him. There is a story that  
 he once used the following argument concerning the  
 Athena of Phidias: “Is it not Athena the daughter  
 of Zeus who is a goddess?” And when the other  
 said “Yes,” he went on, “But this at least is not  
 by Zeus but by Phidias,” and, this being granted,  
 he concluded, “This then is not a god.” For this  
 he was summoned before the Areopagus; he did  
 not deny the charge, but contended that the reason-  
 ing was correct, for that Athena was no god but a  
 goddess; it was the male divinities who were gods.  
 However, the story goes that the Areopagites ordered  
 him to quit the city, and that thereupon Theodorus,  
 whose nickname was Θεός, said in derision, “Whence  
 did Stilpo learn this? and how could he tell whether  
 she was a god or a goddess?” But in truth Theo-  
 dorus was most impudent, and Stilpo most ingenious.

When Crates asked him whether the gods take  
 delight in prayers and adorations, he is said to have  
 replied, “Don’t put such a question in the street,  
 simpleton, but when we are alone!” It is said that  
 Bion, when he was asked the same question whether  
 there are gods, replied:

Will you not scatter the crowd from me, O much-enduring  
 elder?

In character Stilpo was simple and unaffected, and  
 he could readily adapt himself to the plain man.  
 For instance, when Crates the Cynic did not answer  
 the question put to him and only insulted the ques-

μένου, ἀποπαρδόντος δέ, "ἦδεν," ἔφη, "ὥς πάντα  
 118 μάλλον φθέγγῃ ἢ ἂ δέϊ." ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰσχάδα προ-  
 τείναντος αὐτῷ ποτε καὶ ἐρώτημα, δεξιόμενον  
 καταφαγεῖν· τοῦ δέ, "ὦ Ἡράκλεις," εἰπόντος,  
 "ἀπολώλεκα τὴν ἰσχάδα." "οὐ μόνον," ἔφη,  
 "ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐρώτημα, οὐ γὰρ ἀρραβὼν ἡ ἰσχάς."  
 πάλιν δὲ ἰδὼν τὸν Κράτῃτα χειμῶνος συγκεκαυ-  
 μένον, "ὦ Κράτης," εἶπε, "δοκεῖς μοι χρεῖαν ἔχειν  
 ἱματίου καινοῦ." [ὅπερ ἦν νοῦ καὶ ἱματίου.]  
 καὶ τὸν ἀχθεσθέντα παρωδῆσαι εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτω·

καὶ μὴν Στίλπων· εἰσεῖδον χαλέπ' ἄλγε' ἔχοντα  
 ἐν Μεγάρῳ, ὅθι φασὶ Τυφώεος ἔμμεναι εὐνὰς.  
 ἔνθα τ' ἐρίξεσκεν, πολλοὶ δ' ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι·  
 τὴν δ' ἀρετὴν παρὰ γράμμα διώκοντες κατέτριβον.

119 Λέγεται δ' οὕτως Ἀθήνησιν ἐπιστρέψαι τοὺς ἀν-  
 θρώπους, ὥστ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργαστηρίων συνθεῖν ἵνα  
 αὐτὸν θεάσαιντο. καὶ τινος εἰπόντος, "Στίλπων,  
 θαυμάζουσίν σε ὥς θηρίον," "οὐ μὲν οὖν," εἰπεῖν,  
 "ἀλλ' ὥς ἄνθρωπον ἀληθινόν." δεινὸς δ' ἄγαν ὢν  
 ἐν τοῖς ἐριστικοῖς ἀνῆρει καὶ τὰ εἶδη· καὶ ἔλεγε τὸν  
 λέγοντα ἄνθρωπον εἶναι μηδένα· οὔτε γὰρ τόνδε  
 εἶναι οὔτε τόνδε· τί γὰρ μάλλον τόνδε ἢ τόνδε; οὐδ'  
 ἄρα τόνδε. καὶ πάλιν· τὸ λάχανον οὐκ ἔστι τὸ  
 δεικνύμενον· λάχανον μὲν γὰρ ἦν πρὸ μυρίων ἐτῶν·  
 οὐκ ἄρα ἐστὶ τοῦτο λάχανον. φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν ὁμι-  
 λούντα Κράτῃτι μεταξὺ σπεύσαι ἰχθύς πρίασθαι·  
 τοῦ δ' ἐπισπωμένου καὶ φάσκοντος, "καταλείπεις  
 τὸν λόγον;" "οὐκ ἔγωγε," ἔφη, "ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν

\* The pun upon καινοῦ ("new") and καὶ νοῦ ("mind as  
 well") recurs vi. 3.

Anth. Plan. Add. v. 13 b.

tioner, "I knew," said Stilpo, "that you would utter  
 anything rather than what you ought." And once  
 when Crates held out a fig to him when putting a  
 question, he took the fig and ate it. Upon which  
 the other exclaimed, "O Heracles, I have lost the  
 fig," and Stilpo remarked, "Not only that but your  
 question as well, for which the fig was payment in  
 advance." Again, on seeing Crates shrivelled with  
 cold in the winter, he said, "You seem to me, Crates,  
 to want a new coat," i.e. to be wanting in sense as  
 well.\* And the other being annoyed replied with  
 the following burlesque †:

And Stilpo I saw enduring toilsome woes in Megara,  
 where men say that the bed of Typhos is. There he would  
 ever be wrangling, and many comrades about him, wasting  
 time in the verbal pursuit of virtue.

It is said that at Athens he so attracted the public  
 that people would run together from the workshops  
 to look at him. And when some one said, "Stilpo,  
 they stare at you as if you were some strange crea-  
 ture." "No, indeed," said he, "but as if I were a  
 genuine man." And, being a consummate master  
 of controversy, he used to demolish even the ideas,  
 and say that he who asserted the existence of Man  
 meant no individual; he did not mean this man or  
 that. For why should he mean the one more than  
 the other? Therefore neither does he mean this  
 individual man. Again, "vegetable" is not what  
 is shown to me, for vegetable existed ten thousand  
 years ago. Therefore this is not vegetable. The  
 story goes that while in the middle of an argument  
 with Crates he hurried off to buy fish, and, when  
 Crates tried to detain him and urged that he was  
 leaving the argument, his answer was, "Not I. I

λόγον ἔχω, σὲ δὲ καταλείπω· ὁ μὲν γὰρ λόγος περιμενεῖ, τὸ δ' ὄψον πεπράσεται."

120 Φέρονται δ' αὐτοῦ διάλογοι ἑνέα ψυχροί· Μόσχος, Ἀρίστιππος ἢ Καλλίας, Πτολεμαῖος, Χαιρεκράτης, Μητροκλῆς, Ἀναξιμένης, Ἐπιγένης, Πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα, Ἀριστοτέλης. τούτου φησὶν Ἡρακλείδης καὶ τὸν Ζήνωνα ἀκοῦσαι τὸν τῆς στοῦς κτίστην. γηραιὸν δὲ τελευτήσαι φησιν Ἑρμιππος, οἶνον προσεγεγκάμενον ὅπως θάττον ἀποθάνοι.

"Ἔστι δὲ καὶ εἰς τούτον ἡμῶν

τὸν Μεγαρέα Στίλπωνα, γιγνώσκεις δ' ἴσως, γῆρας, ἔπειτα νόσος καθεῖλε, δύσμαχον ζυγόν· ἀλλ' οἶνον εὔρε τῆς κακῆς συνωρίδος φέρτερον ἡνίοχον· <χανδόν> πῶν γὰρ ἤλασεν.

προσεσκόφη δὲ ὑπὸ Σωφίλου τοῦ κωμικοῦ ἐν δράματι Γάμψ·

Στίλπωνός ἐστι βύσμαθ' ὁ Χαρίνου λόγος.

### Κεφ. ιβ'. ΚΡΙΤΩΝ

121 Κρίτων Ἀθηναῖος· οὗτος μάλιστα φιλοσοργότατα διετέθη πρὸς Σωκράτην, καὶ οὕτως ἐπεμελεῖτο αὐτοῦ, ὥστε μηδέποτε ἔλλείπειν τι τῶν πρὸς τὴν χρείαν. καὶ οἱ παῖδες δὲ αὐτοῦ διήκουσαν Σωκράτους, Κριτόβουλος, Ἑρμογένης, Ἐπιγένης, Κτήσιππος. ὁ δ' οὖν Κρίτων διαλόγους γέγραφεν ἐν ἐνὶ φερομένους βιβλίῳ ἑπτακαίδεκα, τοὺς ὑπογεγραμμένους,

"Ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ μαθεῖν οἱ ἀγαθοί.

Περὶ τοῦ πλέον ἔχει.

keep the argument though I am leaving you; for the argument will remain, but the fish will soon be sold."

Nine dialogues of his are extant written in frigid style, *Moschus*, *Aristippus* or *Callias*, *Ptolemy*, *Chaerocrates*, *Metrocles*, *Anaximenes*, *Epigenes*, *To his Daughter*, *Aristotle*. Heraclides relates that Zeno, the founder of the Stoic school, was one of Stilpo's pupils<sup>a</sup>; Hermippus that Stilpo died at a great age after taking wine to hasten his end.

I have written an epitaph on him also<sup>b</sup>:

Surely you know Stilpo the Megarian; old age and then disease laid him low, a formidable pair. But he found in wine a charioteer too strong for that evil team; he quaffed it eagerly and was borne along.

He was also ridiculed by Sophilus the Comic poet in his drama *The Wedding*<sup>c</sup>:

What Charinus says is just Stilpo's stoppers.

### CHAPTER 12. CRITO

Crito was a citizen of Athens. He was most affectionate in his disposition towards Socrates, and took such care of him that none of his wants were left unsupplied. Further, his sons Critobulus, Hermogenes, Epigenes and Ctesippus were pupils of Socrates. Crito too wrote seventeen dialogues which are extant in a single volume under the titles:

That men are not made good by instruction.  
Concerning superfluity.

<sup>a</sup> Compare the anecdote in vii. 24 from Apollonius of Tyre.

<sup>b</sup> *Anth. Plan.* v. 42.

<sup>c</sup> Meineke, *C.G.F.* iv. 386, s.v. Diphilus.

Τί τὸ ἐπιτήδειον ἡ Πολιτικός.  
 Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ.  
 Περὶ τοῦ κακουργεῖν.  
 Περὶ εὐθημοσύνης.  
 Περὶ τοῦ νόμου.  
 Περὶ τοῦ θείου.  
 Περὶ τεχνῶν.  
 Περὶ συνουσίας.  
 Περὶ σοφίας.  
 Πρωταγόρας ἡ Πολιτικός.  
 Περὶ γραμμάτων.  
 Περὶ ποιητικῆς, [περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ].  
 Περὶ τοῦ μαθεῖν.  
 Περὶ τοῦ γινῶναι ἡ Περὶ ἐπιστήμης.  
 Τί τὸ ἐπίστασθαι.

Κεφ. ιγ'. ΣΙΜΩΝ

122 Σίμων Ἀθηναῖος, σκυτοτόμος. οὗτος ἐρχομένου  
 Σωκράτους ἐπὶ τὸ ἐργαστήριον καὶ διαλεγομένου  
 τινά, ὧν ἐμνημόνευεν ὑποσημειώσεις ἐποιεῖτο· ὅθεν  
 σκυτικούς αὐτοῦ τοὺς διαλόγους καλοῦσιν. εἰσὶ  
 δὲ τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα ἐν ἐνὶ φερόμενοι βιβλίῳ.

Περὶ θεῶν.  
 Περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ.  
 Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ.  
 Τί τὸ καλόν.  
 Περὶ δικαίου πρῶτον, δεύτερον.  
 Περὶ ἀρετῆς ὅτι οὐ διδασκόν.  
 Περὶ ἀνδρείας πρῶτον, δεύτερον, τρίτον.  
 Περὶ νόμου.  
 Περὶ δημαγωγίας.  
 Περὶ τιμῆς.

What is expedient, or The Statesman.  
 Of Beauty.  
 On Doing Ill.  
 On Tidiness.  
 On Law.  
 Of that which is Divine.  
 On Arts.  
 Of Society.  
 Of Wisdom.  
 Protagoras, or The Statesman.  
 On Letters.  
 Of Poetry.  
 Of Learning.  
 On Knowing, or On Science.  
 What is Knowledge.

CHAPTER 13. SIMON

Simon was a citizen of Athens and a cobbler.  
 When Socrates came to his workshop and began to  
 converse, he used to make notes of all that he could  
 remember. And this is why people apply the term  
 "leathern" to his dialogues. These dialogues are  
 thirty-three in number, extant in a single volume :

Of the Gods.  
 Of the Good.  
 On the Beautiful.  
 What is the Beautiful.  
 On the Just : two dialogues.  
 Of Virtue, that it cannot be taught.  
 Of Courage : three dialogues.  
 On Law.  
 On Guiding the People.  
 Of Honour.

Περὶ ποιήσεως.  
Περὶ εὐπαθείας.  
Περὶ ἔρωτος.  
Περὶ φιλοσοφίας  
Περὶ ἐπιστήμης.  
Περὶ μουσικῆς.  
Περὶ ποιήσεως.  
Τί τὸ καλόν.  
Περὶ διδασκαλίας.  
Περὶ τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι.  
Περὶ κρίσεως.  
Περὶ τοῦ ὄντος.  
Περὶ ἀριθμοῦ.  
Περὶ ἐπιμελείας.  
Περὶ τοῦ ἐργάζεσθαι.  
Περὶ φιλοκερδοῦς.  
Περὶ ἀλαζονείας.  
Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ.

οἱ δέ,

Περὶ τοῦ βουλευέσθαι.  
Περὶ λόγου ἢ περὶ ἐπιτηδειότητος.  
Περὶ κακουργίας.

Οὗτος, φασί, πρῶτος διελέχθη τοὺς λόγους τοὺς Σωκρατικούς. ἐπαγγειλαμένου δὲ Περικλέους θρέψειν αὐτὸν καὶ κελεύοντος ἀπιέναι πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐκ ἂν ἔφη τὴν παρρησίαν ἀποδόσθαι.

124 Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Σίμων ῥητορικὰς τέχνας γεγραφώς· καὶ ἕτερος ἰατρός κατὰ Σέλευκον τὸν Νικάνορα· καὶ τις ἀνδριαντοποιός.

Of Poetry.  
On Good Eating.  
On Love.  
On Philosophy.  
On Knowledge.  
On Music.  
On Poetry.  
What is the Beautiful.  
On Teaching.  
On the Art of Conversation.  
Of Judging.  
Of Being.  
Of Number.  
On Diligence.  
On Efficiency.  
On Greed.  
On Pretentiousness.  
On the Beautiful.

Others are :

On Deliberation.  
On Reason, or On Expediency.  
On Doing Ill.

He was the first, so we are told, who introduced the Socratic dialogues as a form of conversation. When Pericles promised to support him and urged him to come to him, his reply was, "I will not part with my free speech for money."

There was another Simon, who wrote treatises *On Rhetoric*; another, a physician, in the time of Seleucus Nicanor; and a third who was a sculptor.

## DIOGENES LAERTIUS

### Κεφ. ιδ'. ΓΛΑΥΚΩΝ

Γλαύκων Ἀθηναῖος· καὶ τούτου φέρονται ἐν ἐνὶ βιβλίῳ διάλογοι ἐννέα·

Φειδύλος.  
Εὐριπίδης.  
Ἀμύντιχος.  
Εὐθίας.  
Λυσιθείδης.  
Ἀριστοφάνης.  
Κέφαλος.  
Ἀναξίφημος.  
Μενέξενος.

φέρονται καὶ ἄλλοι δύο καὶ τριάκοντα, οἳ νο-  
θεύονται.

### Κεφ. ιε'. ΣΙΜΜΙΑΣ

Σιμμίας Θηβαῖος· καὶ τούτου φέρονται ἐν ἐνὶ βιβλίῳ διάλογοι τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσι·

Περὶ σοφίας.  
Περὶ λογισμοῦ.  
Περὶ μουσικῆς.  
Περὶ ἐπῶν.  
Περὶ ἀνδρείας.  
Περὶ φιλοσοφίας.  
Περὶ ἀληθείας.  
Περὶ γραμμάτων.  
Περὶ διδασκαλίας.  
Περὶ τέχνης.  
Περὶ τοῦ ἐπιστατεῖν.  
Περὶ πρέποντος.  
Περὶ αἵρετοῦ καὶ φευκτοῦ.  
Περὶ φίλων.

## II. 124. GLAUCON—SIMMIAS

### CHAPTER 14. GLAUCON

Glaucon was a citizen of Athens. Nine dialogues of his are extant in a single volume :

Phidylus.  
Euripides.  
Amyntichus.  
Euthias.  
Lysithides.  
Aristophanes.  
Cephalus.  
Anaxiphemus.  
Menexenus.

There are also extant thirty-two others, which are considered spurious.

### CHAPTER 15. SIMMIAS

Simmius was a citizen of Thebes. Twenty-three dialogues of his are extant in a single volume :

On Wisdom.  
On Reasoning.  
On Music.  
On Verses.  
Of Courage.  
On Philosophy.  
Of Truth.  
On Letters.  
On Teaching.  
On Art.  
On Government.  
Of that which is becoming.  
Of that which is to be chosen and avoided.  
On Friendship.

## DIODEGENES LAERTIUS

Περὶ τοῦ εἰδέναι.  
Περὶ ψυχῆς.  
Περὶ τοῦ εὖ ζῆν.  
Περὶ δυνατοῦ.  
Περὶ χρημάτων.  
Περὶ ζωῆς.  
Τί τὸ καλόν.  
Περὶ ἐπιμελείας.  
Περὶ ἔρωτος.

### Κεφ. ις'. KEBHΣ

125 Κέβης ὁ Θηβαῖος· καὶ τούτου φέρονται διάλογοι  
τρεις·

Πίναξ.  
Ἐβδόμη.  
Φρύνιχος.

### Κεφ. ιζ'. MENEΔΗΜΟΣ

[Μενέδημος] Οὗτος τῶν ἀπὸ Φαίδωνος, Κλει-  
σθένους τοῦ τῶν Θεοπροπιδῶν καλουμένων υἱός,  
ἀνδρὸς εὐγενοῦς μὲν, ἀρχιτέκτονος δὲ καὶ πένητος·  
οἱ δὲ καὶ σκηνογράφον αὐτὸν εἶναι φασὶ καὶ μαθεῖν  
ἐκάτερα τὸν Μενέδημον· ὅθεν γράψαντος αὐτοῦ  
ψήφισμά τι καθήφατό τις Ἀλεξίνειος, εἰπὼν ὡς  
οὔτε σκηνὴν οὔτε ψήφισμα προσήκει τῷ σοφῷ  
γράφειν. πεμφθεὶς δὲ φρουρὸς ὁ Μενέδημος ὑπὸ  
τῶν Ἐρετριέων εἰς Μέγαρον ἀνήλθεν εἰς Ἀκαδημίαν  
πρὸς Πλάτωνα, καὶ θηραθεὶς κατέλιπε τὴν στρα-  
126 τείαν. Ἀσκληπιάδου δὲ τοῦ Φλιασίου περισπά-  
σαντος αὐτὸν ἐγένετο ἐν Μεγάρῳ παρὰ Στίλπονι.

## II. 124-126. SIMMIAS—CEBES—MENEDEMUS

On Knowledge.  
Of the Soul.  
On a Good Life.  
Of that which is possible.  
On Money.  
On Life.  
What is the beautiful.  
On Diligence.  
On Love.

### CHAPTER 16. CEBES

Cebes was a citizen of Thebes. Three dialogues  
of his are extant :

The Tablet.  
The Seventh Day.  
Phrynichus.

### CHAPTER 17. MENEDEMUS

Menedemus belonged to Phaedo's school ; he was  
the son of Clisthenes, a member of the clan called  
the Theopropidae, of good family, though a builder  
and a poor man ; others say that he was a scene-  
painter and that Menedemus learnt both trades.  
Hence, when he had proposed a decree, a certain  
Alexinius attacked him, declaring that the philosopher  
was not a proper person to design either a scene or  
a decree. When Menedemus was dispatched by  
the Eretrians to Megara on garrison duty, he paid  
a visit to Plato at the Academy and was so captivated  
that he abandoned the service of arms. Asclepiades  
of Phlius drew him away, and he lived at Megara  
with Stilpo, whose lectures they both attended.

οὐπερ ἀμφότεροι διήκουσαν· κἀντεῦθεν πλεύσαντες εἰς Ἡλίω· Ἀγχιπύλῳ καὶ Μόσχῳ τοῖς ἀπὸ Φαίδωνος παρέβαλον. καὶ μέχρι μὲν τούτων, ὡς προείρηται ἐν τῷ περὶ Φαίδωνος, Ἡλιακοὶ προσηγορεύοντο· Ἐρετρικοὶ δ' ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος τοῦ περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος.

Φαίνεται δὴ ὁ Μενέδημος σεμνὸς ἱκανῶς γενέσθαι· ὅθεν αὐτὸν Κράτης παρωδῶν φησι·

Φλιασίον τ' Ἀσκληπιάδην καὶ ταῦρον Ἐρέττην.

ὁ δὲ Τίμων οὕτως·

ὄγκον ἀναστήσας ὠφρυωμένος ἀφροσιβόμβαξ.

127 οὕτω δ' ἦν σεμνὸς ὡς Εὐρύλοχον τὸν Κασανδρέα μετὰ Κλεῖππίδου Κυζικηνοῦ μειρακίου κληθέντα ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου ἀντιπεῖν· φοβεῖσθαι γὰρ μὴ Μενέδημος αἰσθοίτο. ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἐπικόπτης καὶ παρρησιαστής. μειρακίου γοῦν καταθρασυνομένου εἶπε μὲν οὐδέν· λαβὼν δὲ κάρφος διέγραφεν εἰς τοῦδαφος περαινωμένου σχῆμα· ἕως ὁρώτων πάντων συνέν τὸ μειράκιον τὴν ὕβριν ἀπηλλάγη. Ἱεροκλέους δὲ τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς συνανακάμπτοντος αὐτῷ ἐν Ἀμφιαράου καὶ πολλὰ λέγοντος περὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως τῆς Ἐρετρίας, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν εἶπεν, ἠρώτησε δὲ εἰς τί αὐτὸν Ἀντίγονος περαίνει.

128 Πρὸς δὲ τὸν θρασυνόμενον μοιχόν, “ἀγνοεῖς,” ἔφη, “ὅτι οὐ μόνον κράμβη χυλὸν ἔχει χρηστόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥαφανίς;” πρὸς δὲ τὸν νεώτερον κεκραγότα, “σκέψαι,” ἔφη, “μή τι ὀπισθεν ἔχων λέλῃθας.” Ἀντιγόνου δὲ συμβουλευομένου εἰ ἐπὶ κῶμων

Thence they sailed to Elis, where they joined Anchipylus and Moschus of the school of Phaedo. Down to their time, as was stated in the Life of Phaedo, the school was called the Elian school. Afterwards it was called the Eretrian school, from the city to which my subject belonged.

It would appear that Menedemus was somewhat pompous. Hence Crates burlesques him thus <sup>a</sup> :

Asclepiades the sage of Phlius and the Eretrian bull; and Timon as follows <sup>b</sup> :

A puffing, supercilious purveyor of humbug.

He was a man of such dignity that, when Eurylochus of Casandrea was invited by Antigonus to court along with Cleippides, a youth of Cyzicus, he declined the invitation, being afraid that Menedemus would hear of it, so caustic and outspoken was he. When a young gallant would have taken liberties with him, he said not a word but picked up a twig and drew an insulting picture on the ground, until all eyes were attracted and the young man, perceiving the insult, made off. When Hierocles, who was in command of the Piraeus, walked up and down along with him in the shrine of Amphiaras, and talked much of the capture of Eretria, he made no other reply beyond asking him what Antigonus's object was in treating him as he did.

To an adulterer who was giving himself airs he said, “Do you not know that, if cabbage has a good flavour, so for that matter has radish?” Hearing a youth who was very noisy, he said, “See what there is behind you.” When Antigonus consulted him as to whether he should go to a rout, he sent

<sup>a</sup> Fr. 2 D.

<sup>b</sup> Fr. 29 D.



ἀφίκοιτο, σιωπήσας τᾶλλα μόνον ἐκέλευσεν ἀπαγγεῖλαι ὅτι βασιλέως υἱὸς ἐστι. πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀναίσθητον ἀναφέροντά τι αὐτῷ εἰκαίως, ἡρώτησεν εἰ ἀγρὸν ἔχει· φήσαντος δὲ καὶ πᾶμπλειστα κτήματα, “πορεύου τοῖνυν,” ἔφη, “κάκεινων ἐπιμελοῦ, μὴ συμβῇ σοι καὶ ταῦτα καταφθεῖραι καὶ κομψὸν ἰδιώτην ἀποβαλεῖν.” πρὸς δὲ τὸν πυθόμενον εἰ γήμαι ὁ σπουδαῖος, ἔφη, “πότερον ἐγὼ σοι σπουδαῖος δοκῶ ἢ οὐ;” φήσαντος δ’ εἶναι, “ἐγὼ τοῖνυν,” εἶπε, “γεγάμηκα.” πρὸς δὲ τὸν εἰπόντα 129 πολλὰ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐπύθετο πόσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ εἰ νομίζοι πλείω τῶν ἑκατόν. μὴ δυνάμενος δὲ τῶν καλούντων ἐπὶ δεῖπνόν τινος περιελεῖν τὴν πολυτέλειαν, κληθεὶς ποτε οὐδὲν μὲν εἶπε· σιωπῶν δ’ αὐτὸν ἐνουθέτησε μόνας ἐλαίας προσενεγκάμενος. διὰ δὴ οὖν τὸ παρρησιαστικὸν τοῦτο μικροῦ καὶ ἐκυνδύνευσεν ἐν Κύπρῳ παρὰ Νικοκρέοντι σὺν Ἀσκληπιάδῃ τῷ φίλῳ. τοῦ γάρ τοι βασιλέως ἐπιμήνιον ἑορτὴν τελούντος καὶ καλέσαντος καὶ ταύτους ὥσπερ τοὺς ἄλλους φιλοσόφους, τὸν Μενέδημον εἰπεῖν ὡς εἰ καλὸν ἦν ἢ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν συναγωγή, καθ’ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἔδει γίνεσθαι τὴν ἑορτήν· εἰ δ’ οὐ, περιττῶς καὶ νῦν. 130 πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο ἀπαντήσαντος τοῦ τυράννου καὶ εἰπόντος ὡς ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἔχει σχολάζουσιν πρὸς τὸ διακούειν φιλοσόφων, ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον αὐστηρότερον ἐνέκειτο, δεικνὺς ἐπὶ τῆς θυσίας ὡς χρὴ πάντα καιρὸν φιλοσόφων ἀκούειν· ὥστ’ εἰ μὴ τις αὐλητῆς αὐτοὺς διεπέμψατο, καὶ ἀπώλοντο. ὅθεν χειμαζομένων ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ τὸν Ἀσκληπιάδην

a message to say no more than this, that he was the son of a king. When a stupid fellow related something to him with no apparent object, he inquired if he had a farm. And hearing that he had, and that there was a large stock of cattle on it, he said, “Then go and look after them, lest it should happen that they are ruined and a clever farmer thrown away.” To one who inquired if the good man ever married, he replied, “Do you think me good or not?” The reply being in the affirmative, he said, “Well, I am married.” Of one who affirmed that there were many good things, he inquired how many, and whether he thought there were more than a hundred. Not being able to curb the extravagance of some one who had invited him to dinner, he said nothing when he was invited, but rebuked his host tacitly by confining himself to olives. However, on account of this freedom of speech he was in great peril in Cyprus with his friend Asclepiades when staying at the court of Nicocreon. For when the king held the usual monthly feast and invited these two along with the other philosophers, we are told that Menedemus said that, if the gathering of such men was a good thing, the feast ought to have been held every day; if not, then it was superfluous even on the present occasion. The tyrant having replied to this by saying that on this day he had the leisure to hear philosophers, he pressed the point still more stubbornly, declaring, while the feast was going on, that any and every occasion should be employed in listening to philosophers. The consequence was that, if a certain flute-player had not got them away, they would have been put to death. Hence when they were in a storm in the boat

φασὶν εἰπεῖν ὡς ἡ μὲν τοῦ ἀλλητοῦ εὐμουσία ἀέσωκεν αὐτούς, ἡ δὲ τοῦ Μενεδήμου παρρησία ἀπολώλεκεν.

Ἦν δέ, φασί, καὶ ἐκκλήτης καὶ τὰ τῆς σχολῆς ἀδιάφορος, οὔτε τάξιν γοῦν τινὰ ἦν παρ' αὐτῷ βλέπειν οὔτε βάθρα κύκλῳ διέκειτο, ἀλλ' οὐ ἂν ἕκαστος ἔτυχε περιπατῶν ἢ καθήμενος ἤκουε, καὶ 131 αὐτοῦ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διακειμένον. ἀγωνιάτης μέντοι, φασίν, ἦν ἄλλως καὶ φιλόδοξος ὥστε τὸ πρότερον τέκτονι συνοικοδομοῦντες αὐτὸς τε καὶ ὁ Ἀσκληπιάδης, ὁ μὲν Ἀσκληπιάδης ἐφαίνετο γυμνὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ τέγους τὸν πηλὸν παραφέρων, ὁ δὲ εἴ τιw ἴδοι ἐρχόμενον, παρεκρύπτετο. ἐπεὶ δ' ἤψατο τῆς πολιτείας, οὕτως ἦν ἀγωνιάτης ὥστε καὶ τὸν λιβανωτὸν τιθεὶς διήμαρτε τοῦ θυμιατηρίου. καὶ ποτε Κράτητος περισταμένου αὐτὸν καὶ καθαπτομένου εἰς τὸ ὅτι πολιτεύεται, ἐκέλευσέ τισιν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν· τὸν δὲ μηδὲν ἤττον τηρεῖν παριόντα καὶ ὑπερκύπτοντα Ἀγαμεμνόνειόν τε καὶ Ἡγησίπολιν ἀποκαλεῖν.

132 Ἦν δέ πως ἡρέμα καὶ δεισιδαιμονέστερος. σὺν γοῦν Ἀσκληπιάδῃ κατ' ἄνοιαν ἐν πανδοκείῳ ποτὲ κρεάτων ριπτομένων φαγὼν, ἐπειδὴ μάθοι, ἐναντία τε καὶ ὠχρία· ἕως Ἀσκληπιάδης ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ ὡς οὐδὲν [εἰπὼν] ἠνώχλησεν αὐτὸν τὰ κρέα, ἀλλ' ἡ περὶ τούτων ὑπόνοια. τὰ δ' ἄλλα μεγαλόψυχος ἀνὴρ ἦν καὶ ἐλευθέριος. κατὰ τε τὴν ἑξὶν τὴν σωματικὴν ἤδη καὶ πρεσβύτης ὑπάρχων οὐδὲν ἤττον ἀλλητοῦ στερεός τε καὶ ἐπι-

Asclepiades is reported to have said that the flute-player through good playing had proved their salvation when the free speech of Menedemus had been their undoing.

He shirked work, it is said, and was indifferent to the fortunes of his school. At least no order could be seen in his classes, and no circle of benches; but each man would listen where he happened to be, walking or sitting, Menedemus himself behaving in the same way. In other respects he is said to have been nervous and careful of his reputation; so much so that, when Menedemus himself and Asclepiades were helping a man who had formerly been a builder to build a house, whereas Asclepiades appeared stripped on the roof passing the mortar, Menedemus would try to hide himself as often as he saw anyone coming. After he took part in public affairs, he was so nervous that, when offering the frankincense, he would actually miss the censer. And once, when Crates stood about him and attacked him for meddling in politics, he ordered certain men to have Crates locked up. But Crates none the less watched him as he went by and, standing on tiptoe, called him a pocket Agamemnon and Hegesipolis.

He was also in a way rather superstitious. At all events once, when he was at an inn with Asclepiades and had inadvertently eaten some meat which had been thrown away, he turned sick and pale when he learnt the fact, until Asclepiades rebuked him, saying that it was not the meat which disturbed him but merely his suspicion of it. In all other respects he was magnanimous and liberal. In his habit of body, even in old age, he was as firm and sunburnt in appearance as any athlete, being stout and always

κεκαυμένος τὸ εἶδος, πίων τε καὶ τετριμμένος· τὸ δὲ μέγεθος σύμμετρος, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ εἰκονίου τοῦ ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ ἐν τῷ ἀρχαίῳ σταδίῳ. ἔστι γάρ, ὡς ἐπίτηδες, παράγυμνον, τὰ πλείστα μέρη φαῖνον τοῦ σώματος.

- 133 Ἦν δὲ καὶ φιλυπόδοχος καὶ διὰ τὸ νοσῶδες τῆς Ἐρετρίας πλείω συνάγων συμπόσια· ἐν οἷς καὶ ποιητῶν καὶ μουσικῶν. ἡσπάζετο δὲ καὶ Ἄρατον καὶ Λυκόφρονα τὸν τῆς τραγωδίας ποιητὴν καὶ τὸν Ῥόδιον Ἀνταγόραν· μάλιστα δὲ πάντων Ὀμήρῳ προσεῖχεν· εἶτα καὶ τοῖς μελικοῖς· ἔπειτα Σοφοκλεῖ, καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀχαιῶ, ὥπερ καὶ τὸ δευτερεῖον ἐν τοῖς Σατύροις, Αἰσχύλῳ δὲ τὸ πρωτεύον ἀπεδίδου. ὅθεν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιπολιτευομένους ταῦτα, φασί, προσέφερετο·

ἡλίσκετ' ἄρα καὶ πρὸς ἀσθενῶν ταχύς,  
καὶ πρὸς χελώνης αἰετὸς βραχεῖ χρόνῳ.

- 134 ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν Ἀχαιοῦ ἐκ τῆς σατυρικῆς Ὀμφάλης· ὥστε πταίουσιν οἱ λέγοντες μηδὲν αὐτὸν ἀνεγνωκέναι πλὴν τῆς Μηδείας τῆς Εὐριπίδου, ἣν ἔνιοι Νεόφρονος εἶναι τοῦ Σικυωνίου φασί.

Τῶν δὲ διδασκάλων τοὺς<sup>1</sup> περὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Ξενοκράτην, ἔτι τε Παραβάτην τὸν Κυρηναῖον κατεφρόνει, Στίλπωνα δ' ἐτεθανμάκει· καὶ ποτε ἐρωτηθεὶς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν εἶπε πλὴν ὅτι ἐλευθέριος. ἦν δὲ καὶ δυσκατανόητος ὁ Μενέδημος καὶ ἐν τῷ συνθέσθαι δυσανταγώνιστος· ἐστρέφετό τε πρὸς πάντα καὶ εὐρεσιλόγει· ἐριστικώτατός τε, καθά φησιν Ἀντισθένης ἐν Δια-

<sup>1</sup> τοὺς] τῶν vulg.: corr. Reiske.

in the pink of condition; in stature he was well-proportioned, as may be seen from the statuette in the ancient Stadium at Eretria. For it represents him, intentionally no doubt, almost naked, and displays the greater part of his body.

He was fond of entertaining and used to collect numerous parties about him because Eretria was unhealthy; amongst these there would be parties of poets and musicians. He welcomed Aratus also and Lycophron the tragic poet, and Antagoras of Rhodes, but, above all, he applied himself to the study of Homer and, next, the Lyric poets; then to Sophocles, and also to Achaeus, to whom he assigned the second place as a writer of satiric dramas, giving Aeschylus the first. Hence he quoted against his political opponents the following lines<sup>a</sup>:

Ere long the swift is overtaken by the feeble,  
And the eagle by the tortoise,

which are from the *Omphale*, a satiric drama of Achaeus. Therefore it is a mistake to say that he had read nothing except the *Medea* of Euripides, which some have asserted to be the work of Neophron of Sicyon.

He despised the teachers of the school of Plato and Xenocrates as well as the Cyrenaic philosopher Paraebates. He had a great admiration for Stilpo; and on one occasion, when he was questioned about him, he made no other answer than that he was a gentleman. Menedemus was difficult to see through, and in making a bargain it was difficult to get the better of him. He would twist and turn in every direction, and he excelled in inventing objections. He was a great controversialist, according to Anti-

<sup>a</sup> Nauck, *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup>, *Achaeus*, 34.

δοχαῖς, ἦν. καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐρωτᾶν εἰώθει· "τὸ ἕτερον τοῦ ἑτέρου ἕτερόν ἐστι;" "ναί." "ἕτερον δέ ἐστι τὸ ὠφελεῖν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ;" "ναί." "οὐκ ἄρα τὸ ὠφελεῖν ἀγαθὸν ἐστίν."

135 Ἀνὴρ δέ, φασί, καὶ τὰ ἀποφατικά τῶν ἀξιωμα-  
των, καταφατικά τιθεῖς· καὶ τούτων τὰ ἀπλᾶ  
προσδεχόμενος τὰ οὐχ ἀπλᾶ ἀνὴρ, λέγω δὲ  
συνημμένα καὶ συμπεπλεγμένα. φησὶ δ' Ἡρα-  
κλείδης ἐν μὲν τοῖς δόγμασι Πλατωνικὸν εἶναι  
αὐτόν, διαπαίζειν δὲ τὰ διαλεκτικά· ὥστε Ἀλεξίνου  
ποτέ ἐρωτήσαντος εἰ πέπανται τὸν πατέρα τύπτων,  
"ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἔτυπτον," φάναι, "οὔτε πέπαυμαι."  
πάλιν τ' ἐκείνου λέγοντος ὡς ἐχρῆν εἰπόντα ναί ἢ  
οὐ λῦσαι τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν, "γελοῖον," εἶπε, "τοῖς  
ὑμετέροις νόμοις ἀκολουθεῖν, ἐξὸν ἐν πύλαις  
ἀντιβῆναι." Βίωνός τε ἐπιμελῶς κατατρέχοντος  
τῶν μάντεων, νεκροὺς αὐτὸν ἐπισφάττειν ἔλεγε.

136 Καί ποτέ τινος ἀκούσας ὡς μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν εἶη  
τὸ πάντων ἐπιτυγχάνειν ὧν τις ἐπιθυμεῖ, εἶπε,  
"πολὺν δὲ μείζον τὸ ἐπιθυμεῖν ὧν δεῖ." φησὶ δ'  
Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος γράφαι αὐτὸν μηδὲν  
μηδὲ συντάξαι, ὥστε μηδ' ἐπὶ δόγματός τινος  
στηρίζειν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ζητήσεσι, φησὶν, ὧδε  
μάχιμος ἦν ὥστ' ὑπώπια φέρων ὑπῆει. ὅμως δ'  
οὖν τοιοῦτος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ὑπάρχων ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις  
πρῶτατος ἦν. Ἀλεξίνον γοῦν πολλὰ καταπαίζων  
καὶ σκληρῶς ἐπισκώπτων, ὅμως αὐτὸν εὖ ἐποίησε  
τὴν γυναῖκα παραπέμψας ἐκ Δελφῶν ἕως Χαλκίδος,

sthenes in his *Successions of Philosophers*. In par-  
ticular he was fond of using the following argument:  
"Is the one of two things different from the other?"  
"Yes." "And is conferring benefits different from  
the good?" "Yes." "Then to confer benefits is  
not good."

It is said that he disallowed negative propositions,  
converting them into affirmatives, and of these he  
admitted simple propositions only, rejecting those  
which are not simple, I mean hypothetical and  
complex propositions. Heraclides declares that,  
although in his doctrines he was a Platonist, yet he  
made sport of dialectic. So that, when Alexinus  
once inquired if he had left off beating his father, his  
answer was, "Why, I was not beating him and have  
not left off"; and upon Alexinus insisting that he  
ought to have cleared up the ambiguity by a plain  
"Yes" or "No," "It would be absurd," he said,  
"for me to conform to your rules when I can stop  
you on the threshold." And when Bion persistently  
ran down the soothsayers, Menedemus said he was  
slaying the slain.

On hearing some one say that the greatest good  
was to get all you want, he rejoined, "To want the  
right things is a far greater good." Antigonos of  
Carystus asserts that he never wrote or composed  
anything, and so never held firmly by any doctrine.  
He adds that in discussing questions he was so  
pugnacious that he would only retire after he had  
been badly mauled. And yet, though he was so  
violent in debate, he was as mild as possible in his  
conduct. For instance, though he made sport of  
Alexinus and bantered him cruelly, he was neverthe-  
less very kind to him, for, when his wife was afraid

ἐυλαβουμένην τὰς κλωπείας τε καὶ τὰς καθ' ὁδὸν  
ληστείας.

- 137 Φίλος τε ἦν μάλιστα, ὥς δῆλον ἐκ τῆς πρὸς  
'Ασκληπιάδην συμποίας, οὐδέν τι διαφερούσης  
τῆς Πυλάδου φιλοστοργίας. ἀλλὰ πρεσβύτερος  
'Ασκληπιάδης, ὥς λέγεσθαι ποιητὴν μὲν αὐτὸν  
εἶναι, ὑποκριτὴν δὲ Μενέδημον. καὶ ποτέ φασιν  
'Αρχιπόλιδος τρισχιλίας αὐτοῖς διαγράψαντος στη-  
ρίζομένους περὶ τοῦ τίς δεύτερος ἀρεῖ, μηδέτερον  
λαβεῖν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ γυναικας ἀγαγέσθαι αὐ-  
τούς· ὧν τὴν μὲν θυγατέρα 'Ασκληπιάδην, τὴν δὲ  
μῆτέρα Μενέδημον. κἀπειδὴ τελευτήσῃσι τῷ 'Ασ-  
κληπιάδῃ τὸ γύναιον, λαβεῖν τὸ τοῦ Μενεδήμου·  
ἐκείνόν τε, ἐπειδὴ προὔστη τῆς πολιτείας, πλουσίαν  
γῆμαι· οὐδὲν μέντοι ἦττον μιᾶς οὔσης οἰκίας  
ἐπιτρέψαι τὸν Μενέδημον τὴν διοίκησιν τῇ προτέρᾳ  
138 γυναικί. ὁ μέντοι 'Ασκληπιάδης προκατέστρεψεν  
ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ γηραιὸς ἤδη, συζήσας τῷ Μενεδήμῳ  
σφόδρα εὐτελῶς ἀπὸ μεγάλων· ὅτε καὶ μετὰ  
χρόνον ἐλθόντος ἐπὶ κῶμον ἐρωμένου τοῦ 'Ασκλη-  
πιάδου καὶ τῶν νεανίσκων ἀποκλειόντων αὐτόν,  
ὁ Μενέδημος ἐκέλευσεν εἰσδέξασθαι, εἰπὼν ὅτι  
'Ασκληπιάδης αὐτῷ καὶ κατὰ γῆς ὧν τὰς θύρας  
ἀνοίγει. ἦσαν δ' οἱ σωματοποιήσαντες αὐτοὺς  
'Ιππόνικός τε ὁ Μακεδὼν καὶ Ἀγήτωρ ὁ Λαμιεύς·  
ὁ μὲν ἑκατέρῳ δούς τριάκοντα μνᾶς, ὁ δ' Ἴππό-  
νικος Μενεδήμῳ εἰς ἔκδοσιν τῶν θυγατέρων  
δισχιλίας δραχμάς. ἦσαν δὲ τρεῖς, καθά φησιν  
'Ηρακλείδης, ἐξ Ὠρωπίας αὐτῷ γυναικὸς γε-  
γεννημέναι.

that on her journey she might be set upon and  
robbed, he gave her an escort from Delphi to Chalcis.

He was a very warm friend, as is shown by his  
affection for Asclepiades, which was hardly inferior  
to the devotion shown by Pylades. But, Asclepiades  
being the elder, it was said that he was the play-  
wright and Menedemus the actor. They say that  
once, when Archipolis had given them a cheque for  
half a talent, they stickled so long over the point as  
to whose claim came second that neither of them  
got the money. It is said that they married a  
mother and her daughter; Asclepiades married the  
daughter and Menedemus the mother. But after  
the death of his own wife, Asclepiades took the wife  
of Menedemus; and afterwards the latter, when he  
became head of the state, married a rich woman as  
his second wife. Nevertheless, as they kept one  
household, Menedemus entrusted his former wife  
with the care of his establishment. However,  
Asclepiades died first at a great age at Eretria,  
having lived with Menedemus economically, though  
they had ample means. Some time afterwards a  
favourite of Asclepiades, having come to a party  
and being refused admittance by the pupils,  
Menedemus ordered them to admit him, saying  
that even now, when under the earth, Asclepiades  
opened the door for him. It was Hipponicus the  
Macedonian and Agator of Lamia who were their  
chief supporters; the one gave each of the two  
thirty minae, while Hipponicus furnished Menedemus  
with two thousand drachmae with which to portion  
his daughters. There were three of them according  
to Heraclides, his children by a wife who was a  
native of Oropus.

139 Τὰ δὲ συμπόσια τοῦτον ἐποιεῖτο τὸν τρόπον·  
 προηρίστα μετὰ δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἕως βραδείως ἦν τῆς  
 ἡμέρας· ἔπειτά τις ἐκάλει τοὺς παραγενομένους  
 καὶ αὐτοὺς ἤδη δεδειπνηκότας· ὥστ' εἴ τις ἔλθοι  
 θάττον, ἀνακάμπτων ἐπυνθάνετο τῶν ἐξιόντων τί  
 εἷη παρακείμενον καὶ πῶς ἔχοι τὸ τοῦ χρόνου·  
 εἰ μὲν οὖν λαχάνιον ἢ ταρίχιον, ἀνεχώρουν· εἰ δὲ  
 κρεάδιον, εἰσήεσαν. ἦν δὲ τοῦ μὲν θέρου ψίαθος  
 ἐπὶ τῶν κλινῶν, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος κώδιον· προσ-  
 κεφάλαιον αὐτῷ φέρειν ἔδει. τό τε περιηγόμενον  
 ποτήριον οὐ μείζον ἦν κοτυλιαίου· τράγημα θέρμος  
 ἢ κύαμος, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τῶν ὀρίων ἄπιος ἢ ροῖα  
 140 ἢ ὠχροὶ ἢ νῆ Δί' ἰσχάδες. ἅ πάντα φησὶν ὁ  
 Λυκόφρων ἐν τοῖς πεποιημένοις σατύροις αὐτῷ,  
 οὗς Μενέδημος ἐπέγραψεν, ἐγκώμιον τοῦ φιλοσόφου  
 ποιήσας τὸ δράμα· ὧν καὶ τινὰ ἔστι τοιαυτῶν·

ὡς ἐκ βραχείας δαιτὸς ἢ βαιὰ κύλιξ  
 αὐτοῖς κυκλεῖται πρὸς μέτρον, τράγημα δὲ  
 ὁ σωφρονιστὴς τοῖς φιληκόοις λόγος.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα κατεφρονεῖτο, κύων καὶ  
 λῆρος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐρετριέων ἀκούων· ὕστερον δ'  
 ἐθαυμάσθη, ὥστε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐγχειρίσασθαι.  
 ἐπρέσβευσε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Λυσί-  
 μαχον, τιμώμενος πανταχοῦ· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς  
 Δημήτριον. καὶ τῆς πόλεως διακόσια τάλαντα  
 τελοῦσης πρὸς ἔτος αὐτῷ, τὰ πεντήκοντα ἀφείλε·  
 πρὸς δὲ διαβληθεὶς ὡς τὴν πόλιν ἐγχειρίζων

\* Nauck, *T.G.F.*<sup>3</sup> p. 818.

He used to give his parties in this fashion: he would breakfast beforehand with two or three friends and stay until it was late in the day. And in the next place some one would summon the guests who had arrived and who had themselves already dined, so that, if anyone came too soon, he would walk up and down and inquire from those who came out of the house what was on the table and what o'clock it was. If then it was only vegetables or salt fish, they would depart; but if there was meat, they would enter the house. In the summer time a rush mat was put upon each couch, in winter time a sheepskin. The guest brought his own cushion. The loving-cup which was passed round was no larger than a pint cup. The dessert consisted of lupins or beans, sometimes of ripe fruit such as pears, pomegranates, a kind of pulse, or even dried figs. All of these facts are mentioned by Lycophron in his satiric drama entitled *Menedemus*, which was composed as a tribute to him. Here is a specimen of it <sup>a</sup>:

And after a temperate feast the modest cup was passed round with discretion, and their dessert was temperate discourse for such as cared to listen.

At first he was despised, being called a cynic and a humbug by the Eretrians. But afterwards he was greatly admired, so much so that they entrusted him with the government of the state. He was sent as envoy to Ptolemy and to Lysimachus, being honoured wherever he went. He was, moreover, envoy to Demetrius, and he caused the yearly tribute of two hundred talents which the city used to pay Demetrius to be reduced by fifty talents. And when he was accused to Demetrius of intriguing to hand over the city to Ptolemy, he defended

141 Πτολεμαίω, ἀπολογεῖται δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἥς ἡ ἀρχή·  
 "Μενέδημος βασιλεῖ Δημητρίῳ χαίρειν. ἀκούω  
 πρὸς σέ ἀνατεθῆναι περὶ ἡμῶν." λόγος δέ δια-  
 βεβληκέναι αὐτὸν τῶν ἀντιπολιτευομένων τινὰ  
 Αἰσχύλον. δοκεῖ δ' ἐμβριθέστατα πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς  
 Δημήτριον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ὠρωποῦ, ὡς καὶ Εὐφάντος  
 ἐν Ἱστορίαις μνημονεύει. ἡγάπα δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ  
 Ἀντίγονος καὶ μαθητὴν ἀνεκέρυττεν αὐτόν. καὶ  
 ἡνίκα ἐνίκα τοὺς βαρβάρους περὶ Λυσιμαχίαν,  
 γράφει ψήφισμα αὐτῷ Μενέδημος ἀπλοῦν τε καὶ  
 142 ἀκόλακον, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· "οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ  
 πρόβουλοι εἶπον. ὅτι ἐπειδὴ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος  
 μάχῃ νικήσας τοὺς βαρβάρους παραγίνεται εἰς τὴν  
 ἰδίαν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα πράσσει κατὰ γνώμην·  
 ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ."

Διὰ ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην φιλίαν ὑποπτευθεὶς  
 προδιδόναι τὴν πόλιν αὐτῷ, διαβάλλοντος Ἀριστο-  
 δήμου ὑπεξῆλθε· καὶ διέτριβεν ἐν Ὠρωπῷ ἐν  
 τῷ τοῦ Ἀμφιάρειο ἱερῷ· ἔνθα χρυσῶν ποτηρίων  
 ἀπολομένων, καθά φησιν Ἑρμιππος, δόγματι  
 κοινῷ τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἐκελεύσθη μετελθεῖν. ἐντεῦ-  
 θεν ἀθυμήσας λαθραίως παρεισδύς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα  
 καὶ τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας παρα-  
 λαβὼν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον ἑλθὼν ἀθυμία τὸν βίον  
 κατέστρεψε.

143 Φησὶ δ' Ἡρακλείδης αὐτὸν πᾶν τοῦναντίον,  
 πρόβουλον γενόμενον τῶν Ἐρετριέων πολλάκις  
 ἐλευθερῶσαι τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων ἐπ-  
 αγόμενον Δημήτριον· οὐκ ἂν δὴ οὖν προδοῦναι

himself in a letter which commences thus: "Mene-  
 demus to King Demetrius, greeting. I hear that  
 a report has reached you concerning me." There  
 is a tradition that one Aeschylus who belonged  
 to the opposite party had made these charges against  
 him. He seems to have behaved with the utmost  
 dignity in the embassy to Demetrius on the subject  
 of Oropus, as Euphantus relates in his *Histories*.  
 Antigonus too was much attached to him and used to  
 proclaim himself his pupil. And when he vanquished  
 the barbarians near the town of Lysimachia, Mene-  
 demus moved a decree in his honour in simple terms  
 and free from flattery, beginning thus: "On the  
 motion of the generals and the councillors—Whereas  
 King Antigonus is returning to his own country after  
 vanquishing the barbarians in battle, and whereas  
 in all his undertakings he prospers according to his  
 will, the senate and the people have decreed . . ."

On these grounds, then, and from his friendship for  
 him in other matters, he was suspected of betraying  
 the city to Antigonus, and, being denounced by  
 Aristodemus, withdrew from Eretria and stayed  
 awhile in Oropus in the temple of Amphiaras.  
 And, because some golden goblets were missing  
 from the temple, he was ordered to depart by a  
 general vote of the Boeotians, as is stated by  
 Hermippus; and thereupon in despair, after a secret  
 visit to his native city, he took with him his wife  
 and daughters and came to the court of Antigonus,  
 where he died of a broken heart.

Heraclides tells quite another story, that he was  
 made councillor of the Eretrians and more than once  
 saved the city from a tyranny by calling in Demetrius  
 —so then he would not be likely to betray the city

αὐτὸν Ἀντιγόνῳ τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ διαβολὴν ἀναλαβεῖν ψευδῇ· φοιτᾶν τε πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ βούλεσθαι ἐλευθερώσαι τὴν πατρίδα· τοῦ δὲ μὴ εἶκοντος ὑπ' ἀθυμίας ἀσιτήσαντα ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας τὸν βίον μεταλλάξαι. τὰ ὅμοια τούτῳ καὶ Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος ἱστορεῖ. μόνῳ δὲ Περσαίῳ διαπρύσιον εἶχε πόλεμον· ἐδόκει γὰρ Ἀντιγόνου βουλομένου τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἀποκαταστήσαι τοῖς  
 144 Ἐρετριεῦσι χάριν Μενεδήμου κωλύσαι. διὸ καὶ ποτε παρὰ πότον ὁ Μενέδημος ἐλέγξας αὐτὸν τοῖς λόγοις τά τε ἄλλα ἔφη καὶ δὴ καὶ "φιλόσοφος μὲν [τοι] τοιοῦτος, ἀνὴρ δὲ καὶ τῶν ὄντων καὶ τῶν γενησομένων κάκιστος."

Ἐτελεύτα δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην τέταρτον καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὸν ἔτος βιούς. καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἡμῶν ἐστὶν οὕτως ἔχον·

ἔκλυν, Μενέδημε, τεὸν μόρον, ὥς ἐκὼν ἀπέσβης  
 ἐν ἡμέρῃσιν ἑπτὰ μηδὲν ἐσθίων.  
 κατ' ἔργον ἑρέξας Ἐρετρικόν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἄνδρον·  
 ἀψυχὴ γὰρ ἡγεμῶν ἔπειγέ σε.

Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οἱ Σωκρατικοὶ καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτῶν. μετιτέον δὲ ἐπὶ Πλάτωνα τὸν τῆς Ἀκαδημείας κατάρξαντα, καὶ τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ὅποσοι γεγόνασιν ἐλλόγιοι.

to Antigonus, but was made the victim of a false charge; that he betook himself to Antigonus and was anxious to regain freedom for his country; that, as Antigonus would not give way, in despair he put an end to his life by abstaining from food for seven days. The account of Antigonus of Carystus is similar.<sup>a</sup> With Persaeus alone he carried on open warfare, for it was thought that, when Antigonus was willing for Menedemus's sake to restore to the Eretrians their democracy, Persaeus prevented him. Hence on one occasion over the wine Menedemus refuted Persaeus in argument and said, amongst other things, "Such he is as a philosopher but, as a man, the worst of all that are alive or to be born hereafter."

According to the statement of Heraclides he died in his seventy-fourth year. I have written the following epigram upon him<sup>b</sup>:

I heard of your fate, Menedemus, how, of your own free will, you expired by starving yourself for seven days, a deed right worthy of an Eretrian, but unworthy of a man; but despair was your leader and urged you on.

These then are the disciples of Socrates or their immediate successors. We must now pass to Plato, the founder of the Academy, and his successors, so far as they were men of reputation.

<sup>a</sup> Antigonus of Carystus (see Introd. p. xxiii) is the older authority, from whom Heraclides (probably Heraclides Lembos, see Introd. p. xxv.) directly or indirectly derived his information.

<sup>b</sup> *Anth. Plan.* v. 40.



## Γ

## ΠΛΑΤΩΝ

1 Πλάτων, Ἀρίστωνος καὶ Περικτιόνης — ἡ Πωτώνης, — Ἀθηναῖος, ἦτις τὸ γένος ἀνέφερεν εἰς Σόλωνα. τούτου γὰρ ἦν ἀδελφὸς Δρωπίδης, οὗ Κριτίας, οὗ Κάλλαισχος, οὗ Κριτίας ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ Γλαύκων, οὗ Χαρμίδης καὶ Περικτιόνη, ἧς καὶ Ἀρίστωνος Πλάτων, ἔκτος ἀπὸ Σόλωνος. ὁ δὲ Σόλων εἰς Νηλέα καὶ Ποσειδῶνα ἀνέφερε τὸ γένος. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἀνάγειν εἰς Κόδρον τὸν Μελάνθου, οἵτινες ἀπὸ Ποσειδῶνος ἰστοροῦνται κατὰ Θρασύλον.

2 Σπεύσιππος δ' ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Πλάτωνος περιδείπνῳ καὶ Κλέαρχος ἐν τῷ Πλάτωνος ἐγκωμίῳ καὶ Ἀναξилаΐδης ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ φιλοσόφων φασίν, ὥς Ἀθήνησιν ἦν λόγος, ὡραίαν οὔσαν τὴν Περικτιόνην βιάζεσθαι τὸν Ἀρίστωνα καὶ μὴ τυγχάνειν· παυόμενόν τε τῆς βίας ἰδεῖν τὴν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὄψιν· ὅθεν καθαρὰν γάμου φυλάξαι ἕως τῆς ἀποκύσεως.

Καὶ γίνεται Πλάτων, ὧς φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς, ὀγδόῃ καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι, Θαρργλιῶνος ἐβδόμῃ, καθ' ἣν Δῆλιοι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα

## BOOK III

## PLATO (427-347 B.C.)

PLATO was the son of Ariston and a citizen of Athens. His mother was Perictione (or Potone), who traced back her descent to Solon. For Solon had a brother, Dropides; he was the father of Critias, who was the father of Callaeschrus, who was the father of Critias, one of the Thirty, as well as of Glaucon, who was the father of Charmides and Perictione. Thus Plato, the son of this Perictione and Ariston, was in the sixth generation from Solon. And Solon traced his descent to Neleus and Poseidon. His father too is said to be in the direct line from Codrus, the son of Melanthus, and, according to Thrasylus, Codrus and Melanthus also trace their descent from Poseidon.

Speusippus in the work entitled *Plato's Funeral Feast*, Clearchus in his *Encomium on Plato*, and Anaxilaides in his second book *On Philosophers*, tell us that there was a story at Athens that Ariston made violent love to Perictione, then in her bloom, and failed to win her; and that, when he ceased to offer violence, Apollo appeared to him in a dream, whereupon he left her unmolested until her child was born.

Apollodorus in his *Chronology* fixes the date of Plato's birth in the 88th Olympiad, on the seventh day of the month Thargelion, the same day on which

γενέσθαι φασί. τελευτᾷ δὲ—ὥς φησιν Ἑρμιππος, ἐν γάμοις δειπνῶν—τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, βιούς ἔτος ἐν πρὸς τοῖς  
 3 ὀγδοήκοντα. Νεάνθης δὲ φησιν αὐτὸν τεττάρων καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα τελευτῆσαι ἐτῶν. ἔστιν οὖν Ἰσοκράτους νεώτερος ἔτεσιν ἑξ· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ Λυσιμάχου, Πλάτων δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀμεινίου γέγονεν, ἐφ' οὗ Περικλῆς ἐτελεύτησεν. ἦν δὲ τῶν δῆμων Κολλυτεύς, ὡς φησιν Ἀντιλέων ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ χρόνων. καὶ ἐγεννήθη κατὰ τινας ἐν Αἰγίνῃ—ἐν τῇ Φειδιάδου οἰκίᾳ τοῦ Θάλητος, ὡς φησι Φαβωρίνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ—τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων πεμφθέντος κληροῦχου καὶ ἐπανελθόντος εἰς Ἀθήνας, ὅπῃ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξεβλήθησαν βοηθούτων Αἰγινῆταις. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐχορήγησεν Ἀθήνησι Δίωνος ἀναλίσκοντος, ὡς  
 4 φησιν Ἀθηνόδωρος ἐν ἡ' Περιπάτων. ἔσχε δ' ἀδελφούς Ἀδεΐμαντον καὶ Γλαύκωνα καὶ ἀδελφὴν Πωτώνην, ἐξ ἧς ἦν Σπεύσιππος.

Καὶ ἐπαιδεύθη μὲν γράμματα παρὰ Διονυσίῳ, οὗ καὶ μνημονεύει ἐν τοῖς Ἀντερασταῖς. ἐγυμνάσατο δὲ παρὰ Ἀρίστωνι τῷ Ἀργεῖῳ παλαιστῇ· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Πλάτων διὰ τὴν εὐεξίαν μετωνομάσθη, πρότερον Ἀριστοκλῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ πάππου καλούμενος [ὄνομα], καθὰ φησιν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς. ἔνιοι δὲ διὰ τὴν πλατύτητα τῆς ἐρμηνείας οὕτως ὀνομασθῆναι· ἢ ὅτι πλατὺς ἦν τὸ μέτωπον, ὡς φησι Νεάνθης. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ παλαισαί φασιν αὐτὸν Ἰσθμοί, καθὰ καὶ Δικαίαρχος ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ  
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the Delians say that Apollo himself was born. He died, according to Hermippus, at a wedding feast, in the first year of the 108th Olympiad, in his eighty-first year.<sup>a</sup> Neanthes, however, makes him die at the age of eighty-four. He is thus seen to be six years the junior of Isocrates. For Isocrates was born in the archonship of Lysimachus,<sup>b</sup> Plato in that of Ameinias, the year of Pericles' death.<sup>c</sup> He belonged to the deme Collytus, as is stated by Antileon in his second book *On Dates*. He was born, according to some, in Aegina, in the house of Phidiades, the son of Thales, as Favorinus states in his *Miscellaneous History*, for his father had been sent along with others to Aegina to settle in the island, but returned to Athens when the Athenians were expelled by the Lacedaemonians, who championed the Aeginetan cause. That Plato acted as choregus at Athens, the cost being defrayed by Dion, is stated by Athenodorus in the eighth book of a work entitled *Walks*. He had two brothers, Adeimantus and Glaucon, and a sister, Potone, who was the mother of Speusippus.

He was taught letters in the school of Dionysius, who is mentioned by him in the *Rivals*. And he learnt gymnastics under Ariston, the Argive wrestler. And from him he received the name of Plato on account of his robust figure, in place of his original name which was Aristocles, after his grandfather, as Alexander informs us in his *Successions of Philosophers*. But others affirm that he got the name Plato from the breadth of his style, or from the breadth of his forehead, as suggested by Neanthes. Others again affirm that he wrestled in the Isthmian Games—this is stated by Dicaearchus in his first book *On Lives*—

<sup>a</sup> 427-347 B.C.

<sup>b</sup> 436-435 B.C.

<sup>c</sup> 429 B.C.

βίων, καὶ γραφικῆς ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ ποιήματα γράφαι, πρῶτον μὲν διθυράμβους, ἔπειτα καὶ μέλη καὶ τραγωδίας. ἰσχυρόφωνός τε, φασίν, ἦν, ὡς καὶ Τιμόθεός φησιν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ βίων. λέγεται δ' ὅτι Σωκράτης ὄναρ εἶδε κύκνου νεοττὸν ἐν τοῖς γόνασιν ἔχειν, ὃν καὶ παραχρῆμα πτεροφυῆσαντα ἀναπτῆναι ἡδὺ κλάγξαντα· καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν Πλάτωνα αὐτῷ συστῆναι, τὸν δὲ τοῦτον εἰπεῖν εἶναι τὸν ὄρνιν.

Ἐφιλοσόφει δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ, εἰτα ἐν τῷ κήπῳ τῷ παρὰ τὸν Κολωνόν, ὡς φησιν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, καθ' Ἡράκλειτον. ἔπειτα μέντοι μέλλων ἀγωνιεῖσθαι τραγωδίᾳ πρὸ τοῦ Διονυσιακοῦ θεάτρου Σωκράτους ἀκούσας κατέφλεξε τὰ ποιήματα εἰπών·

Ἥφαιστε, πρόμολ' ὦδε· Πλάτων νύ τι σείο χατίζει.

τοῦντεῦθεν δὴ γεγωνώς, φασίν, εἴκοσιν ἔτη διήκουσε Σωκράτους· ἐκείνου δ' ἀπελθόντος προσεῖχε Κρατύλῳ τε τῷ Ἡρακλειτείῳ καὶ Ἑρμογένει τῷ τὰ Παρμενίδου φιλοσοφούντι. εἰτα γενόμενος ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη, καθά φησιν Ἑρμοδωρος, εἰς Μέγαρα πρὸς Εὐκλείδην σὺν καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ Σωκρατικοῖς ὑπεχώρησεν. ἔπειτα εἰς Κυρήνην ἀπῆλθε πρὸς Θεόδωρον τὸν μαθηματικόν· κακείθεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν πρὸς τοὺς Πυθαγορικοὺς Φιλόλαον καὶ Εὐρυτον. ἔνθεν τε εἰς Αἴγυπτον παρὰ τοὺς

<sup>a</sup> Compare Apuleius, *De Platone*, p. 64 Goldb. It has been proposed to emend the next sentence by bracketing the words ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ, εἰτα ἐν τῷ κήπῳ τῷ παρὰ τὸν Κολωνόν, as a note inserted by Diogenes Laertius from a different author.

<sup>b</sup> Aelian (*V.H.* ii. 30) has πρὸ τῶν Διονυσίων, "before the festival of Dionysus."

<sup>c</sup> Hom. *Il.* xviii. 392.

and that he applied himself to painting and wrote poems, first dithyrambs, afterwards lyric poems and tragedies. He had, they say, a weak voice; this is confirmed by Timotheus the Athenian in his book *On Lives*. It is stated that Socrates in a dream saw a cygnet on his knees, which all at once put forth plumage, and flew away after uttering a loud sweet note. And the next day Plato was introduced as a pupil, and thereupon he recognized in him the swan of his dream.<sup>a</sup>

At first he used to study philosophy in the Academy, and afterwards in the garden at Colonus (as Alexander states in his *Successions of Philosophers*), as a follower of Heraclitus. Afterwards, when he was about to compete for the prize with a tragedy, he listened to Socrates in front of the theatre of Dionysus,<sup>b</sup> and then consigned his poems to the flames, with the words<sup>c</sup>:

Come hither, O fire-god, Plato now has need of thee.<sup>d</sup>

From that time onward, having reached his twentieth year (so it is said), he was the pupil of Socrates. When Socrates was gone, he attached himself to Cratylus the Heraclitean, and to Hermogenes who professed the philosophy of Parmenides. Then at the age of twenty-eight, according to Hermodorus, he withdrew to Megara to Euclides, with certain other disciples of Socrates. Next he proceeded to Cyrene on a visit to Theodorus the mathematician, thence to Italy to see the Pythagorean philosophers Philolaus and Eurytus, and thence to Egypt to see

<sup>d</sup> ἔπειτα μέντοι . . . τι σείο χατίζει. It is suggested that this sentence also is an insertion by Diogenes, which interrupts the real sequence of the narrative.

προφήτας· οὐ φασι καὶ Εὐριπίδην αὐτῷ συν-  
ακολουθήσαι καὶ αὐτόθι νοσήσαντα πρὸς τῶν  
ιερέων ἀπολυθῆναι τῇ διὰ θαλάττης θεραπείᾳ·  
ὅθεν που καὶ εἶπεν·

θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τὰνθρώπων κακά.

ἡ ἀλλὰ καθ' Ὁμηρον φάναι <περὶ> πάντων ἀνθρώπων<sup>1</sup>  
Αἰγυπτίους ἰατροὺς εἶναι. διέγνω δὲ ὁ Πλάτων  
καὶ τοῖς Μάγοις συμμῖξαι· διὰ δὲ τοὺς τῆς Ἀσίας  
πολέμους ἀπέστη. ἐπανελθὼν δὲ εἰς Ἀθήνας  
διέτριβεν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ. τὸ δ' ἐστὶ γυμνάσιον  
προάστειον ἀλωῶδες ἀπὸ τινος ἡρώος ὀνομασθὲν  
Ἐκαδήμου, καθὰ καὶ Εὐπολὶς ἐν Ἀστρατεύτοις  
φησὶν·

ἐν εὐσκίῳ δρόμοισιν Ἐκαδήμου θεοῦ.

ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Τίμων εἰς τὸν Πλάτωνα λέγων φησί·

τῶν πάντων δ' ἡγήτο πλατίστακος, ἀλλ' ἀγορητῆς  
ἡδυεπής, τέττιξ ἰσογράφος, οἱ θ' Ἐκαδήμου  
δένδρῳ ἐφεζόμενοι ὅπα λειριόεσσαν ἰᾷσιν.

ἡ πρότερον γὰρ διὰ τοῦ ε' Ἐκαδήμεια ἐκαλεῖτο.  
ὁ δ' οὖν φιλόσοφος καὶ Ἰσοκράτει φίλος ἦν. καὶ  
αὐτῶν Πραξιφάνης ἀνέγραψε διατριβὴν τινα περὶ  
ποιητῶν γενομένην ἐν ἀγρῷ παρὰ Πλάτωνι ἐπι-  
ξενωθέντος τοῦ Ἰσοκράτους. καὶ αὐτόν φησιν  
Ἀριστόξενος τρεῖς ἐστρατεύσθαι, ἅπαξ μὲν εἰς  
Τάναγραν, δεύτερον δὲ εἰς Κόρινθον, τρίτον ἐπὶ  
Δηλίῳ· ἔνθα καὶ ἀριστεύσαι. μῖξιν τε ἐποιήσατο  
τῶν τε Ἡρακλειτείων λόγων καὶ Πυθαγορικῶν

<sup>1</sup> πάντας ἀνθρώπους codd.

\* Eur. *Iph. T.* 1193.

\* Od. iv. 231.

## III. 6-8. PLATO

those who interpreted the will of the gods; and  
Euripides is said to have accompanied him thither.  
There he fell sick and was cured by the priests, who  
treated him with sea-water, and for this reason he  
cited the line<sup>a</sup>:

The sea doth wash away all human ills.

Furthermore he said that, according to Homer,<sup>b</sup>  
beyond all men the Egyptians were skilled in healing.  
Plato also intended to make the acquaintance of the  
Magians, but was prevented by the wars in Asia.  
Having returned to Athens, he lived in the Academy,  
which is a gymnasium outside the walls, in a grove  
named after a certain hero, Hecademus, as is stated  
by Eupolis in his play entitled *Shirkers* c:

In the shady walks of the divine Hecademus.

Moreover, there are verses of Timon which refer to  
Plato<sup>d</sup>:

Amongst all of them Plato was the leader, a big fish, but  
a sweet-voiced speaker, musical in prose as the cicada who,  
perched on the trees of Hecademus, pours forth a strain as  
delicate as a lily.

Thus the original name of the place was Hecademy,  
spelt with e. Now Plato was a friend of Isocrates.  
And Praxiphanes makes them converse about poets  
at a country-seat where Plato was entertaining  
Isocrates. And Aristoxenus asserts that he went  
on service three times, first to Tanagra, secondly  
to Corinth, and thirdly at Delium, where also he  
obtained the prize of valour. He mixed together  
doctrines of Heraclitus, the Pythagoreans and

<sup>a</sup> Meineke, *C.G.F.* ii. 437. According to Suidas, s.v.  
Εὐπολὶς, this play had a second title, Ἀνδρογύναι, by which  
alone it is cited in *Etymol. Magnum*.

<sup>c</sup> Fr. 30 D.

καὶ Σωκρατικῶν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ αἰσθητὰ καθ' Ἡρά-  
 κλειτον, τὰ δὲ νοητὰ κατὰ Πυθαγόραν, τὰ δὲ  
 πολιτικὰ κατὰ Σωκράτην ἐφιλοσόφει.

9 Λέγουσι δέ τινες, ὧν ἔστι καὶ Σάτυρος, ὅτι  
 Δίῳ ἐπέστειλεν εἰς Σικελίαν ὠνήσασθαι τρία  
 βιβλία Πυθαγορικὰ παρὰ Φιλολάου μνῶν ἑκατόν.  
 καὶ γὰρ ἐν εὐπορίᾳ, φασίν, ἦν παρὰ Διονυσίου  
 λαβὼν ὑπὲρ τὰ ὀγδοήκοντα τάλαντα, ὡς καὶ  
 Ὀνήτωρ φησὶν ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ "εἰ χρημα-  
 τιεῖται ὁ σοφός." πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' Ἐπιχάρμου  
 τοῦ κωμωδιοποιοῦ προσωφέληται τὰ πλείστα  
 μεταγράψας, καθά φησιν Ἀλκιμος ἐν τοῖς πρὸς  
 Ἀμύνταν, ἃ ἔστι τέτταρα. ἐνθα καὶ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ  
 φησὶ ταῦτα·

"Φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Πλάτων πολλὰ τῶν Ἐπιχάρμου  
 λέγων. σκεπτέον δέ· ὁ Πλάτων φησὶν αἰσθητὸν  
 μὲν εἶναι τὸ μηδέποτε ἐν τῷ ποιῶ μηδὲ ποσῶ  
 10 διαμένον ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ῥέον καὶ μεταβάλλον, ὡς ἐξ ὧν  
 ἂν τις ἀνέλῃ τὸν ἀριθμόν, τούτων οὔτε ἴσων οὔτε  
 τινῶν οὔτε ποσῶν οὔτε ποιῶν ὄντων. ταῦτα δ'  
 ἔστιν ὧν αἰεὶ γένεσις, οὐσία δὲ μηδέποτε πέφυκε.  
 νοητὸν δὲ ἐξ οὗ μηθὲν ἀπογίνεται μηδὲ προσγίνεται.  
 τοῦτο δ' ἔστιν ἡ τῶν αἰδίων φύσις, ἦν ὁμοίαν τε  
 καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ αἰεὶ συμβέβηκεν εἶναι. καὶ μὴν ὁ γε  
 Ἐπίχαρμος περὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν καὶ νοητῶν ἐναργῶς  
 εἶρηκεν·

— ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τοι θεοὶ παρῆσαν χυπέλιπον οὐ πώποκα,  
 τάδε δ' αἰεὶ πάρεσθ' ὁμοῖα διὰ τε τῶν αὐτῶν αἰεὶ.

\* The genuineness of these fragments is doubted by  
 Wilamowitz, Rohde, and others; see Wilamowitz, *Platon*,  
 ii. 28 note 2, and on the other side Diels, note *ad loc.* (*Frag.*  
*der Vorsok.* 13 B. 1-5).

Socrates. In his doctrine of sensible things he  
 agrees with Heraclitus, in his doctrine of the intelli-  
 gible with Pythagoras, and in political philosophy  
 with Socrates.

Some authorities, amongst them Satyrus, say that  
 he wrote to Dion in Sicily instructing him to pur-  
 chase three Pythagorean books from Philolaus for  
 100 minae. For they say he was well off, having  
 received from Dionysius over eighty talents. This  
 is stated by Onetor in an essay upon the theme,  
 "Whether a wise man will make money." Further,  
 he derived great assistance from Epicharmus the  
 Comic poet, for he transcribed a great deal from  
 him, as Alcimus says in the essays dedicated to  
 Amyntas, of which there are four. In the first of  
 them he writes thus:

"It is evident that Plato often employs the words  
 of Epicharmus.\* Just consider. Plato asserts that  
 the object of sense is that which never abides in  
 quality or quantity, but is ever in flux and change.  
 The assumption is that the things from which you  
 take away number are no longer equal nor deter-  
 minate, nor have they quantity or quality. These  
 are the things to which becoming always, and being  
 never, belongs. But the object of thought is some-  
 thing constant from which nothing is subtracted, to  
 which nothing is added. This is the nature of the  
 eternal things, the attribute of which is to be ever  
 alike and the same. And indeed Epicharmus has  
 expressed himself plainly about objects of sense and  
 objects of thought.

A. But gods there always were; never at any time were  
 they wanting, while things in this world are always alike,  
 and are brought about through the same agencies.

- ἀλλὰ λέγεται μὲν χάος πρᾶτον γενέσθαι τῶν θεῶν.  
 — πῶς δέ κα; μὴ ἔχον γ' ἀπὸ τίνος μηδ' ἐς ὃ τι πρᾶτον μῶλοι.  
 — οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμολε πρᾶτον οὐθέν; — οὐδὲ μὰ Δία δεύτερον,  
 11 τῶνδ' ἐγὼ ὦν ἄμες νῦν ὦδε λέγομεν ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τὰδ' ἦν' . . .  
 αἱ πᾶσι ἀριθμὸν τις περισσόν, αἱ δὲ λῆς, πότε ἄρτιον,  
 ποτὲ μὲν λῆ ψᾶφον ἢ καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν λαβεῖν,  
 ἢ δοκεῖ καὶ τοῖ γ' ἔθ' αὐτὸς εἶμεν; — οὐκ ἐμὴν γὰρ κά.  
 — οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ' αἱ ποτὶ μέτρον παχυαῖον ποτὲ μὲν  
 λῆ τις ἕτερον μακρὸς ἢ τοῦ πρόσθ' ἐόντος ἀποταμεῖν,  
 ἔτι χ' ὑπάρχον κῆνον τὸ μέτρον; — οὐ γάρ.  
 — ὦδε νῦν ὄρη  
 καὶ τὸς ἀνθρώπων· ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὖξ' ἐθ', ὁ δὲ γὰρ μὲν φθίνει,  
 ἐν μεταλλαγῇ δὲ πάντες ἐντὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον.  
 ὁ δὲ μεταλλάσσει κατὰ φύσιν κοῦποκ' ἐν ταύτῳ μένει,  
 ἕτερον εἴη καὶ τόδ' <ἀ>εὶ τῷ παρεξιστακότος.  
 καὶ τὸ δὴ καὶ γὰρ χθρὲς ἄλλοι καὶ νῦν ἄλλοι τελέθομεν  
 καὶ οὖτις ἄλλοι κοῦποκ' αὐτοὶ κατὰ <γὰ τοῦτον> τὸν λόγον."

<sup>1</sup> λέγω μέλλει τὰδ' εἶναι codd. : corr. Bergk.

B. Yet it is said that Chaos was the first-born of the gods.

A. How so? If indeed there was nothing out of which, or into which, it could come first.

B. What! Then did nothing come first after all?

A. No, by Zeus, nor second either, at least of the things which we are thus talking about now: on the contrary, they existed from all eternity. . . .

A. But suppose some one chooses to add a single pebble to a heap containing either an odd or an even number, whichever you please, or to take away one of those already there; do you think the number of pebbles would remain the same?

B. Not I.

A. Nor yet, if one chooses to add to a cubit-measure another length,\* or cut off some of what was there already, would the original measure still exist?

B. Of course not.

A. Now consider mankind in this same way. One man grows, and another again shrinks; and they are all undergoing change the whole time. But a thing which naturally changes and never remains in the same state must ever be different from that which has thus changed. And even so you and I were one pair of men yesterday, are another to-day, and again will be another to-morrow, and will never remain ourselves, by this same argument."

\* Or, reading στερεόν for ἕτερον, "a substantial length."

- 12 "Ετι φησὶν ὁ Ἀλκιμος καὶ ταυτί· " φασὶν οἱ σοφοὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τὰ μὲν διὰ τοῦ σώματος αἰσθάνεσθαι ὅλον ἀκούουσιν, βλέπουσιν, τὰ δ' αὐτὴν καθ' αὐτὴν ἐνθυμεῖσθαι μὴδὲν τῷ σώματι χρωμένην· διὸ καὶ τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν αἰσθητὰ εἶναι, τὰ δὲ νοητά. ὧν ἕνεκα καὶ Πλάτων ἔλεγεν, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς συνιδεῖν τὰς τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχὰς ἐπιθυμοῦντας πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὰς καθ' αὐτὰς διελέσθαι τὰς ἰδέας, ὅλον ὁμοιότητα καὶ μονάδα καὶ πλῆθος καὶ μέγεθος καὶ στάσις καὶ κίνησις· δεύτερον αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ τὸ 13 καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ δίκαιον καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑποθέσθαι· τρίτον τῶν ἰδεῶν συνιδεῖν ὅσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας εἰσὶν, ὅλον ἐπιστήμην ἢ μέγεθος ἢ δεσποτείαν (ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν διὰ τὸ μετέχειν ἐκείνων ὁμώνυμα ἐκείνοις ὑπάρχει· λέγω δὲ ὅλον δίκαια μὲν ὅσα τοῦ δικαίου, καλὰ δὲ ὅσα τοῦ καλοῦ). ἔστι δὲ τῶν εἰδῶν ἕν ἕκαστον αἰδιόν τε καὶ νόημα καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἀπαθές. [διὸ καὶ φησιν ἐν τῇ φύσει τὰς ἰδέας ἐστάναι καθάπερ παραδείγματα, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ταύταις εἰκέναι τούτων ὁμοιώματα καθεστῶτα.] ὁ τοίνυν Ἐπίχαρμος περὶ 14 τε τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδεῶν οὕτω λέγει·

- 14 ἀρ' ἔστιν αὐλησίς τι πρᾶγμα; — πάνυ μὲν οὖν.  
— ἀνθρωπος οὖν αὐλησίς ἐστιν; — οὐθαμῶς.  
— φέρ' ἴδω, τί δ' αὐλητάς; τίς εἰμέν τοι δοκεῖ;  
ἀνθρωπος; ἢ οὐ γάρ; — πάνυ μὲν οὖν. — οὐκ  
οὕτως ἔχειν <κα> καὶ περὶ τὰγαθοῦ; τὸ μὲν

Again, Alcimus makes this further statement: "There are some things, say the wise, which the soul perceives through the body, as in seeing and hearing; there are other things which it discerns by itself without the aid of the body. Hence it follows that of existing things some are objects of sense and others objects of thought. Hence Plato said that, if we wish to take in at one glance the principles underlying the universe, we must first distinguish the ideas by themselves, for example, likeness, unity and plurality, magnitude, rest and motion; next we must assume the existence of beauty, goodness, justice and the like, each existing in and for itself; in the third place we must see how many of the ideas are relative to other ideas, as are knowledge, or magnitude, or ownership, remembering that the things within our experience bear the same names as those ideas because they partake of them; I mean that things which partake of justice are just, things which partake of beauty are beautiful. (Each one of the ideas is eternal, it is a notion, and moreover is incapable of change. Hence Plato says that they stand in nature like archetypes, and that all things else bear a resemblance to the ideas because they are copies of these archetypes. Now here are the words of Epicharmus about the good and about the ideas :

- A. Is flute-playing a thing?  
B. Most certainly.  
A. Is man then flute-playing?  
B. By no means.  
A. Come, let me see, what is a flute-player? Whom do you take him to be? Is he not a man?  
B. Most certainly.  
A. Well, don't you think the same would be the case with

ἀγαθόν τι πρᾶγμ' εἰμεν καθ' αὐθ', ὅστις δέ κα  
εἰδῆ μαθὼν τῇν', ἀγαθὸς ἤδη γίγνεται.  
ὥσπερ γάρ ἐστ' αὐλησιν αὐλητὰς μαθὼν  
ἢ ὄρχησιν ὄρχηστὰς τις ἢ πλοκεὺς πλοκάν,  
ἢ πᾶν γ' ὁμοίως τῶν τοιοῦτων ὃ τι τὸ λῆς,  
οὐ χ' αὐτὸς εἴη χά τέχνα, τεχνικός γα μάν.

- 15 Πλάτων ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν ἰδεῶν ὑπολήψει φησίν,  
εἴπερ ἐστὶ μνήμη, τὰς ἰδέας ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ὑπάρχειν  
διὰ τὸ τὴν μνήμην ἡρεμουντὸς τινος καὶ μένοντος  
εἶναι· μένειν δὲ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ τὰς ἰδέας. 'τίνα  
γὰρ ἂν τρόπον,' φησί, 'διεσώζετο τὰ ζῶα μὴ τῆς  
ἰδέας ἐφαπτόμενα καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τὸν νοῦν φυσικὸν  
εἰληφότα; νῦν δὲ μνημονεύει τῆς ὁμοιότητός τε  
καὶ τροφῆς, ὅποια τις ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, ἐνδεικνύμενα  
διότι πᾶσι τοῖς ζῴοις ἐμφυτὸς ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς ὁμοιό-  
τητος θεωρία· διὸ καὶ τῶν ὁμοφύλων αἰσθάνεται.'  
πῶς οὖν ὁ Ἐπίχαρμος;

- 16 Εὐμαίε, τὸ σοφὸν ἐστὶν οὐ καθ' ἐν μόνον,  
ἀλλ' ὅσα περ ζῇ, πάντα καὶ γνῶμαν ἔχει.  
καὶ γὰρ τὸ θῆλυ τῶν ἀλεκτορίδων γένος,  
αἱ λῆς καταμαθεὶν ἀπενέες, οὐ τίκτει τέκνα  
ζῶντ', ἀλλ' ἐπώζει καὶ ποιεῖ ψυχὰν ἔχειν.  
τὸ δὲ σοφὸν ἂ φύσις τόδ' οἶδεν ὥς ἔχει  
μόνα· πεπαιδευταὶ γὰρ αὐταύτας ὕπο.

καὶ πάλιν·

θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν ἂμὲ ταῦθ' οὕτω λέγειν  
καὶ ἀνδάνειν αὐτοῖσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ δοκεῖν  
καλῶς πεφύκεν· καὶ γὰρ ἂ κύων κυνὶ  
κάλλιστον εἰμεν φαίνεται καὶ βοὺς βοῖ,  
ὄνος δ' ὄνῳ κάλλιστον, ὅς δὲ θην ὕι."

the good? Is not the good in itself a thing? And does not he who has learnt that thing and knows it at once become good? For, just as he becomes a flute-player by learning flute-playing, or a dancer when he has learnt dancing, or a plaiter when he has learnt plaiting, in the same way, if he has learnt anything of the sort, whatever you like, he would not be one with the craft but he would be the craftsman.

Now Plato in conceiving his theory of Ideas says<sup>a</sup>: Since there is such a thing as memory, there must be ideas present in things, because memory is of something stable and permanent, and nothing is permanent except the ideas. 'For how,' he says, 'could animals have survived unless they had apprehended the idea and had been endowed by Nature with intelligence to that end? As it is, they remember similarities and what their food is like, which shows that animals have the innate power of discerning what is similar. And hence they perceive others of their own kind.' How then does Epicharmus put it?

Wisdom is not confined, Eumaeus, to one kind alone, but all living creatures likewise have understanding. For, if you will study intently the hen among poultry, she does not bring forth the chicks alive, but sits clucking on the eggs and wakens life in them. As for this wisdom of hers, the true state of the case is known to Nature alone, for the hen has learnt it from herself.

And again:

It is no wonder then that we talk thus and are pleased with ourselves and think we are fine folk. For a dog appears the fairest of things to a dog, an ox to an ox, an ass to an ass, and verily a pig to a pig."

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Phaedo*, 96 b " (I considered) whether it is blood or air or fire with which we think, or none of these things, but the brain which furnishes the senses of hearing and sight and smell, and from these arise memory and opinion, and from memory and opinion, when they have become stable, in the same way knowledge arises."



17 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα διὰ τῶν τεττάρων βιβλίων παραπήγνυσιν ὁ Ἀλκιμος παρασημαίνων τὴν ἐξ Ἐπιχάρμου Πλάτωνι περιγινομένην ὠφέλειαν. ὅτι δ' οὐδ' αὐτὸς Ἐπίχαρμος ἡγνόνει τὴν αὐτοῦ σοφίαν, μαθεῖν ἔστι καὶ τούτων ἐν οἷς τὸν ζηλώσοντα προμαντεύεται·

ὡς δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω, — δοκέων γὰρ σάφα ἴσαμι τοῦθ' ὅτι

τῶν ἐμῶν μνάμα ποκ' ἔσσειται λόγων τούτων ἔτι. καὶ λαβὼν τις αὐτὰ περιδύσας τὸ μέτρον ὃ νῦν ἔχει,

εἶμα δούς καὶ πορφυροῦν λόγοισι ποικίλας καλοῖς δυσπάλαιστος ὦν τὸς ἄλλως εὐπαλαίστους ἀποφανεί.

18 Δοκεῖ δὲ Πλάτων καὶ τὰ Σώφρονος τοῦ μιμογράφου βιβλία ἡμελημένα πρῶτος εἰς Ἀθήνας διακομίσαι καὶ ἡθοποιῆσαι πρὸς αὐτόν· ἃ καὶ εὔρεθῆναι ὑπὸ τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτοῦ. τρεῖς δὲ πέπλευκεν εἰς Σικελίαν· πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ θέαν τῆς νῆσου καὶ τῶν κρατήρων, ὅτε καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἑρμοκράτους τύραννος ὦν ἠνάγκασεν ὥστε συμμίξει αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ διαλεγόμενος περὶ τυραννίδος καὶ φάσκων ὡς οὐκ ἔστι τὸ τοῦ κρείττονος συμφέρον αὐτῷ † μόνον, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἀρετῇ διαφέρῃ, προσέκρουσεν αὐτῷ. ὀργισθεὶς γὰρ “οἱ λόγοι σου,” φησί, “γεροντιώσι,” καὶ ὅς· “σοῦ δέ γε τυραννιώσιν.” ἐντεῦθεν ἀγανακτήσας ὁ τύραννος πρῶτον μὲν ἀνελεῖν ὥρμησεν αὐτόν· εἰτα παρακληθεὶς ὑπὸ Δίωνος καὶ Ἀριστομένους τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησε, παρέδωκε δὲ αὐτόν Πόλλιδι τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ κατὰ καιρὸν διὰ πρεσβείαν ἀφιγμένῳ ὥστε ἀποδόσθαι. κα-

These and the like instances Alcimus notes through four books, pointing out the assistance derived by Plato from Epicharmus. That Epicharmus himself was fully conscious of his wisdom can also be seen from the lines in which he foretells that he will have an imitator<sup>a</sup>:

And as I think—for when I think anything I know it full well—that my words will some day be remembered; some one will take them and free them from the metre in which they are now set, nay, will give them instead a purple robe, embroidering it with fine phrases: and, being invincible, he will make every one else an easy prey.

Plato, it seems, was the first to bring to Athens the mimes of Sophron which had been neglected, and to draw characters in the style of that writer; a copy of the mimes, they say, was actually found under his pillow. He made three voyages to Sicily, the first time to see the island and the craters of Etna: on this occasion Dionysius, the son of Hermocrates, being on the throne, forced him to become intimate with him. But when Plato held forth on tyranny and maintained that the interest of the ruler alone was not the best end, unless he were also pre-eminent in virtue, he offended Dionysius, who in his anger exclaimed, “You talk like an old dotard.” “And you like a tyrant,” rejoined Plato. At this the tyrant grew furious and at first was bent on putting him to death; then, when he had been dissuaded from this by Dion and Aristomenes, he did not indeed go so far but handed him over to Pollis the Lacedaemonian, who had just then arrived on an embassy, with orders to sell him into slavery.

<sup>a</sup> This fragment (Fr. 6 D.), which has not the authority of Alcimus, is generally condemned as spurious.

<sup>1</sup> σοῦ] of sol Richards.

κείνος ἀγαγὼν αὐτὸν εἰς Αἴγινα ἐπίπρασκεν· ὅτε καὶ Χάρμανδρος Χαρμανδρίδου ἐγράψατο αὐτῷ δίκην θανάτου κατὰ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς τεθέντα νόμον, τὸν πρῶτον ἐπιβάντα Ἀθηναίων τῇ νήσῳ ἄκριτον ἀπονήσκειν. ἦν δ' αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς τὸν νόμον, καθά φησι Φαβωρίνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ. εἰπόντος δέ τινος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ παιδιάν, φιλόσοφον εἶναι τὸν ἐπιβάντα, ἀπέλυσαν. ἔνιοι δέ φασι παραχθῆναι αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τηρούμενον μηδ' ὅτιοῦν φθέγγασθαι, ἐτοίμως δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὸ συμβαῖνον· οἱ δὲ ἀποκτείναι μὲν αὐτὸν οὐ διέγνωσαν, πωλεῖν δὲ ἔκριναν τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων.

20 Λυτροῦται δὴ αὐτὸν κατὰ τύχην παρὼν Ἀννίκερις ὁ Κυρηναῖος εἴκοσι μνῶν — οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα — καὶ ἀναπέμπει Ἀθήναζε πρὸς τοὺς ἐπαίρους. οἱ δ' εὐθὺς τὰργύριον ἐξέπεμψαν· ὅπερ οὐ προσήκατο εἰπὼν μὴ μόνους ἐκείνους ἀξίους εἶναι Πλάτωνος κῆδεσθαι. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ Δίωνα ἀποστεῖλαί φασι τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὸν μὴ προσέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ κηπιδιον αὐτῷ τὸ ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ πρίασθαι. τὸν μέντοι Πόλλιν λόγος ὑπὸ τε Χαβρίου ἡττηθῆναι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν Ἑλικῇ καταποντωθῆναι τοῦ δαιμονίου μηνίσαντος διὰ τὸν φιλόσοφον, ὡς καὶ Φαβωρίνῳς φησιν ἐν πρώτῳ τῶν Ἀπομνη-  
 21 μονευμάτων. οὐ μὴν ἡσύχαζεν ὁ Διονύσιος· μαθὼν δὲ ἐπέστειλε Πλάτωνι μὴ κακῶς ἀγορεύειν αὐτόν. καὶ ὃς ἀντεπέστειλε μὴ τοσαύτην αὐτῷ σχολὴν εἶναι ὥστε Διονυσίου μεμνηθῆναι.

\* In the tidal wave which swallowed up ten Lacedaemonian triremes in the great earthquake of 372 B.C.: Aelian, *Hist. animal.* xi. 19.

And Pollis took him to Aegina and there offered him for sale. And then Charmandrus, the son of Charmandrides, indicted him on a capital charge according to the law in force among the Aeginetans, to the effect that the first Athenian who set foot upon the island should be put to death without a trial. This law had been passed by the prosecutor himself, according to Favorinus in his *Miscellaneous History*. But when some one urged, though in jest, that the offender was a philosopher, the court acquitted him. There is another version to the effect that he was brought before the assembly and, being kept under close scrutiny, he maintained an absolute silence and awaited the issue with confidence. The assembly decided not to put him to death but to sell him just as if he were a prisoner of war.

Anniceris the Cyrenaic happened to be present and ransomed him for twenty minae—according to others the sum was thirty minae—and dispatched him to Athens to his friends, who immediately remitted the money. But Anniceris declined it, saying that the Athenians were not the only people worthy of the privilege of providing for Plato. Others assert that Dion sent the money and that Anniceris would not take it, but bought for Plato the little garden which is in the Academy. Pollis, however, is stated to have been defeated by Chabrias and afterwards to have been drowned at Helice,<sup>a</sup> his treatment of the philosopher having provoked the wrath of heaven, as Favorinus says in the first book of his *Memorabilia*. Dionysius, indeed, could not rest. On learning the facts he wrote and enjoined upon Plato not to speak evil of him. And Plato replied that he had not the leisure to keep Dionysius in his mind.

Δεύτερον πρὸς τὸν νεώτερον ἦκε Διονύσιον αἰτῶν γῆν καὶ ἀνθρώπους τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτοῦ ζησομένους· ὁ δὲ καίπερ ὑποσχόμενος οὐκ ἐποίησεν. ἔνιοι δὲ φασὶ καὶ κινδυνεύσαι αὐτὸν ὡς ἀναπείθοντα Δίωνα καὶ Θεοδόταν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς νήσου ἐλευθερίᾳ· ὅτε καὶ Ἀρχύτας αὐτὸν ὁ Πυθαγορικὸς γράψας ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς Διονύσιον παρητήσατο καὶ διέσωσεν εἰς Ἀθήνας. ἔστι δὲ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡδε·

“Ἀρχύτας Διονυσίῳ ὑγιαίνειν.

22 “Ἀπεστάλκαμέν τοι πάντες οἱ Πλάτωνος φίλοι τὼς περὶ Λαμίσκον τε καὶ Φωτίδαν ἀπολαμψούμεθα<sup>1</sup> τὸν ἄνδρα κατὰ τὰν παρὰ τὴν γενομένην ὁμολογίαν. ὀρθῶς δὲ καὶ ποιῶνς ἀμμιμνασκόμενος τήνας τὰς σπουδὰς, ἡνίκα πάντας ἀμέ παρεκάλεις πὸτ τὰν Πλάτωνος ἀφίξιν ἀξιῶν προτρέπεσθαι τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναδέχεσθαι τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τὰν ἀσφάλειαν μένοντί τε καὶ ἀφορμῶντι. μέμνασο δὲ καὶ τήνο ὅτι περὶ πολλῷ ἐποιήσω τὰν ἀφίξιν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγάπης ἐκ τήνω τῷ χρόνῳ ὡς οὐδένα τῶν παρὰ τίν. αἱ δὲ τις γέγονε τραχύτας, ἀνθρωπίζειν χρή κάπο- διδόμεν ἅμιν ἀβλαβῇ τὸν ἄνδρα. ταῦτα γὰρ ποιῶν δίκαια πράξεις καὶ ἅμιν χαρίζῃ.”

23 Τρίτον ἦλθε διαλλαξίων Δίωνα Διονυσίῳ· οὐ τυχῶν δὲ ἄπρακτος ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα. ἐνθα πολιτείας μὲν οὐχ ἤψατο, καίτοι πολιτικὸς ὢν ἐξ ὧν γέγραφεν. αἷτιον δὲ τὸ ἤδη τὸν δῆμον ἄλλοις πολιτεύμασιν ἐνειθίσθαι. φησὶ δὲ Παμφίλῃ ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ τῶν Ὑπομνημάτων

<sup>1</sup> ἀπολαμψόμενοι.

The second time he visited the younger Dionysius, requesting of him lands and settlers for the realization of his republic. Dionysius promised them but did not keep his word. Some say that Plato was also in great danger, being suspected of encouraging Dion and Theodotas in a scheme for liberating the whole island; on this occasion Archytas the Pythagorean wrote to Dionysius, procured his pardon, and got him conveyed safe to Athens. The letter runs as follows:

“Archytas to Dionysius, wishing him good health.

“We, being all of us the friends of Plato, have sent to you Lamiscus and Photidas in order to take the philosopher away by the terms of the agreement made with you. You will do well to remember the zeal with which you urged us all to secure Plato's coming to Sicily, determined as you were to persuade him and to undertake, amongst other things, responsibility for his safety so long as he stayed with you and on his return. Remember this too, that you set great store by his coming, and from that time had more regard for him than for any of those at your court. If he has given you offence, it behoves you to behave with humanity and restore him to us unhurt. By so doing you will satisfy justice and at the same time put us under an obligation.”

The third time he came to reconcile Dion and Dionysius, but, failing to do so, returned to his own country without achieving anything. And there he refrained from meddling with politics, although his writings show that he was a statesman. The reason was that the people had already been accustomed to measures and institutions quite different from his own. Pamphila in the twenty-fifth book of her

ὥς Ἀρκάδες καὶ Θηβαῖοι Μεγάλῃν πόλιν οἰκίζοντες  
παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν νομοθέτην· ὁ δὲ μαθὼν ἴσον ἔχειν  
οὐ θέλοντας οὐκ ἐπορεύθη. λόγος ὅτι καὶ Χαβρία  
συνεῖπε τῷ στρατηγῷ φεύγοντι θανάτου μηδενὸς  
24 τῶν πολιτῶν τοῦτο πράξει βουλευθέντος. ὅτε καὶ  
ἀνιόντι αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν σὺν τῷ Χαβρία  
Κρωβύλλος ὁ συκοφάντης ἀπαντήσας φησὶν· “ ἄλλω  
συναγορεύσων ἦκεις, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι καὶ σὲ τὸ Σωκρά-  
τους κώνειον ἀναμένει; ” τὸν δὲ φάναι· “ καὶ ὅτε  
ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐστρατευόμεν, ὑπέμενον τοὺς  
κινδύνους, καὶ νῦν ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθήκοντος διὰ φίλον  
ὑπομενῶ.”

Οὗτος πρῶτος ἐν ἐρωτήσει λόγον παρήνεγκεν,  
ὥς φησι Φαβωρίνος ἐν ὀγδόῃ Παντοδαπῆς ἱστορίας.  
καὶ πρῶτος τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἀνάλυσιν τῆς ζητήσεως  
τρόπον εἰσηγήσατο Λεωδάμαντι τῷ Θασίῳ. καὶ  
πρῶτος ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ ἀντίποδας ὠνόμασε καὶ  
στοιχεῖον καὶ διαλεκτικὴν καὶ ποιότητᾱ<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοῦ  
ἀριθμοῦ τὸν προμήκη καὶ τῶν περάτων τὴν ἐπίπεδον  
ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν.

25 Καὶ πρῶτος τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀντεῖπε πρὸς τὸν  
λόγον τὸν Λυσίου τοῦ Κεφάλου ἐκθέμενος αὐτὸν  
κατὰ λέξιν ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ. καὶ πρῶτος ἐθεώρησε  
τῆς γραμματικῆς τὴν δύναμιν. πρῶτός τε ἀντ-  
ειρηκῶς σχεδὸν ἅπασιν τοῖς πρὸ αὐτοῦ, ζητεῖται διὰ  
τί μὴ ἐμνημόνευσε Δημοκρίτου. τούτου φησὶ  
Νεάνθης ὁ Κυζικηνὸς εἰς Ὀλύμπια ἀνιόντος τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> ποιήματα codd.: corr. Menagius.

• Compare Aelian, *Var. Hist.* ii. 42.

• The same statement that Plato made over to Leodamas  
the analytical method occurs in Proclus, *On Eucl.* i. p. 211,

*Memorabilia* says that the Arcadians and Thebans,  
when they were founding Megalopolis, invited Plato  
to be their legislator; but that, when he discovered  
that they were opposed to equality of possessions,  
he refused to go.<sup>a</sup> There is a story that he pleaded  
for Chabrias the general when he was tried for his  
life, although no one else at Athens would do so,  
and that, on this occasion, as he was going up to the  
Acropolis along with Chabrias, Crobylus the informer  
met him and said, “ What, are you come to speak  
for the defence? Don’t you know that the hemlock  
of Socrates awaits you?” To this Plato replied,  
“ As I faced dangers when serving in the cause of  
my country, so I will face them now in the cause of  
duty for a friend.”

He was the first to introduce argument by means  
of question and answer, says Favorinus in the eighth  
book of his *Miscellaneous History*; he was the first  
to explain to Leodamas of Thasos the method of  
solving problems by analysis<sup>b</sup>; and the first who in  
philosophical discussion employed the terms anti-  
podes, element, dialectic, quality, oblong number,  
and, among boundaries, the plane superficies; also  
divine providence.

He was also the first philosopher who controverted  
the speech of Lysias, the son of Cephalus, which he  
has set out word for word in the *Phaedrus*,<sup>c</sup> and the  
first to study the significance of grammar. And, as  
he was the first to attack the views of almost all his  
predecessors, the question is raised why he makes  
no mention of Democritus. Neanthes of Cyzicus  
says that, on his going to Olympia, the eyes of all  
19-23 ed. Friedlein. See T. L. Heath, *Euclid*, vol. i. p. 36,  
also p. 134 note 1, and p. 137; vol. iii. p. 246.

<sup>a</sup> 230 E sqq.

Ἑλλήνας ἅπαντας ἐπιστραφῆναι εἰς αὐτόν· ὅτε καὶ Δίῳ συνέμιξε μέλλοντι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Διονύσιον. ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων Φαβρίνου φέρεται ὅτι Μιθραδάτης ὁ Πέρσης ἀνδριάντα Πλάτωνος ἀνέθετο εἰς τὴν Ἀκαδημειαν καὶ ἐπέγραψε· “Μιθραδάτης Ὀροντοβάτου Πέρσης Μούσαις εἰκόνα ἀνέθηκε Πλάτωνος, ἣν Σιλανίον ἐποίησε.”

26 Φησὶ δ' Ἡρακλείδης ὅτι νέος ὢν οὕτως ἦν αἰδήμων καὶ κόσμιος ὥστε μηδέποτε ὀφθῆναι γελῶν ὑπεράγαν· τοιοῦτος δ' ὢν ὁμως ἐσκώφθη καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν κωμικῶν. Θεόπομπος γοῦν ἐν Ἡδυχάρει φησὶν οὕτως·

ἐν γάρ ἐστιν οὐδὲ ἓν,  
 τῷ δὲ δύο μόλις ἓν ἐστιν, ὥς φησι Πλάτων.

ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀναξανδρίδης ἐν Θησεΐ·

ὅτε τὰς μορίας ἔτρωγεν ὥσπερ <εἰ> Πλάτων.

ἀλλὰ καὶ Τίμων οὕτως ἰ παραγραμματίζων αὐτόν·  
 ὥς ἀνέπλασσε Πλάτων <ὁ> πεπλασμένα θαύματα εἰδώς.

27 Ἀλεξὶς Μεροπίδι·

εἰς καιρὸν ἤκει· ὥς ἔγωγ' ἀπορουμένη  
 ἄνω κάτω τε περιπατοῦσ' ὥσπερ Πλάτων  
 σοφὸν οὐδὲν εὔρηκ', ἀλλὰ κοπιῶ τὰ σκέλη.

καὶ ἐν Ἀγκυλίῳ·

λέγεις περὶ ὧν οὐκ οἶσθα· συγγενοῦ τρέχων  
 Πλάτωνι καὶ γνώσῃ λίτρον καὶ κρόμμυον.

Ἀμφὶς Ἀμφικράτει·

the Greeks were turned towards him, and there he met Dion, who was about to make his expedition against Dionysius. In the first book of the *Memoabilia* of Favorinus there is a statement that Mithradates the Persian set up a statue of Plato in the Academy and inscribed upon it these words: "Mithradates the Persian, the son of Orontobates, dedicated to the Muses a likeness of Plato made by Silanion."

Heraclides declares that in his youth he was so modest and orderly that he was never seen to laugh outright. In spite of this he too was ridiculed by the Comic poets. At any rate Theopompus in his *Hedychares* says<sup>a</sup>:

There is not anything that is truly one, even the number two is scarcely one, according to Plato.

Moreover, Anaxandrides<sup>b</sup> in his *Theseus* says:

He was eating olives exactly like Plato.

Then there is Timon who puns on his name thus:
<sup>c</sup>

As Plato placed strange platitudes.

Alexis again in the *Meropis*:
<sup>d</sup>

You have come in the nick of time. For I am at my wits' end and walking up and down, like Plato, and yet have discovered no wise plan but only tired my legs.

And in the *Ancylion*:
<sup>e</sup>

You don't know what you are talking about: run about with Plato, and you'll know all about soap and onions.

Amphis,<sup>f</sup> too, in the *Amphicrates* says:

<sup>a</sup> Meineke, *C.G.F.* ii. 796.

<sup>b</sup> Comic poet; *ib.* iii. 170.

<sup>c</sup> *ib.* iii. 451.

<sup>d</sup> *ib.* vi. 25.

<sup>e</sup> *ib.* iii. 382.

<sup>f</sup> A poet of the Middle Comedy; Meineke, *loc. cit.* iii. 302.

τὸ δ' ἀγαθὸν ὅ τι ποτ' ἐστίν, οὐδ' ἐγὼ οἶδα ταύτην, ἥ ττον οἶδα τοῦτ' ἐγώ,  
ὡ δέσποτ', ἥ τὸ Πλάτωνος ἀγαθόν.—πρόσεχε δὴ.  
28 ἐν Δεξιδημίδῃ.

ὦ Πλάτων,  
ὥς οὐδὲν οἶσθα<sup>1</sup> πλὴν σκυθρωπάζειν μόνον,  
ὥσπερ κοχλίας σεμνῶς ἐπηρκῶς τὰς ὀφρύς.  
Κρατίνος Ψευδυποβολιμαίῳ.  
ἄνθρωπος εἰ δὴλονότι καὶ ψυχὴν ἔχεις.  
—κατὰ τὸν Πλάτων' οὐκ οἶδα <δ'>, ὑπονοῶ  
δ' ἔχειν.

Ἄλεξις Ὀλυμπιοδώρῳ.  
σῶμα μὲν ὁμοῦ τὸ θνητὸν αἶον ἐγένετο,  
τὸ δ' ἀθάνατον ἐξῆξ<sup>2</sup> πρὸς τὸν αἶρα.  
—ταῦτ' οὐ σχολὴ Πλάτωνος;  
καὶ ἐν Παρασίτῳ.

ἥ μετὰ Πλάτωνος ἀδολεσχεῖν κατὰ μόνας.  
χλευάζει δ' αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀναξίλας Βοτρυλίωνι καὶ  
Κίρκῃ καὶ Πλουσίαῖς.  
29 Ἀρίστιππος δ' ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ Περὶ παλαιᾶς  
τρυφῆς φησιν αὐτὸν Ἀστέρος μειρακίου τινὸς  
ἀστρολογεῖν συνασκειμένου ἐρασθῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
Δίωνος τοῦ προειρημένου—ἐνιοὶ καὶ Φαίδρου  
φασί—δηλοῦν δὲ τὸν ἔρωτα αὐτοῦ τάδε τὰ  
ἐπιγράμματα, ἃ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι εἰς  
αὐτοῦς.

ἀστέρας εἰσαθρεῖς Ἀστήρ ἐμός· εἴθε γενοίμην  
οὐρανός, ὥς πολλοῖς ὁμμασιν εἰς σέ βλέπω.

<sup>1</sup> ἦσθα codd. : ἦσθα edd. Basil.

<sup>2</sup> ἐξῆξε] ἐξῆρε codd. : corr. G. Hermann.

A. And as for the good, whatever that be, that you are likely to get on her account, I know no more about it, master, than I do of the good of Plato.

B. Just attend.

And in the *Dexidemides* <sup>a</sup> :

O Plato, all you know is how to frown with eyebrows lifted high like any snail.

Cratinus, <sup>b</sup> too, in *The False Changeling* :

A. Clearly you are a man and have a soul.

B. In Plato's words, I am not sure but suspect that I have.

And Alexis in the *Olympiodorus* <sup>c</sup> :

A. My mortal body withered up, my immortal part sped into the air.

B. Is not this a lecture of Plato's?

And in the *Parasite* <sup>d</sup> :

Or, with Plato, to converse alone.

Anaxilas, <sup>e</sup> again, in the *Botrylion*, and in *Circe and Rich Women*, has a gibe at him.

Aristippus in his fourth book *On the Luxury of the Ancients* says that he was attached to a youth named Aster, who joined him in the study of astronomy, as also to Dion who has been mentioned above, and, as some aver, to Phaedrus too. His passionate affection is revealed in the following epigrams which he is said to have written upon them <sup>f</sup> :

Star-gazing Aster, would I were the skies,  
To gaze upon thee with a thousand eyes.

<sup>a</sup> Meineke, *C.G.F.* iii. 305.

<sup>b</sup> So. Cratinus Junior, of the Middle Comedy; Meineke, *C.G.F.* iii. 378.

<sup>c</sup> Meineke, *C.G.F.* iii. 455.

<sup>d</sup> *Ib.* iii. 468.

<sup>e</sup> Of the Middle Comedy; Meineke, iii. 342-352.

<sup>f</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 669, 670.

καὶ ἄλλο·

ἀστὴρ πρὶν μὲν ἑλαμπες ἐνὶ ζωοῖσιν Ἐῷος,  
νῦν δὲ θανῶν λάμπεις Ἑσπερος ἐν φθιμένοισι.

30 εἰς δὲ τὸν Δίωνα ὤδε·

δάκρυα μὲν Ἑκάβη τε καὶ Ἰλιάδεσσι γυναιξὶ  
Μοῖραι ἐπέκλωσαν δὴ τότε γεινομέναις,  
σοὶ δέ, Δίω,ν, ῥέξαντι καλῶν ἐπινίκιον ἔργων  
δαίμονες εὐροίας ἐλπίδας ἐξέχεαν.  
κεῖσαι δ' εὐρυχόρῳ ἐν πατρίδι τίμιος ἀστοῖς,  
ὦ ἐμὸν ἐκμήνας θυμὸν ἔρωτι Δίω.

31 τοῦτο καὶ ἐπιγεγράφθαι φησὶν ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐπὶ  
τῷ τάφῳ.

Ἄλλὰ καὶ Ἀλέξιδος, φασίν, ἐρασθεὶς καὶ  
Φαῖδρου, καθὰ προεῖρηται, τοῦτον ἐποίησε τὸν  
τρόπον·

νῦν, ὅτε μηδὲν Ἀλέξιν ὅσον μόνον εἶφ' ὅτι καλός,  
ᾧπται καὶ πάντῃ πᾶς τις ἐπιστρέφεται.

θυμέ, τί μηνύεις κυσὶν ὀστέον; εἰτ' ἀνίησιν<sup>1</sup>  
ὑστέρον; οὐχ οὕτω Φαῖδρον ἀπωλέσαμεν;

ἔχειν τε Ἀρχεάνασσαν, εἰς ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν οὕτω  
ποιῆσαι·

Ἀρχεάνασσαν ἔχω τὴν ἐκ Κολοφῶνος ἑταίραν,  
ἥς καὶ ἐπὶ ῥυτίδων ἔζητο δριμύς ἔρως.

ἃ δειλοὶ νεότητος ἀπαντήσαντες ἐκείνης  
πρωτοπλόου, δι' ὅσης ἤλθετε πυρκαϊῆς.

32 ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Ἀγάθωνα·

τὴν ψυχὴν Ἀγάθωνα φιλῶν ἐπὶ χεῖλεσιν εἶχον·  
ἦλθε γὰρ ἡ τλήμων ὥς διαβησομένη.

<sup>1</sup> ἀνίησιν ἀνίησεις codd.

And another :

Among the living once the Morning Star,  
Thou shin'st, now dead, like Hesper from afar.

And he wrote thus upon Dion<sup>a</sup> :

Tears from their birth the lot had been  
Of Ilium's daughters and their queen.  
By thee, O Dion, great deeds done  
New hopes and larger promise won.  
Now here thou liest gloriously,  
How deeply loved, how mourned by me.

This, they say, was actually inscribed upon his tomb  
at Syracuse.

Again, it is said that being enamoured of Alexis  
and Phaedrus, as before mentioned, he composed  
the following lines<sup>b</sup> :

Now, when Alexis is of no account, I have said no more  
than this. He is fair to see, and everywhere all eyes are  
turned upon him. Why, my heart, do you show the dogs  
a bone? And then will you smart for this hereafter? Was  
it not thus that we lost Phaedrus?

He is also credited with a mistress, Archeanassa, upon  
whom he wrote as follows<sup>c</sup> :

I have a mistress, fair Archeanassa of Colophon, on whose  
very wrinkles sits hot love. O hapless ye who met such  
beauty on its first voyage, what a flame must have been  
kindled in you!

There is another upon Agathon<sup>d</sup> :

While kissing Agathon, my soul leapt to my lips, as if  
fain, alas! to pass over to him.

<sup>a</sup> Anth. Pal. vii. 99.

<sup>b</sup> Anth. Pal. vii. 217.

<sup>c</sup> Anth. Pal. vii. 100.

<sup>d</sup> Anth. Pal. v. 78.

καὶ ἄλλο·

τῷ μῆλῳ βάλλω σε· σὺ δ' εἰ μὲν ἐκοῦσα φιλεῖς με,  
 δεξαμένη τῆς σῆς παρθενίης μεταδός,  
 εἰ δ' ἄρ' ὁ μὴ γίγνοιτο νοεῖς, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ λαβοῦσα  
 σκέψαι τὴν ὥρην ὡς ὀλιγοχρόνιος.

<καὶ ἄλλο>·

μῆλον ἐγώ. βάλλει με φιλῶν σέ τις· ἀλλ'  
 ἐπίνευσον

Ξανθίππῃ· καὶ γὰρ σὺ μαραινόμεθα.

83 Φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ εἰς τοὺς Ἐρετριέας τοὺς σαγηνευ-  
 θέντας αὐτοῦ εἶναι·

Εὐβοίης γένος εἰμὲν Ἐρετρικόν, ἄγχι δὲ Σούσαν  
 κείμεθα· φεῦ, γαίης ὅσσον ἄφ' ἡμετέρης.

καὶ κεῖνο·

ἂ Κύπρις Μούσαισι· “κοράσια, τὰν Ἀφροδίταν  
 τιμᾷτ' ἢ τὸν Ἐρωτ' ὕμνῳ ἐφοπλίσομαι.”  
 αἱ Μούσαι ποτὶ Κύπριν· “Ἄρει τὰ στωμύλα  
 ταῦτα·  
 ἡμῖν οὐ πέτεται τοῦτο τὸ παιδάριον.”

καὶ ἄλλο·

χρυσὸν ἀνὴρ εὐρὼν ἔλιπεν βρόχον· αὐτὰρ ὁ  
 χρυσὸν  
 ὃν λίπεν οὐχ εὐρὼν ἦψεν ὃν εὔρε βρόχον.

34 Ἀλλὰ τοι Μόλων ἀπεχθῶς ἔχων πρὸς αὐτόν, “οὐ  
 τοῦτο,” φησί, “θαυμαστόν εἰ Διονύσιος ἐν Κορίνθῳ,  
 ἀλλ' εἰ Πλάτων ἐν Σικελίᾳ.” ἔοικε δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶν  
 πρὸς αὐτόν ἔχειν οὐκ εὐμενῶς. ὥσπερ γοῦν  
 διαφιλονεικοῦντες τὰ ὅμοια γεγράφασι, Συμπόσιον,

\* Anth. Pal. v. 79.

\* Anth. Pal. v. 80.

And another<sup>a</sup>:

I throw an apple to you and, if indeed you are willing to  
 love me, then receive it and let me taste your virgin charms.  
 But if you are otherwise minded, which heaven forbid, take  
 this very apple and see how short-lived all beauty is.

And another<sup>b</sup>:

An apple am I, thrown by one who loves you. Nay,  
 Xanthippe, give consent, for you and I are both born to  
 decay.

It is also said that the epigram on the Eretrians,  
 who were swept out of the country, was written by  
 him<sup>c</sup>:

We are Eretrians by race, from Euboea, and lie near  
 Susa. How far, alas, from our native land!

And again<sup>d</sup>:

Thus Venus to the Muses spoke:  
 Damsels, submit to Venus' yoke,  
 Or dread my Cupid's arms.

Those threats, the virgins nine replied,  
 May weigh with Mars, but we deride  
 Love's wrongs, or darts, or charms.

And again<sup>e</sup>:

A certain person found some gold,  
 Carried it off and, in its stead,  
 Left a strong halter, neatly rolled.  
 The owner found his treasure fled,  
 And, daunted by his fortune's wreck,  
 Fitted the halter to his neck.

Further, Molon, being his enemy, said, “It is not  
 wonderful that Dionysius should be in Corinth, but  
 rather that Plato should be in Sicily.” And it seems  
 that Xenophon was not on good terms with him.  
 At any rate, they have written similar narratives as  
 if out of rivalry with each other, a *Symposium*, a

\* Anth. Pal. vii. 259.

\* Anth. Pal. ix. 39.

\* Anth. Pal. ix. 44.



Σωκράτους ἀπολογία, τὰ ἠθικὰ ἀπομνημονεύ-  
 ματα — εἶθ' ὁ μὲν Πολιτείαν, ὁ δὲ Κύρου παιδείαν.  
 καὶ ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις ὁ Πλάτων πλάσμα φησὶν εἶναι  
 τὴν παιδείαν αὐτοῦ· μὴ γὰρ εἶναι Κῦρον τοιοῦτον  
 — ἀμφότεροί τε Σωκράτους μνημονεύοντες, ἀλλή-  
 λων οὐδαμοῦ, πλὴν Ξενοφῶν Πλάτωνος ἐν τρίτῳ  
 85 Ἀπομνημονευμάτων. λέγεται δ' ὅτι καὶ Ἀντι-  
 σθένης μέλλων ἀναγινώσκειν τι τῶν γεγραμμένων  
 αὐτῷ παρεκάλεσεν αὐτὸν παρατυχεῖν. καὶ πυθο-  
 μένου, τί μέλλει ἀναγινώσκειν, εἶπεν ὅτι περὶ τοῦ  
 μὴ εἶναι ἀντιλέγειν· τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος· “πῶς οὖν σὺ  
 περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου γράφεις;” καὶ διδάσκοντος ὅτι  
 περιτρέπεται, ἔγραψε διάλογον κατὰ Πλάτωνος  
 Σάθωνα ἐπιγράψας· ἐξ οὗ διετέλουν ἀλλοτρίως  
 ἔχοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους. φασὶ δὲ καὶ Σωκράτην  
 ἀκούσαντα τὸν Λύσιον ἀναγινώσκοντος Πλάτωνος  
 “Ἡράκλεις,” εἰπεῖν, “ὡς πολλά μου καταψεύδεθ'  
 ὁ νεανίσκος.” οὐκ ὀλίγα γὰρ ὦν οὐκ εἶρηκε  
 Σωκράτης γέγραφεν ἀνὴρ.  
 86 Εἶχε δὲ φιλέχθρως ὁ Πλάτων καὶ πρὸς Ἀρίστ-  
 ιππον. ἐν γοῦν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς διαβάλλων αὐτὸν  
 φησιν ὅτι οὐ παρεγένετο Σωκράτει τελευτῶντι,  
 ἀλλ' ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ἦν καὶ συνέγγυς. καὶ πρὸς Αἰσχίνην  
 δέ τινα φιλοτιμίαν εἶχε, φασίν, ὅτι δὴ περ καὶ  
 αὐτὸς εὐδοκίμει παρὰ Διονυσίῳ. ὃν ἐλθόντα δι'  
 ἀπορίαν ὑπὸ μὲν Πλάτωνος παροφθῆναι, ὑπὸ δ'  
 Ἀριστίππου συσταθῆναι. τοὺς τε λόγους οὗς  
 Κρίτωνι περιτέθεικεν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ περὶ τῆς  
 φυγῆς συμβουλευόντι, φησὶν Ἰδομενεὺς εἶναι Αἰ-

*Defence of Socrates*, and their moral treatises or  
*Memorabilia*.<sup>a</sup> Next, the one wrote a *Republic*, the  
 other a *Cyropaedia*. And in the *Laws* <sup>b</sup> Plato de-  
 clares the story of the education of Cyrus to be a  
 fiction, for that Cyrus did not answer to the descrip-  
 tion of him. And although both make mention of  
 Socrates, neither of them refers to the other, except  
 that Xenophon mentions Plato in the third book of  
 his *Memorabilia*. It is said also that Antisthenes,  
 being about to read publicly something that he had  
 composed, invited Plato to be present. And on his  
 inquiring what he was about to read, Antisthenes  
 replied that it was something about the impossibility  
 of contradiction. “How then,” said Plato, “can  
 you write on this subject?” thus showing him that  
 the argument refutes itself. Thereupon he wrote a  
 dialogue against Plato and entitled it *Sathon*. After  
 this they continued to be estranged from one another.  
 They say that, on hearing Plato read the *Lysis*,  
 Socrates exclaimed, “By Heracles, what a number  
 of lies this young man is telling about me!” For  
 he has included in the dialogue much that Socrates  
 never said.

Plato was also on bad terms with Aristippus. At  
 least in the dialogue *Of the Soul* <sup>c</sup> he disparages him  
 by saying that he was not present at the death of  
 Socrates, though he was no farther off than Aegina.  
 Again, they say that he showed a certain jealousy of  
 Aeschines, because of his reputation with Dionysius,  
 and that, when he arrived at the court, he was  
 despised by Plato because of his poverty, but sup-  
 ported by Aristippus. And Idomeneus asserts that  
 the arguments used by Crito, when in the prison he  
 urges Socrates to escape, are really due to Aeschines,

<sup>a</sup> Diogenes is probably comparing with the *Memorabilia*  
 the shorter dialogues of Plato, the *Laches*, *Charmides*,  
*Crito*, etc. <sup>b</sup> 694 c. <sup>c</sup> Cf. ii. 65 with note.

σχίνου· τὸν δ' ἐκείνῳ περιθεῖναι διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοῦτον δυσμένειαν.

37 Ἐαυτοῦ τε Πλάτων οὐδαμῶθι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ συγγραμμάτων μνήμην πεποιήται ὅτι μὴ ἐν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ Ἀπολογίᾳ. φησὶ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης τὴν τῶν λόγων ἰδέαν αὐτοῦ μεταξύ ποιήματος εἶναι καὶ πεζοῦ λόγου. τοῦτον μόνον παραμεῖναι Πλάτωνι Φαβωρινὸς ποῦ φησιν ἀναγινώσκοντι τὸν Περὶ ψυχῆς, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀναστῆναι πάντας. ἐνίοι τε φασὶν ὅτι Φίλιππος ὁ Ὀπούντιος τοὺς Νόμους αὐτοῦ μετέγραψεν ὄντας ἐν κηρῷ. τούτου δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἐπινομίδα φασὶν εἶναι. Εὐφορίων δὲ καὶ Παναίτιος εἰρήκασιν πολλάκις ἐστραμμένην εὐρῆσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Πολιτείας. ἣν Πολιτείαν Ἀριστόξενος φησὶ πᾶσαν σχεδὸν ἐν τοῖς Πρωτ-  
38 ἀγόρου γεγράφθαι Ἀντιλογικοῖς. λόγος δὲ πρῶτον γράψαι αὐτὸν τὸν Φαῖδρον· καὶ γὰρ ἔχειν μεираκιῶδές τι τὸ πρόβλημα. Δικαίαρχος δὲ καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς γραφῆς ὅλον ἐπιμέμφεται ὡς φορτικόν.

Ὁ γοῦν Πλάτων λέγεται θεασάμενός τινα κυβεύοντα αἰτιάσασθαι· τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος ὡς ἐπὶ μικροῖς, "ἀλλὰ τό γ' ἔθος," εἰπεῖν, "οὐ μικρόν." ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ ἀπομνημονεύματα αὐτοῦ ἔσται ὥσπερ τῶν πρότερον ἀπεκρίνατο· "ὀνόματος δεῖ τυχεῖν πρῶτον, εἴτα πολλὰ ἔσται." εἰσελθόντος ποτὲ Ξενοκράτους εἶπε μαστιγῶσαι τὸν παῖδα· αὐτὸν  
39 γὰρ μὴ δύνασθαι διὰ τὸ ὠργίσθαι. ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τινα τῶν παίδων, "μεμαστιγώσω ἄν," εἶπεν, "εἰ μὴ ὠργιζόμεν." ἐφ' ἧππου καθίσας εὐθέως κατέβη

and that Plato transferred them to Crito because of his enmity to Aeschines.

Nowhere in his writings does Plato mention himself by name, except in the dialogue *On the Soul*<sup>a</sup> and the *Apology*.<sup>b</sup> Aristotle remarks that the style of the dialogues is half-way between poetry and prose. And according to Favorinus, when Plato read the dialogue *On the Soul*, Aristotle alone stayed to the end; the rest of the audience got up and went away. Some say that Philippos of Opus copied out the *Laws*, which were left upon waxen tablets, and it is said that he was the author of the *Epinomis*. Euphorion and Panaetius relate that the beginning of the *Republic* was found several times revised and rewritten, and the *Republic* itself Aristoxenus declares to have been nearly all of it included in the *Controversies* of Protagoras. There is a story that the *Phaedrus* was his first dialogue. For the subject has about it something of the freshness of youth. Dicaearchus, however, censures its whole style as vulgar.

A story is told that Plato once saw some one playing at dice and rebuked him. And, upon his protesting that he played for a trifle only, "But the habit," rejoined Plato, "is not a trifle." Being asked whether there would be any memoirs of him as of his predecessors, he replied, "A man must first make a name, and he will have no lack of memoirs." One day, when Xenocrates had come in, Plato asked him to chastise his slave, since he was unable to do it himself because he was in a passion. Further, it is alleged that he said to one of his slaves, "I would have given you a flogging, had I not been in a passion." Being mounted on horseback, he quickly

<sup>a</sup> *Phaedo*, 59 B.

<sup>b</sup> 34 A.

φήσας εὐλαβεῖσθαι μὴ ἵπποτυφίᾳ ληφθῇ. τοῖς μεθύουσι συνεβούλευε κατοπτρίζεσθαι· ἀποστήσεσθαι γὰρ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀσχημοσύνης. πίνειν δ' εἰς μέθην οὐδαμοῦ πρέπον ἔλεγε πλὴν ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς τοῦ καὶ τὸν οἶνον δόντος θεοῦ. καὶ τὸ πολλὰ δὲ καθεύδειν ἀπήρεσκεν αὐτῷ. ἐν γοῦν τοῖς Νόμοις φησί· "κοιμώμενος οὐδεὶς οὐδενὸς ἄξιος"· εἶναι τε ἥδιον τῶν ἀκουσμάτων τὴν ἀλήθειαν· οἱ δὲ τὸ λέγειν τάληθῃ. καὶ περὶ ἀληθείας  
 40 δ' ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις φησὶν οὕτως· "καλὸν μὲν ἢ ἀλήθεια, ὧ ξένη, καὶ μόνιμον· ἔοικε μὴν οὐ ῥάδιον <εἶναι> πείθειν," ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡξίου μνημόσυνον αὐτοῦ λείπεσθαι ἢ ἐν φίλοις ἢ ἐν βιβλίοις· ἐξετόπιζε καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ πλείστα, καθά τινες φασί.

Καὶ ἐτελεύτα μὲν ὃν εἵπομεν τρόπον Φιλίππου βασιλεύοντος ἔτος τρισκαίδεκατον, καθὰ καὶ Φαβωρινός φησιν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων τρίτῳ. ὕφ' οὗ καὶ ἐπιτιμηθῆναι φησιν αὐτὸν Θεόπομπος. Μυρωνιανὸς δ' ἐν Ὁμοίοις φησὶ Φίλωνα παροιμίας μνημονεύειν περὶ τῶν Πλάτωνος φθειρῶν, ὡς  
 41 οὕτως αὐτοῦ τελευτήσαντος. καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ, ἔνθα τὸν πλείστον χρόνον διετέλεσε φιλοσοφῶν. ὅθεν καὶ Ἀκαδημαϊκὴ προσηγορεύθη ἢ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ αἵρεσις. καὶ παρεπέμφθη πανδημει πρὸς τῶν αὐτόθι διαθέμενος τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον·

"Τάδε κατέλιπε Πλάτων καὶ διέθετο· τὸ ἐν

<sup>a</sup> 808 B.

<sup>b</sup> 663 E.

<sup>c</sup> The awkwardness of this last clause can be explained, but not excused, if we suppose that Diogenes Laertius got his citation of Theopompus from Favorinus.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. Hdt. vi. 39 τὸν ἀδελφεὸν δηλαδὴ ἐπιτιμῶν.

got down again, declaring that he was afraid he would be infected with horse-pride. He advised those who got drunk to view themselves in a mirror; for they would then abandon the habit which so disfigured them. To drink to excess was nowhere becoming, he used to say, save at the feasts of the god who was the giver of wine. He also disapproved of over-sleeping. At any rate in the *Laws*<sup>a</sup> he declares that "no one when asleep is good for anything." He also said that the truth is the pleasantest of sounds. Another version of this saying is that the pleasantest of all things is to speak the truth. Again, of truth he speaks thus in the *Laws*<sup>b</sup>: "Truth, O stranger, is a fair and durable thing. But it is a thing of which it is hard to persuade men." His wish always was to leave a memorial of himself behind, either in the hearts of his friends or in his books. He was himself fond of seclusion according to some authorities.

His death, the circumstances of which have already been related, took place in the thirteenth year of the reign of King Philip, as stated by Favorinus in the third book of his *Memorabilia*, and according to Theopompus<sup>c</sup> honours were paid to him at his death by Philip.<sup>d</sup> But Myronianus in his *Parallels* says that Philo mentions some proverbs that were in circulation about Plato's lice, implying that this was the mode of his death. He was buried in the Academy, where he spent the greatest part of his life in philosophical study. And hence the school which he founded was called the Academic school. And all the students there joined in the funeral procession. The terms of his will were as follows:

"These things have been left and devised by

Ἰφιστιαδῶν χωρίον, ᾧ γείτων βορρᾶθεν ἡ ὁδὸς ἣ ἐκ τοῦ Κηφισιάσιν ἱεροῦ, νοτόθεν τὸ Ἡράκλειον τὸ ἐν Ἰφιστιαδῶν, πρὸς ἡλίου δὲ ἀνιόντος Ἀρχέστρατος Φρεάρριος, πρὸς ἡλίου δὲ δυομένου Φιλίππος Χολλείδης· καὶ μὴ ἐξέστω τοῦτο μηδενὶ μήτε ἀποδόσθαι μήτε ἀλλάξασθαι, ἀλλ' ἔστω Ἀδεϊμάντου τοῦ παιδίου εἰς τὸ δυνατόν· καὶ τὸ ἐν Εἰρεσιδῶν χωρίον, ὃ παρὰ Καλλιμάχου ἐπριάμην, ᾧ γείτων βορρᾶθεν Εὐρυμέδων Μυρρινούσιος, νοτόθεν δὲ Δημόστρατος Ξυπεταίων, πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιόντος Εὐρυμέδων Μυρρινούσιος, πρὸς ἡλίου δυομένου Κηφισός· ἀργυρίου μνᾶς τρεῖς· φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν ἔλκουσαν ρξέ', κυμβίον ἄγον με', δακτύλιον χρυσοῦν καὶ ἐνώτιον χρυσοῦν ἄγοντα συνάμφω δ' δραχμάς, ὀβολοὺς γ'. Εὐκλείδης ὁ λιθοτόμος ὀφείλει μοι τρεῖς μνᾶς. Ἄρτεμιν ἀφίημι ἐλευθέραν· οἰκέτας καταλείπω Τύχωνα Βίκταν Ἀπολλωνίδην Διονύσιον· σκευὴ < . . . > τὰ γεγραμμένα, ὧν ἔχει ἀντίγραφα Δημήτριος· ὀφείλω δ' οὐδενὶ οὐθέν· ἐπίτροποι Λεωσθένης Σπεύσιππος Δημήτριος Ἡγίας Εὐρυμέδων Καλλίμαχος Θράσιππος."

Καὶ διέθετο μὲν οὕτως· ἐπεγράφη δ' αὐτοῦ τῷ τάφῳ ἐπιγράμματα τάδε· πρῶτον·

σωφροσύνη προφέρων θνητῶν ἦβει τε δικαίῳ  
ἐνθάδε δὴ κείται θεῖος Ἀριστοκλῆς·  
εἰ δέ τις ἐκ πάντων σοφίης μέγαν ἔσχεν ἔπαινον  
τοῦτον ἔχει πλείστον καὶ φθόνος οὐχ ἔπεται.

44 ἕτερον δέ·

γαῖα μὲν ἐν κόλπῳ κρύπτει τόδε σῶμα Πλάτωνος,  
ψυχὴ δ' ἀθάνατον τάξιν ἔχει μακάρων

Plato: the estate in Iphistiadae, bounded on the north by the road from the temple at Cephisia, on the south by the temple of Heracles in Iphistiadae, on the east by the property of Archestratus of Phrearrhi, on the west by that of Philippus of Chollidae: this it shall be unlawful for anyone to sell or alienate, but it shall be the property of the boy Adeimantus to all intents and purposes: the estate in Eiresidae which I bought of Callimachus, bounded on the north by the property of Eurymedon of Myrrhinus, on the south by the property of Demostratus of Xypete, on the east by that of Eurymedon of Myrrhinus, and on the west by the Cephissus; three minae of silver; a silver vessel weighing 165 drachmas; a cup weighing 45 drachmas; a gold signet-ring and earring together weighing four drachmas and three obols. Euclides the lapidary owes me three minae. I enfranchise Artemis. I leave four household servants, Tychon, Bictas, Apollonides and Dionysius. Household furniture, as set down in the inventory of which Demetrius has the duplicate. I owe no one anything. My executors are Leosthenes, Speusippus, Demetrius, Hegias, Eurymedon, Callimachus and Thrasippus."

Such were the terms of his will. The following epitaphs were inscribed upon his tomb<sup>a</sup>:

Here lies the god-like man Aristocles, eminent among men for temperance and the justice of his character. And he, if ever anyone, had the fullest meed of praise for wisdom, and was too great for envy.

Next<sup>b</sup>:

Earth in her bosom here hides Plato's body, but his soul hath its immortal station with the blest, Ariston's son,

<sup>a</sup> Anth. Pal. vii. 60.

<sup>b</sup> Anth. Pal. vii. 61.

υἱοῦ Ἀρίστωνος, τὸν τις καὶ τηλόθι ναίων  
 τιμᾷ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς θεῖον ἰδόντα βίον.  
 καὶ ἄλλο νεώτερον·

αἰετέ, τίπτε βέβηκας ὑπὲρ τάφον; ἢ τινος, εἰπέ,  
 ἀστερόεντα θεῶν οἶκον ἀποσκοπέεις;  
 —ψυχῆς εἰμι Πλάτωνος ἀποπταμένης ἐς Ὀλυμπον  
 εἰκῶν, σῶμα δὲ <γῇ> γηγενὲς Ἀτθίς ἔχει.

45 ἔστι καὶ ἡμέτερον οὕτως ἔχον·

καὶ πῶς εἰ μὴ Φοῖβος ἀν' Ἑλλάδα φῦσε Πλάτωνα,  
 ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων γράμμασιν ἠκέσατο;  
 καὶ γὰρ ὁ τοῦδε γεγώς Ἀσκληπιὸς ἔστιν ἡγήρ  
 σώματος, ὡς ψυχῆς ἀθανάτοιο Πλάτων.  
 καὶ ἄλλο, ὡς ἐτελεύτα·

Φοῖβος ἔφυσε βροτοῖς Ἀσκληπιὸν ἡδὲ Πλάτωνα,  
 τὸν μὲν ἵνα ψυχὴν, τὸν δ' ἵνα σῶμα σάοι.  
 δαισάμενος δὲ γάμον πόλιν ἤλυθεν, ἣν ποθ' ἑαυτῷ  
 ἔκτισε καὶ πατέδω Ζηνὸς ἐνιδρύσατο.

καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπιγράμματα ταῦτα.

46 Μαθηταὶ δ' αὐτοῦ Σπείσιππος Ἀθηναῖος, Ξενο-  
 κράτης Καλχηδόνιος, Ἀριστοτέλης Σταγειρίτης,  
 Φίλιππος Ὀπουντίος, Ἑστιάιος Περίνθιος, Δίων  
 Συρακόσιος, Ἀμυγκλος Ἡρακλεώτης, Ἑραστός  
 καὶ Κορίσκος Σκήψιοι, Τιμόλαος Κυζικηνός,  
 Εὐαίων Λαμψακηνός, Πύθων καὶ Ἡρακλείδης  
 Αἰνιοί, Ἴπποθάλῃς καὶ Κάλλιππος Ἀθηναῖοι,  
 Δημήτριος Ἀμφιπολίτης, Ἡρακλείδης Ποντικός  
 καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους, σὺν οἷς καὶ γυναῖκες δύο Λα-  
 σθένεια Μαντινικὴ καὶ Ἀξιοθέα Φλειασία ἢ καὶ  
 ἀνδρεῖα ἡμπόσχετο, ὥς φησι Δικαίάρχος. ἔνιοι  
 δὲ καὶ Θεόφραστον ἀκοῦσαι φασιν αὐτοῦ· καὶ

whom every good man, even if he dwell afar off, honours  
 because he discerned the divine life.

And a third of later date\*:

A. Eagle, why fly you o'er this tomb? Say, is your  
 gaze fixed upon the starry house of one of the immortals?

B. I am the image of the soul of Plato, which has soared  
 to Olympus, while his earth-born body rests in Attic soil.

There is also an epitaph of my own which runs  
 thus\*:

If Phoebus did not cause Plato to be born in Greece,  
 how came it that he healed the minds of men by letters?  
 As the god's son Asclepius is a healer of the body, so is  
 Plato of the immortal soul.

And another on the manner of his death\*:

Phoebus gave to mortals Asclepius and Plato, the one to  
 save their souls, the other to save their bodies. From a  
 wedding banquet he has passed to that city which he had  
 founded for himself and planted in the sky.

Such then are his epitaphs.

His disciples were Speusippus of Athens, Xeno-  
 crates of Chalcedon, Aristotle of Stagira, Philippus  
 of Opus, Hestiaeus of Perinthus, Dion of Syracuse,  
 Amyclus of Heraclea, Erastus an Coriscus of  
 Scepsus, Timolaus of Cyzicus, Euæon of Lampsacus,  
 Python and Heraclides of Aenus, Hippothales and  
 Callippus of Athens, Demetrius of Amphipolis,  
 Heraclides of Pontus, and many others, among them  
 two women, Lastheneia of Mantinea and Axiothea  
 of Phlius, who is reported by Dicaearchus to have  
 worn men's clothes. Some say that Theophrastus  
 too attended his lectures. Chamaeleon adds Hyper-

\* Anth. Pal. vii. 62.

\* Anth. Pal. vii. 108.

\* Anth. Pal. vii. 109.

Ἵπερίδην τὸν ῥήτορα Χαμαιλέον φησὶ καὶ Λυ-  
 47 κούργον. ὁμοίως Πολέμων ἱστορεῖ. καὶ Δημο-  
 σθένην Σαβίνος λέγει Μνησίστρατον Θάσιον παρα-  
 τιθέμενος ἐν δ' Μελετητικῆς ὕλης· καὶ εἰκὸς ἐστὶ.

Φιλοπλάτωνι δέ σοι δικαίως ὑπαρχούσῃ καὶ  
 παρ' ὄντιν' τὰ τοῦ φιλοσόφου δόγματα φιλο-  
 τίμως ζητούσῃ ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμεν ὑπογράψαι  
 καὶ τὴν φύσιν τῶν λόγων καὶ τὴν τάξιν τῶν δια-  
 λόγων καὶ τὴν ἐφοδὸν τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς, ὡς οἶόν τε  
 στοιχειωδῶς καὶ ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων, πρὸς τὸ μὴ  
 ἀμοιρεῖν αὐτοῦ τῶν δογμάτων τὴν περὶ τοῦ βίου  
 συναγωγὴν· γλαῦκα γάρ εἰς Ἀθήνας, φασίν, εἰ  
 δέῃ σοι τὰ κατ' εἶδος διηγεῖσθαι.

48 Διαλόγους τοίνυν φασὶ πρῶτον γράψαι Ζήνωνα  
 τὸν Ἐλεάτην. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ  
 ποιητῶν Ἀλεξάμενον Στυρέα ἢ Τήιον, ὡς καὶ  
 Φαβωρίνος ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασι. δοκεῖ δέ μοι  
 Πλάτων ἀκριβῶς τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὰ πρωτεῖα  
 δικαίως ἂν ὥσπερ τοῦ κάλλους οὕτω καὶ τῆς  
 εὐρέσεως ἀποφέρεσθαι. ἐστὶ δὲ διάλογος <λόγος>  
 ἐξ ἐρωτήσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως συγκείμενος περὶ  
 τινος τῶν φιλοσοφουμένων καὶ πολιτικῶν μετὰ  
 τῆς πρεπούσης ἡθοποιίας τῶν παραλαμβανομένων  
 προσώπων καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν λέξιν κατασκευῆς.  
 διαλεκτικὴ δ' ἐστὶ τέχνη λόγων, δι' ἧς ἀνασκευά-  
 ζομέν τι ἢ κατασκευάζομεν ἐξ ἐρωτήσεως καὶ  
 ἀποκρίσεως τῶν προσδιαλεγομένων.

\* Here begins the first of three appendices, being an introduction to the study of the Platonic writings (47-66). Freudenthal, in *Hell. Stud.* iii., has shown that the extant fragment of the *Πρόλογος* of Albinus is similar and probably derived from the same source. Albinus lived in the second century A.D., for in 151-2 Galen was his pupil in Smyrna.

ides the orator and Lycurgus, and in this Polemo agrees. Sabinus makes Demosthenes his pupil, quoting, in the fourth book of his *Materials for Criticism*, Mnesistratus of Thasos as his authority. And it is not improbable.\*

Now, as you are an enthusiastic Platonist, and rightly so, and as you eagerly seek out that philosopher's doctrines in preference to all others, I have thought it necessary to give some account of the true nature of his discourses, the arrangement of the dialogues, and the method of his inductive procedure, as far as possible in an elementary manner and in main outline, in order that the facts I have collected respecting his life may not suffer by the omission of his doctrines. For, in the words of the proverb, it would be taking owls to Athens, were I to give you of all people the full particulars.

They say that Zeno the Eleatic was the first to write dialogues. But, according to Favorinus in his *Memorabilia*, Aristotle in the first book of his dialogue *On Poets* asserts that it was Alexamenus of Styra or Teos. In my opinion Plato, who brought this form of writing to perfection, ought to be adjudged the prize for its invention as well as for its embellishment. A dialogue is a discourse consisting of question and answer on some philosophical or political subject, with due regard to the characters of the persons introduced and the choice of diction. Dialectic is the art of discourse by which we either refute or establish some proposition by means of question and answer on the part of the interlocutors.

The reader will note the careful style of the preface with its avoidance of hiatus. In x. 29 is a similar personal appeal to the reader. (See *Intro.* p. xx.)

49 Τοῦ δὴ <δια>λόγου τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ δὴ εἰσὶν ἀνωτάτω χαρακτῆρες, ὃ τε ὑφηγητικός καὶ ὁ ζητητικός. διαιρεῖται δὲ ὁ ὑφηγητικός εἰς ἄλλους δύο χαρακτῆρας, θεωρηματικόν τε καὶ πρακτικόν. καὶ τῶν ὁ μὲν θεωρηματικός εἰς τὸν φυσικὸν καὶ λογικόν, ὁ δὲ πρακτικός εἰς τὸν ἠθικὸν καὶ πολιτικόν. τοῦ δὲ ζητητικοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ δύο εἰσὶν οἱ πρῶτοι χαρακτῆρες, ὃ τε γυμναστικός καὶ ἀγωνιστικός. καὶ τοῦ μὲν γυμναστικοῦ μαιευτικός τε καὶ πειραστικός, τοῦ δὲ ἀγωνιστικοῦ ἐνδεικτικός καὶ ἀνατρεπτικός.

50 Οὐ λανθάνει δ' ἡμᾶς ὅτι τινὲς ἄλλως διαφέρειν τοὺς διαλόγους φασί—λέγουσι γὰρ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν δραματικούς, τοὺς δὲ διηγηματικούς, τοὺς δὲ μεικτούς—ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τραγικῶς μᾶλλον ἢ φιλοσόφως τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν διαλόγων προσωνόμασαν. εἰσὶ δὲ τοῦ μὲν φυσικοῦ ὅλον ὁ Τίμαιος· τοῦ δὲ λογικοῦ ὃ τε Πολιτικός καὶ ὁ Κρατύλος καὶ Παρμενίδης καὶ Σοφιστής· τοῦ δ' ἠθικοῦ ἢ τε Ἀπολογία καὶ ὁ Κρίτων καὶ Φαῖδων καὶ Φαῖδρος καὶ τὸ Συμπόσιον Μενέξενός τε καὶ Κλειτοφῶν καὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ Φίληβος Ἰππάρχος Ἀντερασταί· τοῦ δὲ πολιτικοῦ ἢ τε Πολιτεία

51 καὶ οἱ Νόμοι καὶ ὁ Μίνως καὶ Ἐπινομίς καὶ ὁ Ἀτλαντικός· τοῦ δὲ μαιευτικοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδης Θεάγης Λύσις Λάχης· τοῦ δὲ πειραστικοῦ Εὐθύφρων Μένων Ἴων Χαρμίδης Θεαίτητος· τοῦ δὲ ἐνδεικτικοῦ ὡς ὁ Πρωταγόρας· καὶ τοῦ ἀνατρεπτικοῦ

Of the Platonic dialogues there are two most general types, the one adapted for instruction and the other for inquiry. And the former is further divided into two types, the theoretical and the practical. And of these the theoretical is divided into the physical and logical, and the practical into the ethical and political. The dialogue of inquiry also has two main divisions, the one of which aims at training the mind and the other at victory in controversy. Again, the part which aims at training the mind has two subdivisions, the one akin to the midwife's art, the other merely tentative. And that suited to controversy is also subdivided into one part which raises critical objections, and another which is subversive of the main position.

I am not unaware that there are other ways in which certain writers classify the dialogues. For some dialogues they call dramatic, others narrative, and others again a mixture of the two. But the terms they employ in their classification of the dialogues are better suited to the stage than to philosophy. Physics is represented by the *Timaeus*, logic by the *Statesman*, *Cratylus*, *Parmenides* and *Sophist*, ethics by the *Apology*, *Crito*, *Phaedo*, *Phaedrus* and *Symposium*, as well as by the *Menexenus*, *Clitophon*, the *Epistles*, *Philebus*, *Hipparchus* and the *Rivals*, and lastly politics by the *Republic*, the *Laws*, *Minos*, *Epinomis*, and the dialogue concerning Atlantis.<sup>a</sup> To the class of mental obstetrics belong the two *Alcibiades*, *Theages*, *Lysis* and *Laches*, while the *Euthyphro*, *Meno*, *Io*, *Charmides* and *Theaetetus* illustrate the tentative method. In the *Protagoras* is seen the method of critical objections; in the

<sup>a</sup> i.e. *Critias*.



Εὐθύδημος Γοργίας Ἰππίαί δύο. καὶ περὶ μὲν διαλόγου τί ποτὲ ἔστι καὶ τίνες αὐτοῦ διαφοραί, <τοσαῦτα> ἀπόχρη λέγειν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλή στάσις ἔστι καὶ οἱ μὲν φασιν αὐτὸν δογματίζειν, οἱ δ' οὐ, φέρε καὶ περὶ τούτου διαλάβωμεν. αὐτὸ τοῖνυν τὸ δογματίζειν ἔστι δόγματα τιθέναι ὡς τὸ νομοθετεῖν νόμους τιθέναι. δόγματα δὲ ἐκατέρως καλεῖται, τό τε δοξαζόμενον καὶ ἡ δόξα αὐτῇ.

52 Τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν δοξαζόμενον πρότασις ἔστιν, ἡ δὲ δόξα ὑπόληψις. ὁ τοῖνυν Πλάτων περὶ μὲν ὧν κατέληφεν ἀποφαίνεται, τὰ δὲ ψευδῇ διελέγχει, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀδήλων ἐπέχει. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν αὐτῷ δοκούντων ἀποφαίνεται διὰ τεττάρων προσώπων, Σωκράτους, Τιμαίου, τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ξένου, τοῦ Ἑλεάτου ξένου· εἰσι δ' οἱ ξένοι οὐχ, ὡς τινες ὑπέλαβον, Πλάτων καὶ Παρμενίδης, ἀλλὰ πλάσματά ἐστιν ἀνώνυμα· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ Σωκράτους καὶ τὰ Τιμαίου λέγων Πλάτων δογματίζει. περὶ δὲ τῶν ψευδῶν ἐλεγχομένους εἰσάγει οἷον Θρασύμαχον καὶ Καλλικλέα καὶ Πῶλον Γοργίαν τε καὶ Πρωταγόραν, ἔτι Ἰππίαν καὶ Εὐθύδημον καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους.

53 Ποιούμενος δὲ τὰς ἀποδείξεις πλείστῳ χρῆται τῷ τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς τρόπῳ, οὐ μὴν μονοτρόπῳ, ἀλλὰ διχῇ. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ἐπαγωγή λόγος διὰ τινων ἀληθῶν τὸ ὅμοιον ἑαυτῷ ἀληθὲς οἰκείως ἐπιφέρων. δύο δὲ τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς εἰσι τρόποι, ὁ τε κατ' ἐναντίωσιν καὶ ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἀκολουθίας. ὁ μὲν οὖν κατ' ἐναντίωσιν ἔστιν ἐξ οὗ τῷ ἐρωτωμένῳ περὶ<sup>1</sup> πᾶσαν

<sup>1</sup> παρὰ Reiske.

<sup>a</sup> In the *Laws*.

<sup>b</sup> In the *Sophist* and the *Statesman*.

*Euthydemus*, *Gorgias*, and the two dialogues entitled *Hippias* that of subversive argument. So much then for dialogue, its definition and varieties.

Again, as there is great division of opinion between those who affirm and those who deny that Plato was a dogmatist, let me proceed to deal with this further question. To be a dogmatist in philosophy is to lay down positive dogmas, just as to be a legislator is to lay down laws. Further, under dogma two things are included, the thing opined and the opinion itself.

Of these the former is a proposition, the latter a conception. Now where he has a firm grasp Plato expounds his own view and refutes the false one, but, if the subject is obscure, he suspends judgement. His own views are expounded by four persons, Socrates, Timaeus, the Athenian Stranger,<sup>a</sup> the Eleatic Stranger.<sup>b</sup> These strangers are not, as some hold, Plato and Parmenides, but imaginary characters without names,<sup>c</sup> for, even when Socrates and Timaeus are the speakers, it is Plato's doctrines that are laid down. To illustrate the refutation of false opinions, he introduces Thrasymachus, Callicles, Polus, Gorgias, Protagoras, or again Hippias, Euthydemus and the like.

In constructing his proofs he makes most use of induction, not always in the same way, but under two forms. For induction is an argument which by means of certain true premisses properly infers a truth resembling them. And there are two kinds of induction, the one proceeding by way of contradiction, the other from agreement. In the kind which proceeds by contradiction the answer given to every question will necessarily be the contrary of the

<sup>c</sup> That the Eleatic Stranger is not Parmenides is decisively proved by *Soph.* 241 E.



ἀποκρισιν ἀκολουθήσει τὸ ἐναντίον, οἶον· ὁ ἐμὸς  
 πατὴρ τῷ σῷ πατρὶ ἤτοι ἑτερός ἐστιν ἢ ὁ αὐτός.  
 εἰ μὲν οὖν ἑτερός ἐστι τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρός ὁ σός  
 πατήρ, πατρός ἑτερος ὢν οὐκ ἂν εἴη πατήρ· εἰ δὲ  
 ὁ αὐτός ἐστι τῷ ἐμῷ πατρί, ὁ αὐτός ὢν τῷ ἐμῷ  
 54 πατρὶ ὁ ἐμὸς ἂν εἴη πατήρ. καὶ πάλιν· εἰ μὴ ἐστι  
 ζῶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, λίθος ἂν εἴη ἢ ξύλον. οὐκ ἐστι  
 δὲ λίθος ἢ ξύλον· ἔμψυχον γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ  
 κινεῖται· ζῶν ἄρα ἐστίν. εἰ δὲ ζῶν ἐστι, ζῶν  
 δὲ καὶ ὁ κύων καὶ ὁ βοῦς, εἴη ἂν καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος  
 ζῶν <ὢν> καὶ κύων καὶ βοῦς. οὗτος μὲν ὁ τῆς  
 ἐπαγωγῆς κατ' ἐναντίωσιν καὶ μάχην τρόπος, ᾧ  
 ἐχρήτο οὐ πρὸς τὸ δογματίζειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ  
 διελέγχειν. ὁ δὲ τῆς ἀκολουθίας ἐστὶ διπλοῦς· ὁ  
 μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ μέρους ζητούμενον διὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ μέρους  
 ἀποδεικνύς, ὁ δὲ <διὰ> τοῦ καθόλου [διὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ  
 μέρους]. καὶ ἔστιν ὁ μὲν πρότερος ῥητορικός,  
 ὁ δὲ δεύτερος διαλεκτικός. οἶον ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ  
 ζητεῖται, εἰ ὅδε ἀπέκτεινεν. ἀπόδειξις τὸ εὐρή-  
 σθαι αὐτὸν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἡμαγμένον.  
 55 ῥητορικός δ' ἐστὶν ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς οὗτος,  
 ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡ ῥητορικὴ περὶ τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους, οὐ τὰ  
 καθόλου τὴν πραγματείαν ἔχει. ζητεῖ γὰρ οὐ  
 περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ δικαίου, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους  
 δικαίων. ὁ δὲ ἑτερός ἐστι διαλεκτικός, προαπο-  
 δειχθέντος τοῦ καθόλου διὰ τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους. οἶον  
 ζητεῖται, εἰ ἡ ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος καὶ εἰ ἐκ τῶν τε-  
 θνεῶτων οἱ ζῶντες· ὅπερ ἀποδείκνυται ἐν τῷ Περὶ  
 ψυχῆς διὰ τινος καθολικοῦ, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων

respondent's position, e.g. "My father is either other  
 than or the same as your father. If then your  
 father is other than my father, by being other than  
 a father he will not be a father. But if he is the  
 same as my father, then by being the same as my  
 father he will be my father." And again: "If  
 man is not an animal, he will be either a stick or a  
 stone. But he is not a stick or a stone; for he is  
 animate and self-moved. Therefore he is an animal.  
 But if he is an animal, and if a dog or an ox is also  
 an animal, then man by being an animal will be a  
 dog and an ox as well." This is the kind of induction  
 which proceeds by contradiction and dispute, and  
 Plato used it, not for laying down positive doctrines  
 but for refutation. The other kind of induction by  
 agreement appears in two forms, the one proving  
 the particular conclusion under discussion from a  
 particular, the other proceeding by way of the uni-  
 versal [by means of particular facts]. The former is  
 suited to rhetoric, the latter to dialectic. For in-  
 stance, under the first form the question is raised,  
 "Did so-and-so commit a murder?" The proof is  
 that he was found at the time with stains of blood  
 on him. This is the rhetorical form of induction,  
 since rhetoric also is concerned with particular facts  
 and not with universals. It does not inquire about  
 justice in the abstract, but about particular cases of  
 justice. The other kind, where the general propo-  
 sition is first established by means of particular  
 facts, is the induction of dialectic. For instance, the  
 question put is whether the soul is immortal, and  
 whether the living come back from the dead. And  
 this is proved in the dialogue *On the Soul* by means  
 of a certain general proposition, that opposites pro-

τὰ ἐναντία. καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ καθόλου κατασκευάζεται ἐκ τινων ὄντων ἐπὶ μέρους· ὅλον ὅτι τὸ καθεύδειν ἐκ τοῦ ἐγρηγορέναι καὶ ἀνάπαλιν καὶ τὸ μείζον ἐκ τοῦ μικροτέρου καὶ ἀνάπαλιν. τούτῳ δὲ ἐχρήτο εἰς τὴν τῶν ἑαυτῷ δοκούντων κατασκευὴν.

56 Ὡσπερ δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν τῇ τραγωδίᾳ πρότερον μὲν μόνος ὁ χορὸς διεδραματίζεν, ὕστερον δὲ Θέσπιδες ἕνα ὑποκριτὴν ἐξεύρουν ὑπὲρ τοῦ διανασταύεσθαι τὸν χορὸν καὶ δεύτερον Αἰσχύλος, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Σοφοκλῆς καὶ συνεπλήρωσεν τὴν τραγωδίαν, οὕτως καὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὁ λόγος πρότερον μὲν ἦν μονοειδὴς ὡς ὁ φυσικός, δεύτερον δὲ Σωκράτης προσέθηκε τὸν ἠθικόν, τρίτον δὲ Πλάτων τὸν διαλεκτικόν καὶ ἐτελεσειούργησε τὴν φιλοσοφίαν. Θράσυλος δὲ φησι καὶ κατὰ τὴν τραγικὴν τετραλογίαν ἐκδοῦναι αὐτὸν τοὺς διαλόγους, ὅλον ἐκείνοι τέττασι δράμασι ἡγωνίζοντο — Διονυσίοις, Ληναίοις, Παναθηναίοις, Χύτροις — ὦν τὸ τέταρτον ἦν Σατυρικόν· τὰ δὲ τέτταρα δράματα ἑκαλεῖτο τετραλογία.

57 Εἰσὶ τοίνυν, φησὶν, οἱ πάντες αὐτῷ γνήσιοι διάλογοι ἕξ καὶ πεντήκοντα, τῆς μὲν Πολιτείας εἰς δέκα διαιρουμένης — ἥν καὶ εὐρίσκεισθαι σχεδὸν ὅλην παρὰ Πρωταγόρα ἐν τοῖς Ἀντιλογικοῖς φησι Φαβωρίνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ δευτέρῳ — τῶν δὲ Νόμων εἰς δυοκαίδεκα. τετραλογίαι δὲ ἑννέα, ἐνὸς βιβλίου χώραν ἐπεχούσης τῆς Πολιτείας καὶ ἐνὸς τῶν Νόμων. πρώτην μὲν ὅν τετραλογίαν τίθησι τὴν κοινὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἔχουσαν· παραδείξει γὰρ βούλεται ὅποιος ἂν εἴη ὁ τοῦ φιλο-

ceed from opposites. And the general proposition itself is established by means of certain propositions which are particular, as that sleep comes from waking and *vice versa*, the greater from the less and *vice versa*. This is the form which he used to establish his own views.

But, just as long ago in tragedy the chorus was the only actor, and afterwards, in order to give the chorus breathing space, Thespis devised a single actor, Aeschylus a second, Sophocles a third, and thus tragedy was completed, so too with philosophy: in early times it discoursed on one subject only, namely physics, then Socrates added the second subject, ethics, and Plato the third, dialectics, and so brought philosophy to perfection. Thrasyllus says that he published his dialogues in tetralogies, like those of the tragic poets. Thus they contended with four plays at the Dionysia, the Lenaea, the Panathenaea and the festival of Chytroi.<sup>a</sup> Of the four plays the last was a satiric drama; and the four together were called a tetralogy.

Now, says Thrasyllus, the genuine dialogues are fifty-six in all, if the *Republic* be divided into ten and the *Laws* into twelve. Favorinus, however, in the second book of his *Miscellaneous History* declares that nearly the whole of the *Republic* is to be found in a work of Protagoras entitled *Controversies*.<sup>b</sup> This gives nine tetralogies, if the *Republic* takes the place of one single work and the *Laws* of another. His first tetralogy has a common plan underlying it, for he wishes to describe what the life of the philosopher

<sup>a</sup> Pots.

<sup>b</sup> From iii. 37 we infer that Favorinus drew upon Aristotle for this wildly improbable assertion.

σόφου βίος. διπλαῖς τε χρήται ταῖς ἐπιγραφαῖς καθ' ἑκάστου τῶν βιβλίων, τῇ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος, τῇ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος. ταύτης τῆς τετραλογίας, ἣτις ἐστὶ πρώτη, ἡγείται Εὐθύφρων ἢ περὶ οἴσιον· ὁ διάλογος δ' ἐστὶ πειραστικός· δεύτερος Ἀπολογία Σωκράτους, ἠθικός· τρίτος Κρίτων ἢ περὶ πρακτέου, ἠθικός· τέταρτος Φαῖδων ἢ περὶ ψυχῆς, ἠθικός· δευτέρα τετραλογία, ἣς ἡγείται Κρατύλος ἢ περὶ ὁρθότητος ὀνομάτων, λογικός· Θεαίτητος ἢ περὶ ἐπιστήμης, πειραστικός· Σοφιστής ἢ περὶ τοῦ ὄντος, λογικός· Πολιτικός ἢ περὶ βασιλείας, λογικός. τῆς τρίτης ἡγείται Παρμενίδης ἢ περὶ ἰδεῶν, λογικός· Φίληβος ἢ περὶ ἡδονῆς, ἠθικός· Συμπόσιον ἢ περὶ ἀγαθοῦ, ἠθικός· Φαῖδρος ἢ περὶ ἔρωτος, ἠθικός.

59 Τῆς τετάρτης ἡγείται Ἀλκιβιάδης ἢ περὶ ἀνθρώπου φύσεως, μαιευτικός· Ἀλκιβιάδης δεύτερος ἢ περὶ εὐχῆς, μαιευτικός· Ἰππάρχος ἢ φιλοκερδής, ἠθικός· Ἀντερασταί ἢ περὶ φιλοσοφίας, ἠθικός. τῆς πέμπτης ἡγείται Θεάγης ἢ περὶ φιλοσοφίας, μαιευτικός· Χαρμίδης ἢ περὶ σωφροσύνης, πειραστικός· Λάχης ἢ περὶ ἀνδρείας, μαιευτικός· Λύσις ἢ περὶ φιλίας, μαιευτικός. τῆς ἕκτης ἡγείται Εὐθύδημος ἢ ἐριστικός, ἀνατρεπτικός· Πρωταγόρας ἢ σοφισταί, ἐνδεικτικός· Γοργίας ἢ περὶ ῥητορικῆς, ἀνατρεπτικός· Μένων ἢ περὶ ἀρετῆς, πειραστικός.

60 τῆς ἑβδόμης ἡγούνται Ἰππία δύο — α' ἢ περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ, β' ἢ περὶ τοῦ ψεύδους — ἀνατρεπτικοί· Ἴων ἢ περὶ Ἰλιάδος, πειραστικός.

will be. To each of the works Thrasyllus affixes a double title, the one taken from the name of the interlocutor, the other from the subject. This tetralogy, then, which is the first, begins with the *Euthyphro* or *On Holiness*, a tentative dialogue; the *Apology of Socrates*, an ethical dialogue, comes second; the third is *Crito* or *On what is to be done*, ethical; the fourth *Phaedo* or *On the Soul*, also ethical. The second tetralogy begins with *Cratylus* or *On Correctness of Names*, a logical dialogue, which is followed by *Theaetetus* or *On Knowledge*, tentative, the *Sophist* or *On Being*, a logical dialogue, the *Statesman* or *On Monarchy*, also logical. The third tetralogy includes, first, *Parmenides* or *On Ideas*, which is logical, next *Philebus* or *On Pleasure*, an ethical dialogue, the *Banquet* or *On the Good*, ethical, *Phaedrus* or *On Love*, also ethical.

The fourth tetralogy starts with *Alcibiades* or *On the Nature of Man*, an obstetric dialogue; this is followed by the second *Alcibiades* or *On Prayer*, also obstetric; then comes *Hipparchus* or *The Lover of Gain*, which is ethical, and *The Rivals* or *On Philosophy*, also ethical. The fifth tetralogy includes, first, *Theages* or *On Philosophy*, an obstetric dialogue, then *Charmides* or *On Temperance*, which is tentative, *Laches* or *On Courage*, obstetric, and *Lysis* or *On Friendship*, also obstetric. The sixth tetralogy starts with *Euthydemus* or *The Eristic*, a refutative dialogue, which is followed by *Protagoras* or *Sophists*, critical, *Gorgias* or *On Rhetoric*, refutative, and *Meno* or *On Virtue*, which is tentative. The seventh tetralogy contains, first, two dialogues entitled *Hippias*, the former *On Beauty*, the latter *On Falsehood*, both refutative; next *Ion* or *On the Iliad*, which is tentative,

Μενέξενος ἢ ἐπιτάφιος, ἠθικός. τῆς ὀγδόης ἡγείται Κλειτοφῶν ἢ προτρεπτικός, ἠθικός. Πολιτεία ἢ περὶ δικαίου, πολιτικός. Τίμαιος ἢ περὶ φύσεως, φυσικός. Κριτίας ἢ Ἀτλαντικός, ἠθικός. τῆς ἐνάτης ἡγείται Μίνως ἢ περὶ νόμου, πολιτικός. Νόμοι ἢ περὶ νομοθεσίας, πολιτικός. Ἐπινομίς ἢ νυκτερινὸς σύλλογος ἢ φιλόσοφος, πολιτικός.

61 Ἐπιστολαὶ τρεισκαίδεκα, ἠθικαί — ἐν αἷς ἔγραφεν εὐ πράττειν, Ἐπίκουρος δὲ εὐ διάγειν, Κλέων χαίρειν — πρὸς Ἀριστόδημον μία, πρὸς Ἀρχύταν δύο, πρὸς Διονύσιον τέτταρες, πρὸς Ἑρμίαν καὶ Ἐραστον καὶ Κορίσκον μία, πρὸς Λεωδάμαντα μία, πρὸς Δίωνα μία, πρὸς Περδίκκαν μία, πρὸς τοὺς Δίωνος οἰκείους δύο. καὶ οὗτος μὲν οὕτω διαίρει καὶ τινες.

Ἐνιοι δέ, ὧν ἔστι καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ γραμματικός, εἰς τριλογίας ἔλκουσι τοὺς διαλόγους, καὶ

62 πρῶτην μὲν τιθέασιν ἥς ἡγείται Πολιτεία Τίμαιος Κριτίας· δευτέραν Σοφιστῆς Πολιτικός Κρατύλος· τρίτην Νόμοι Μίνως Ἐπινομίς· τετάρτην Θεαιτήτος Εὐθύφρων Ἀπολογία· πέμπτην Κρίτων Φαίδων Ἐπιστολαί. τὰ δ' ἄλλα καθ' ἐν καὶ ἀτάκτως. ἄρχονται δὲ οἱ μὲν, ὡς προείρηται, ἀπὸ τῆς Πολιτείας· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ Ἀλκιβιάδου τοῦ μείζονος· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ Θεάγου· ἔνιοι δὲ Εὐθύφρονος· ἄλλοι Κλειτοφῶντος· τινὲς Τιμαίου· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ Φαίδρου· ἕτεροι Θεαιτήτου· πολλοὶ δὲ <ἀπ'> Ἀπολογίας τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιοῦνται. νοθεύονται δὲ τῶν διαλόγων ὁμολογουμένως Μίδων ἢ Ἱπποτρόφος, Ἐρυξίας ἢ

and *Menexenus* or *The Funeral Oration*, which is ethical. The eighth tetralogy starts with *Clitophon* or *Introduction*, which is ethical, and is followed by the *Republic* or *On Justice*, political, *Timaeus* or *On Nature*, a physical treatise, and *Critias* or *Story of Atlantis*, which is ethical. The ninth tetralogy starts with *Minos* or *On Law*, a political dialogue, which is followed by the *Laws* or *On Legislation*, also political, *Epinomis* or *Nocturnal Council*, or *Philosopher*, political, and lastly the *Epistles*, thirteen in number, which are ethical. In these epistles his heading was "Welfare," as that of Epicurus was "A Good Life," and that of Cleon "All Joy." They comprise: one to Aristodemus, two to Archytas, four to Dionysius, one to Hermias, Erastus and Coriscus, one each to Leodamas, Dion and Perdiccas, and two to Dion's friends. This is the division adopted by Thrasyllus and some others.

Some, including Aristophanes the grammarian, arrange the dialogues arbitrarily in trilogies. In the first trilogy they place the *Republic*, *Timaeus* and *Critias*; in the second the *Sophist*, the *Statesman* and *Cratylus*; in the third the *Laws*, *Minos* and *Epinomis*; in the fourth *Theaetetus*, *Euthyphro* and the *Apology*; in the fifth *Crito*, *Phaedo* and the *Epistles*. The rest follow as separate compositions in no regular order. Some critics, as has already been stated, put the *Republic* first, while others start with the greater *Alcibiades*, and others again with the *Theages*; some begin with the *Euthyphro*, others with the *Clitophon*; some with the *Timaeus*, others with the *Phaedrus*; others again with the *Theaetetus*, while many begin with the *Apology*. The following dialogues are acknowledged to be spurious: the *Midon* or *Horse-*

Ἐρασίστρατος, Ἀλκυών, Ἀκέφαλοι ἢ Σίσυφος, Ἀξίοχος, Φαίακες, Δημόδοκος, Χελιδών, Ἑβδόμη, Ἐπιμενίδης· ὧν ἡ Ἀλκυών Λέοντος τινος εἶναι δοκεῖ, καθά φησι Φαβωρίνος ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων.

- 63 Ὀνόμασι δὲ κέχρηται ποικίλοις πρὸς τὸ μὴ εὐσύνοπτον εἶναι τοῖς ἀμαθέσι τὴν πραγματείαν· ἰδιαίτατα μὲν σοφίαν ἡγεῖται εἶναι τὴν τῶν νοητῶν καὶ ὄντως ὄντων ἐπιστήμην, ἣν φησι περὶ θεὸν καὶ ψυχὴν σώματος κεχωρισμένην. ἰδίᾳ δὲ σοφίαν καὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν καλεῖ, ὁρεξίν οὖσαν τῆς θείας σοφίας. κοινῶς δὲ λέγεται παρ' αὐτῷ σοφία καὶ ἡ πᾶσα ἐμπειρία, οἷον ὅταν σοφὸν λέγῃ τὸν δημιουργόν. χρήται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ διαφερόντως σημαίνονμένων τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν. ὁ γοῦν φαῦλος λέγεται παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀπλοῦ, ὡς καὶ παρὰ Εὐριπίδῃ ἐν Λικυμνίῳ φέρεται ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους οὕτως·

φαῦλον, ἄκομψον, τὰ μέγιστ' ἀγαθόν,  
 πᾶσαν ἐν ἔργῳ περιταμνόμενον  
 σοφίαν, λésχηs ἀτρίβωνα.

- 64 χρήται δὲ ὁ Πλάτων ἐνίοτε αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κακοῦ· ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μικροῦ. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ διαφέρουσιν ὀνόμασιν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημαίνον· μένον χρήται. τὴν γοῦν ἰδέαν καὶ εἶδος ὀνομάζει καὶ γένος καὶ παράδειγμα καὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ αἷτιον. χρήται δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἐναντίας φωναῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ. τὸ γοῦν αἰσθητὸν καὶ ὄν καλεῖ καὶ μὴ ὄν· ὄν μὲν

\* Cf. Athenaeus xi. 506 c. The same statement about the authorship of the *Alcyon* is attributed to Nicias of Nicaea.

\* As e.g. *Theaet.* 147 c οὖν ἐν τῇ τοῦ πηλοῦ ἐρωτᾷτε φαῦλόν που καὶ ἀπλοῦν εἰπεῖν ὅτι γῇ ὑγρῷ φυραθεῖσα πηλὸς ἂν

breeder, the *Eryxias* or *Erasistratus*, the *Alcyon*, the *Acephali* or *Sisyphus*, the *Axiochus*, the *Phaeacians*, the *Demodocus*, the *Chelidon*, the *Seventh Day*, the *Epimenides*. Of these the *Alcyon*<sup>a</sup> is thought to be the work of a certain Leon, according to Favorinus in the fifth book of his *Memorabilia*.

Plato has employed a variety of terms in order to make his system less intelligible to the ignorant. But in a special sense he considers wisdom to be the science of those things which are objects of thought and really existent, the science which, he says, is concerned with God and the soul as separate from the body. And especially by wisdom he means philosophy, which is a yearning for divine wisdom. And in a general sense all experience is also termed by him wisdom, e.g. when he calls a craftsman wise. And he applies the same terms with very different meanings. For instance, the word φαῦλος (slight, plain) is employed by him<sup>b</sup> in the sense of ἀπλοῦς (simple, honest), just as it is applied to Heracles in the *Licymnius* of Euripides in the following passage<sup>c</sup>:

Plain (φαῦλος), unaccomplished, staunch to do great deeds, unversed in talk, with all his store of wisdom curtailed to action.

But sometimes Plato uses this same word (φαῦλος) to mean what is bad, and at other times for what is small or petty. Again, he often uses different terms to express the same thing. For instance, he calls the Idea form (εἶδος), genus (γένος), archetype (παράδειγμα), principle (ἀρχή) and cause (αἷτιον). He also uses contrary expressions for the same thing. Thus he calls the sensible thing both existent and non-

εἶν, τὸ δ' ὅτου εἶν χαίρειν. Cf. *Rep.* 527 d οὐ πάνυ φαῦλον ἀλλὰ χαλεπὸν πιστεύσαι.

διὰ τὸ γένεσιν αὐτοῦ εἶναι, μὴ ὄν δὲ διὰ τὴν  
 συνεχῇ μεταβολήν. καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν οὔτε κινούμενον  
 οὔτε μένον· καὶ ταῦτό καὶ ἐν καὶ πολλά. τὸ δ'  
 αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείονων εἴθισται ποιεῖν.

65 Ἔστι δὲ ἡ ἐξηγήσις αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων τριπλῇ.  
 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐκδιδάξαι χρή ὃ τι ἐστὶν ἕκαστον  
 τῶν λεγομένων· ἔπειτα, τίνος εἵνεκα λέλεκται,  
 πότερα κατὰ προηγούμενον ἢ ἐν εἰκόνας μέρει, καὶ  
 <εἰ> εἰς δογμάτων κατασκευὴν ἢ εἰς ἔλεγχον τοῦ  
 προσδιαλεγόμενου· τὸ δὲ τρίτον, εἰ ὁρθῶς λέλεκται.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ σημεία τινα τοῖς βιβλίοις αὐτοῦ  
 παρατίθενται, φέρε καὶ περὶ τούτων τι εἰπώμεν.  
 Χί λαμβάνεται πρὸς τὰς λέξεις καὶ τὰ σχήματα  
 καὶ ὅλως τὴν Πλατωνικὴν συνήθειαν· διπλῇ πρὸς  
 66 τὰ δόγματα καὶ τὰ ἀρέσκοντα Πλάτωνι· Χί  
 περιεστιγμένον πρὸς τὰς ἐκλογὰς καὶ καλλι-  
 γραφίας· διπλῇ περιεστιγμένη πρὸς τὰς ἐνίων  
 διορθώσεις· ὀβελὸς περιεστιγμένος πρὸς τὰς εἰ-  
 καίους ἀθετήσεις· ἀντίσιγμα περιεστιγμένον πρὸς  
 τὰς διττὰς χρήσεις καὶ μεταθέσεις τῶν γραφῶν·  
 κεραύνιον πρὸς τὴν ἀγωγήν τῆς φιλοσοφίας· ἀστε-  
 ρισκος πρὸς τὴν συμφωνίαν τῶν δογμάτων· ὀβελὸς  
 πρὸς τὴν ἀθέτησιν. τὰ μὲν σημεία ταῦτα καὶ τὰ  
 βιβλία τοσαῦτα· ἔπερ Ἀντιγονὸς φησιν ὁ Καρύ-  
 στιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ζήνωνος νεωστὶ ἐκδοθέντα εἶ τις  
 ἤθελε διαναγνῶναι, μισθὸν ἐτέλει τοῖς κεκτημένοις.  
 67 Τὰ δὲ ἀρέσκοντα αὐτῷ ταῦτα ἦν. ἀθάνατον

\* A wedge-shaped mark >, used in early papyri to denote  
 a fresh paragraph.

<sup>b</sup> Here begins the second appendix περὶ τῶν Πλάτωνι  
 ἀρεσκόντων, §§ 67-80. It should be observed that there is

existent, existent inasmuch as it comes into being,  
 non-existent because it is continually changing. And  
 he says the Idea is neither in motion nor at rest;  
 that it is uniformly the same and yet both one and  
 many. And it is his habit to do this in many more  
 instances.

The right interpretation of his dialogues includes  
 three things: first, the meaning of every statement  
 must be explained; next, its purpose, whether it is  
 made for a primary reason or by way of illustration,  
 and whether to establish his own doctrines or to  
 refute his interlocutor; in the third place it remains  
 to examine its truth.

And since certain critical marks are affixed to his  
 works let us now say a word about these. The cross  
 X is taken to indicate peculiar expressions and  
 figures of speech, and generally any idiom of Platonic  
 usage; the *diple* <sup>a</sup> (>) calls attention to doctrines  
 and opinions characteristic of Plato; the dotted cross  
 (⊗) denotes select passages and beauties of style;  
 the dotted *diple* (⋈) editors' corrections of the text;  
 the dotted *obelus* (÷) passages suspected without  
 reason; the dotted antisigma (⊖) repetitions and  
 proposals for transpositions; the *ceratium* the  
 philosophical school; the asterisk (✱) an agreement  
 of doctrine; the *obelus* (-) a spurious passage. So  
 much for the critical marks and his writings in  
 general. As Antigonos of Carystus says in his *Life*  
*of Zeno*, when the writings were first edited with  
 critical marks, their possessors charged a certain fee  
 to anyone who wished to consult them.

<sup>b</sup> The doctrines he approved are these. He held

absolutely no trace of Neo-Platonist tendencies. Cf. Plato,  
*Tim.* 42 E-43 A, 69 A.

ἔλεγε τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ πολλὰ μεταμφιεννυμένην σώματα, ἀρχὴν τε ἔχειν ἀριθμητικὴν, τὸ δὲ σῶμα γεωμετρικὴν· ὠρίζετο δὲ αὐτὴν ἰδέαν τοῦ πάντῃ διεστώτος πνεύματος. αὐτοκίνητόν τε εἶναι καὶ τριμερῆ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς λογιστικὸν μέρος περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ καθιδρῦσθαι, τὸ δὲ θυμοειδὲς περὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, τὸ δὲ ἐπιθυμητικὸν περὶ τὸν ὀμφαλὸν καὶ τὸ ἦπαρ συνίστασθαι.

68 Περιέχειν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου διὰ παντὸς κύκλῳ τὸ σῶμα καὶ συνεστάναι ἐκ τῶν στοιχείων. διαιρεθεῖσάν τε κατὰ ἀρμονικὰ διαστήματα δύο κύκλους ποιεῖν συνημμένους, ὧν τὸν ἐντὸς κύκλον ἐξαχῇ τμηθέντα τοὺς ἅπαντας ἑπτὰ κύκλους ποιεῖν. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν κατὰ διάμετρον κινεῖσθαι ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ ἔσωθεν, τὸν δὲ κατὰ πλευρὰν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ. διὸ καὶ κρατεῖν αὐτὸν ἓνα ὄντα· τὸν γὰρ ἕτερον ἔσωθεν διηρῆσθαι. καὶ τὸν μὲν εἶναι ταυτοῦ, τοὺς δὲ θατέρου, λέγων τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς κίνησιν εἶναι τὴν [δὲ] τοῦ ὅλου καὶ τὰς τῶν πλανωμένων φοράς.

69 Οὕτω δ' ἐχούσης τῆς ἐκ μέσου τομῆς αὐτῇ προσαρμοζομένης πρὸς τὰ ἔσχατα γινώσκειν τε τὰ ὄντα καὶ ἐναρμόζειν διὰ τὸ ἔχειν ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ στοιχεῖα κατὰ ἀρμονίαν. καὶ γίνεσθαι δόξαν μὲν κατὰ τὸν θατέρου κύκλον ὀρθούμενον, ἐπιστήμην δὲ κατὰ τὸν ταυτοῦ. δύο δὲ τῶν πάντων ἀπέφηνεν ἀρχάς, θεὸν καὶ ὕλην, ὃν καὶ νοῦν προσαγορεύει καὶ αἴτιον. εἶναι δὲ τὴν ὕλην ἀσχημάτιστον καὶ ἄπειρον, ἐξ ἧς γίνεσθαι τὰ συγκρίματα. ἀτάκτως

a Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 42 B sqq., 90 E.

b Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 54 A sqq.

c Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 69 C sqq., 89 E.

d Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 36 D-37 C.

e Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 50 D, E; 51 A.

that the soul is immortal, that by transmigration it puts on many bodies,<sup>a</sup> and that it has a numerical first principle, whereas the first principle of the body is geometrical<sup>b</sup>; and he defined soul as the idea of vital breath diffused in all directions. He held that it is self-moved and tripartite, the rational part of it having its seat in the head, the passionate part about the heart, while the appetitive is placed in the region of the navel and the liver.<sup>c</sup>

And from the centre outwards it encloses the body on all sides in a circle, and is compounded of elements, and, being divided at harmonic intervals, it forms two circles which touch one another twice; and the interior circle, being slit six times over, makes seven circles in all. And this interior circle moves by way of the diagonal to the left, and the other by way of the side to the right. Hence also the one is supreme, being a single circle, for the other interior circle was divided; the former is the circle of the Same, the latter that of the Other, whereby he means that the motion of the soul is the motion of the universe together with the revolutions of the planets.<sup>d</sup>

And the division from the centre to the circumference which is adjusted in harmony with the soul being thus determined, the soul knows that which is, and adjusts it proportionately because she has the elements proportionately disposed in herself. And when the circle of the Other revolves aright, the result is opinion; but from the regular motion of the circle of the Same comes knowledge. He set forth two universal principles, God and matter, and he calls God mind and cause; he held that matter is devoid of form and unlimited, and that composite things arise out of it<sup>e</sup>; and that it was once in



δέ ποτε αὐτὴν κινουμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ φησιν εἰς ἓνα συναχθῆναι τόπον τάξιν ἀταξίας κρείττονα  
 70 ἡγησαμένου. τραπέσθαι δὲ τὴν οὐσίαν ταύτην εἰς τὰ τέτταρα στοιχεῖα, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, ἀέρα, γῆν· ἐξ ὧν αὐτόν τε τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ γεννᾶσθαι. μόνῃν δὲ τὴν γῆν ἀμετάβολον εἶναι φησι, νομίζων αἰτίαν τὴν τῶν σχημάτων διαφορὰν ἐξ ὧν σύγκειται. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων ὁμογενῆ φησιν εἶναι τὰ σχήματα — ἀπαντα γὰρ ἐξ ἑνὸς συγκεῖσθαι τοῦ προμήκους τριγώνου — τῆς δὲ γῆς ἴδιον εἶναι τὸ σχῆμα· πυρὸς μὲν γὰρ εἶναι στοιχεῖον πυραμίδα, ἀέρος τὸ οκτάεδρον, ὕδατος τὸ εἰκοσάεδρον, γῆς δὲ κύβον. ὅθεν μήτε γῆν εἰς ταῦτα μεταβάλλειν, μήτε ταῦτα εἰς γῆν.

71 Οὐ διακεκρίσθαι δ' εἰς τοὺς οἰκείους τόπους ἕκαστον, ὅτι ἡ περιφορὰ σφίγγουσα καὶ πρὸς τὸν μέσον συνάγουσα συγκρίνει τὰ μικρά, τὰ δὲ διακρίνει, τὰ μεγάλα. διόπερ τὰ εἶδη μεταβάλλοντα καὶ τοὺς τόπους μεταβάλλειν.

Κόσμον τε εἶναι ἓνα γεννητόν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αἰσθητός ἐστίν ὑπὸ θεοῦ κατεσκευασμένος· ἐμφυχόν τε εἶναι διὰ τὸ κρείττον εἶναι τοῦ ἀψύχου τὸ ἐμφυχόν, τοῦτο δὲ δημιουργημα ὑποκείσθαι τοῦ βελτίστου αἰτίου. ἓνα τε αὐτόν καὶ οὐκ ἄπειρον κατεσκευάσθαι, ὅτι καὶ τὸ ὑπόδειγμα ἐν ᾗ ἀφ' οὗ αὐτόν ἐδημιούργησε· σφαιροειδῆ δὲ διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸν  
 72 γεννήσαντα τοιοῦτον ἔχειν σχῆμα. ἐκείνον μὲν γὰρ περιέχειν τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα, τοῦτον δὲ τὰ σχήματα

disorderly motion but, inasmuch as God preferred order to disorder, was by him brought together in one place.<sup>a</sup> This substance, he says, is converted into the four elements, fire, water, air, earth, of which the world itself and all that therein is are formed. Earth alone of these elements is not subject to change, the assumed cause being the peculiarity of its constituent triangles. For he thinks that in all the other elements the figures employed are homogeneous, the scalene triangle out of which they are all put together being one and the same, whereas for earth a triangle of peculiar shape is employed; the element of fire is a pyramid, of air an octahedron, of water an icosahedron, of earth a cube. Hence earth is not transmuted into the other three elements, nor these three into earth.

But the elements are not separated each into its own region of the universe, because the revolution unites their minute particles, compressing and forcing them together into the centre, at the same time as it separates the larger masses. Hence as they change their shapes, so also do they change the regions which they occupy.<sup>b</sup>

And there is one created universe,<sup>c</sup> seeing that it is perceptible to sense, which has been made by God. And it is animate because that which is animate is better than that which is inanimate.<sup>d</sup> And this piece of workmanship is assumed to come from a cause supremely good.<sup>e</sup> It was made one and not unlimited because the pattern from which he made it was one. And it is spherical because such is the shape of its maker. For that maker contains the other living things, and this universe the shapes of

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 30 A, 69 B.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 58 A-C.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 31 A, B; 33 A; 55 C, D; 92 A.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 30 B.

<sup>e</sup> Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 30 A, B; 55 C, D.



πάντων. λείον δὲ καὶ οὐδὲν ὄργανον ἔχοντα κύκλῳ  
 διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν εἶναι χρήσιν αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ  
 ἄφθαρτον διαμένειν τὸν κόσμον διὰ τὸ μὴ δια-  
 λύεσθαι εἰς<sup>1</sup> τὸν θεόν. καὶ τῆς μὲν ὅλης γενέσεως  
 αἷτιον εἶναι τὸν θεόν, ὅτι πέφυκεν ἀγαθοποιὸν εἶναι  
 τὸ ἀγαθόν. τοῦ δὲ οὐρανοῦ τῆς γενέσεως τὸ  
 † αἷτιον. τοῦ γὰρ καλλίστου τῶν γεννητῶν τὸ  
 ἄριστον εἶναι τῶν νοητῶν αἷτιον. ὥστε ἐπεὶ  
 τοιοῦτος ὁ θεός, ὅμοιος δὲ τῷ ἀρίστῳ ὁ οὐρανός  
 κάλλιστός γε ὢν, οὐθενὶ ἂν ὅμοιος εἴη τῶν γεννητῶν  
 ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ θεῷ.

- 73 Συνεστάναι δὲ τὸν κόσμον ἐκ πυρός, ὕδατος,  
 αἰθέρος, γῆς. ἐκ πυρός μὲν, ὅπως ὁρατός ἦ· ἐκ γῆς  
 δέ, ὅπως στερεός· ἐξ ὕδατος δὲ καὶ αἰθέρος, ὅπως  
 ἀνάλογος — αἱ γὰρ τῶν στερεῶν δυνάμεις δύο  
 μεσότησιν ἀναλογούσιν ὡς ἐν γενέσθαι τὸ πᾶν — ἐξ  
 ἀπάντων δέ, ἵνα τέλειος καὶ ἄφθαρτος ἦ.

Χρόνον τε γενέσθαι εἰκόνα τοῦ αἰδίου. κακεῖνον  
 μὲν αἰεὶ μένειν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φορὰν χρόνον  
 εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν καὶ μῆνα καὶ τὰ  
 τοιαῦτα πάντα χρόνου μέρη εἶναι. διόπερ ἄνευ  
 τῆς τοῦ κόσμου φύσεως οὐκ εἶναι χρόνον· ἅμα γὰρ  
 ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ καὶ χρόνον εἶναι.

- 74 Πρὸς δὲ χρόνον γένεσιν ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰ

<sup>1</sup> εἰς] ὡς Reiske: fort. ἐὰν Basilienses.

\* A perversion of *Tim.* 33 B. To that which is to com-  
 prehend all animals in itself that shape seems proper which  
 comprehends in itself all shapes. Diogenes Laertius opposes,  
 not universe and its shape, but maker and universe.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 33 A-D; 34 B; 32 C; 63 A.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 32 C, 33 A; 38 B; 41 A, 43 D.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 29 E-30 A; 42 E.

them all.<sup>a</sup> It is smooth and has no organ all round  
 because it has no need of organs. Moreover, the  
 universe remains imperishable because it is not dis-  
 solved into the Deity.<sup>b</sup> And the creation as a whole  
 is caused by God, because it is the nature of the good  
 to be beneficent,<sup>c</sup> and the creation of the universe  
 has the highest good for its cause. For the most  
 beautiful of created things is due to the best of  
 intelligible causes<sup>d</sup>; so that, as God is of this nature,  
 and the universe resembles the best in its perfect  
 beauty, it will not be in the likeness of anything  
 created, but only of God.

The universe is composed of fire, water, air and  
 earth; of fire in order to be visible; of earth in  
 order to be solid; of water and air in order to be  
 proportional.<sup>e</sup> For the powers represented by solids  
 are connected by two mean proportionals in a way  
 to secure the complete unity of the whole. And the  
 universe was made of all the elements in order to be  
 complete and indestructible.

Time was created as an image of eternity. And  
 while the latter remains for ever at rest, time con-  
 sists in the motion of the universe. For night and  
 day and month and the like are all parts of time;  
 for which reason, apart from the nature of the  
 universe, time has no existence. But so soon as the  
 universe is fashioned time exists.<sup>f</sup>

And the sun and moon and planets were created

\* Cf. *Tim.* 31 B-33 A. It would be more correct to say  
 "in order that the bonds, the inserted terms (air and water),  
 which unite fire to earth, may be proportional." "For the  
 best of bonds is that which makes itself and the things which  
 it binds as complete a unity as possible; and the nature of  
 proportion is to accomplish this most perfectly" (*Tim.* 31 c).

<sup>f</sup> Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 37 D-38 B.

75 πλανώμενα γενέσθαι. ὅπως δὲ διάδηλος τῶν ὥρων  
 ἢ ἀριθμὸς καὶ μετὰσχοι τὰ ζῶα ἀριθμοῦ, τὸ τοῦ  
 ἡλίου φῶς ἀνάψαι τὸν θεόν. εἶναι δὲ ἐν μὲν τῷ  
 ὑπὲρ γῆς κύκλῳ σελήνην, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐχομένῳ ἡλίῳ,  
 ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπάνω τοὺς πλανήτας. ἐμφύχον δὲ  
 πάντως διὰ τὸ ἐμφύχῳ φορᾷ δεδέσθαι. ἵνα δὲ ὁ  
 κόσμος τελειωθῇ γενόμενος ὁμοίως τῷ νοητῷ ζῳῳ,  
 τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ζῳων γενέσθαι φύσιν. ἐπεὶ οὖν  
 ἐκεῖνο εἶχε, καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν δεῖν ἔχειν. θεοὺς μὲν  
 οὖν ἔχειν τὸ πολὺ πυρίνους· εἶναι δὲ τρία γένη  
 76 τὰλλα, πτηνόν, ἔνυδρον, πεζόν. γῆν δὲ πρεσβυ-  
 τάτην μὲν εἶναι τῶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ θεῶν· γενέσθαι  
 δὲ ὡς δημιουργήματα νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν ποιεῖν· οὐσαν  
 δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ μέσου κινεῖσθαι περὶ τὸ μέσον. ἐπεὶ δ'  
 αἰτίαι εἰσὶ δύο, τὰ μὲν διὰ νοῦ εἶναι, τὰ δ' ἐξ  
 ἀναγκαίας αἰτίας, φησί, λεκτέον. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν  
 ἀήρ, πῦρ, γῆ, ὕδωρ — καὶ οὐκ ὄντα μὲν στοιχεῖα  
 κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν, ἀλλὰ δεκτικά. ταῦτα δ' ἐκ τῶν  
 τριγώνων εἶναι συντιθεμένων καὶ διαλύεσθαι εἰς  
 ταῦτα· στοιχεῖα δ' αὐτῶν εἶναι τό τε πρόμηκες  
 τρίγωνον καὶ τὸ ἰσοσκελές.

76 Ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν εἶναι καὶ αἴτια τὰ λεχθέντα δύο  
 ὧν μὲν παράδειγμα τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν ὕλην· ὅπερ  
 ἀνάγκη ἁμορφὸν εἶναι ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 δεκτικῶν. αἴτιον δὲ τούτων ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἶναι·  
 δεχόμενον γὰρ πῶς τὰς ἰδέας γεννᾷ τὰς οὐσίας,  
 καὶ δι' ἀνομοιότητα δυνάμειος κινεῖσθαι καὶ κινού-

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 38 c-39 d.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 30 c-31 b; 39 c-40 a; 41 b, c.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 40 b, c.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 46 d, e; 47 e; 48 a; 68 e; 69 a.

<sup>e</sup> Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 49 a sqq.; 50 b-51 b; 52 a, b.

<sup>f</sup> Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 53 c-55 c.

as means to the creation of time. And God kindled  
 the light of the sun in order that the number of the  
 seasons might be definite and in order that animals  
 might possess number. The moon is in the circle  
 immediately above the earth, and the sun in that  
 which is next beyond that, and in the circles above  
 come the planets. Further, the universe is an  
 animate being, for it is bound fast in animate move-  
 ment.<sup>a</sup> And in order that the universe which had  
 been created in the likeness of the intelligible living  
 creature might be rendered complete, the nature  
 of all other animals was created. Since then its  
 pattern possesses them, the universe also ought to  
 have them. And thus it contains gods for the most  
 part of a fiery nature; of the rest there are three  
 kinds, winged, aquatic and terrestrial.<sup>b</sup> And of all  
 the gods in heaven the earth is the oldest. And it  
 was fashioned to make night and day. And being  
 at the centre it moves round the centre.<sup>c</sup> And since  
 there are two causes, it must be affirmed, he says,  
 that some things are due to reason and others have  
 a necessary cause,<sup>d</sup> the latter being air, fire, earth  
 and water, which are not exactly elements but rather  
 recipients of form.<sup>e</sup> They are composed of triangles,  
 and are resolved into triangles. The scalene tri-  
 angle and the isosceles triangle are their constituent  
 elements.<sup>f</sup>

The principles, then, and causes assumed are the  
 two above mentioned, of which God and matter are  
 the exemplar. Matter is of necessity formless like  
 the other recipients of form. Of all these there is  
 a necessary cause. For it somehow or other receives  
 the ideas and so generates substances, and it moves  
 because its power is not uniform, and, being in

μενον τὰ γινόμενα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀντικινεῖν. ταῦτα δὲ πρὶν μὲν ἀλόγως κινεῖσθαι καὶ ἀτάκτως, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο συνιστάναι τὸν κόσμον, ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ συμμετρως καὶ τεταγμένως  
 71 γενέσθαι. τὰς μὲν γὰρ αἰτίας καὶ πρὸ τῆς οὐρανοποιίας δύο εἶναι καὶ τρίτην γένεσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ σαφεῖς, ἵχνη δὲ μόνον καὶ ἀτάκτους· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ κόσμος ἐγένετο, λαβεῖν καὶ ταύτας τάξιν. ἐξ ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σωμάτων γενέσθαι τὸν οὐρανόν. δοκεῖ δ' αὐτῷ τὸν θεόν ὡς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσώματον εἶναι· οὕτω γὰρ μάλιστα φθορᾶς καὶ πάθους ἀνεπίδεκτον ὑπάρχειν. τὰς δὲ ἰδέας ὑφίσταται, καθὰ καὶ προεῖρηται, αἰτίας τινας καὶ ἀρχὰς τοῦ τοιαυτ' εἶναι τὰ φύσει συνεστῶτα, οἷα περ ἐστὶν αὐτά.

78 Περὶ δὲ ἀγαθῶν ἢ κακῶν τοιαῦτα ἔλεγε. τέλος μὲν εἶναι τὴν ἐξομοίωσιν τῷ θεῷ. τὴν δ' ἀρετὴν αὐτάρκη μὲν εἶναι πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν. ὀργάνων δὲ προσδεῖσθαι τῶν περὶ σῶμα πλεονεκτημάτων, ἰσχύος, ὑγιείας, εὐαισθησίας, τῶν ὁμοίων· καὶ τῶν ἐκτός, οἷον πλούτου καὶ εὐγενείας καὶ δόξης. οὐδὲν δὲ ἦττον εὐδαίμονα ἔσεσθαι τὸν σοφόν, κἂν ταῦτα μὴ παρῇ. πολιτεύσεσθαι αὖ καὶ γαμήσειν καὶ τοὺς κειμένους νόμους οὐ παραβήσεσθαι· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων καὶ νομοθετήσιν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδι, ἐὰν μὴ τέλεον εὐπαραίτητα<sup>1</sup> ὁρᾷ τὰ πράγ-  
 79 ματα ἐν ὑπερβαλλούσῃ διαφθορᾷ δήμου. οἶεται δὲ καὶ θεοὺς ἐφορᾶν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα καὶ δαίμονας εἶναι. ἐννοιάν τε καλοῦ πρῶτος ἀπεφῆναι τὴν

<sup>1</sup> ἀπαραίτητα Casaubon.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 52 D; 53 B; 57 C; 69 B, C.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 30 B; 44 C.

motion, it in turn sets in motion those things which are generated from it. And these were at first in irrational and irregular motion, but after they began to frame the universe, under the conditions possible they were made by God symmetrical and regular. For the two causes existed even before the world was made, as well as becoming in the third place, but they were not distinct, merely traces of them being found, and in disorder. When the world was made, they too acquired order.<sup>a</sup> And out of all the bodies there are the universe was fashioned. He holds God, like the soul, to be incorporeal. For only thus is he exempt from change and decay. As already stated, he assumes the Ideas to be causes and principles whereby the world of natural objects is what it is.

On good and evil he would discourse to this effect. He maintained that the end to aim at is assimilation to God, that virtue is in itself sufficient for happiness, but that it needs in addition, as instruments for use, first, bodily advantages like health and strength, sound senses and the like, and, secondly, external advantages such as wealth, good birth and reputation. But the wise man will be no less happy even if he be without these things. Again, he will take part in public affairs, will marry, and will refrain from breaking the laws which have been made. And as far as circumstances allow he will legislate for his own country, unless in the extreme corruption of the people he sees that the state of affairs completely justifies his abstention. He thinks that the gods take note of human life<sup>b</sup> and that there are superhuman beings.<sup>c</sup> He was the first to define the notion of good as that which is bound up with

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 40 D.

ἐχομένην τοῦ ἐπαινετοῦ καὶ λογικοῦ καὶ χρησίμου καὶ πρέποντος καὶ ἀρμόττοντος· ἅπερ πάντα ἔχουσι τοῦ ἀκολούθου τῇ φύσει καὶ ὁμολογουμένου.

Διελέξατο δὲ καὶ περὶ ὀνομάτων ὀρθότητος· ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τοῦ ὀρθῶς ἀποκρίνεσθαι καὶ ἐρωτᾶν πρῶτον αὐτὸν διαυστήσαι κατακόρως χρησάμενον. ἐν δὲ τοῖς διαλόγοις καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην θεοῦ νόμον ὑπελάμβανεν ὡς ἰσχυροτέραν προτρέψαι τὰ δίκαια πράττειν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ μετὰ θάνατον δίκας ὑπόσχοιεν ὡς κακοῦργοι. ὅθεν καὶ μυθικώτερος ἐνίοις ὑπελήφθη τοῖς συγγράμμασιν ἐγκαταμίξας τὰς τοιαύτας διηγήσεις, ὅπως διὰ τούτου ἀδύλου τρόπου τοῦ ἔχειν τὰ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον οὕτως ἀπέχωνται τῶν ἀδικημάτων. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ ἀρέσκοντα.

Διήρει δέ, φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης, καὶ τὰ πράγματα τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν ψυχῇ, τὰ δὲ ἐν σώματι, τὰ δὲ ἐκτός· οἷον ἡ μὲν δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἡ φρόνησις καὶ ἡ ἀνδρεία καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν ψυχῇ· τὸ δὲ κάλλος καὶ ἡ εὐεξία καὶ ἡ ὑγίεια καὶ ἡ ἰσχύς ἐν σώματι· οἱ δὲ φίλοι καὶ ἡ τῆς πατρίδος εὐδαιμονία καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος ἐν τοῖς ἐκτός.

Τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἄρα τρία εἶδη ἐστί· τὰ μὲν ἐν ψυχῇ, τὰ δὲ ἐν σώματι, τὰ δὲ ἐκτός. τῆς φιλίας τρία εἶδη· ἡ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐστὶ φυσική, ἡ δὲ ἐταιρική, ἡ δὲ ξενική· φυσικὴν μὲν οὖν ταύτην λέγομεν, ἣν οἱ γονεῖς πρὸς τὰ ἔκγονα ἔχουσι καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ταύτης δὲ κεκλήρωται καὶ ἅλλα

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 42 b.

<sup>b</sup> The third appendix begins here, containing the *διαίρεσις* which are also attributed to Aristotle; see Rose, *Aristoteles*

whatever is praiseworthy and rational and useful and proper and becoming. And all these are bound up with that which is consistent and in accord with nature.

He also discoursed on the propriety of names, and indeed he was the first to frame a science for rightly asking and answering questions, having employed it himself to excess. And in the dialogues he conceived righteousness to be the law of God because it is stronger to incite men to do righteous acts, that malefactors may not be punished after death also. Hence to some he appeared too fond of myths. These narratives he intermingles with his works in order to deter men from wickedness, by reminding them how little they know of what awaits them<sup>a</sup> after death. Such, then, are the doctrines he approved.

He used also to divide things, according to Aristotle, in the following manner.<sup>b</sup> Goods are in the mind or in the body, or external. For example, justice, prudence, courage, temperance and such like are in the mind; beauty, a good constitution, health and strength in the body; while friends, the welfare of one's country and riches are amongst external things.

Thus there are three kinds of goods: goods of the mind, goods of the body and external goods. There are three species of friendship: one species is natural, another social, and another hospitable. By natural friendship we mean the affection which parents have for their offspring and kinsmen for each other. And other animals besides man have inherited this form.

*Pseudepigraphus*, pp. 679 *sqq.*, who gives a Christian recension. The original, the common source of Diogenes Laertius and the Christian writer, he refers vaguely to the Hellenistic age.

ζῶα. ἑταιρικὴν δὲ καλοῦμεν τὴν ἀπὸ συνηθείας γινομένην καὶ μηδὲν προσήκουσαν γένει, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἡ Πυλάδου πρὸς Ὀρέστην. ἡ δὲ ξενικὴ φιλία ἡ ἀπὸ συστάσεως καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων γινομένη πρὸς τοὺς ξένους. τῆς ἄρα φιλίας ἡ μὲν ἐστὶ φυσικὴ, ἡ δὲ ἑταιρικὴ, ἡ δὲ ξενικὴ· προστιθέασι δὲ τινες τετάρτην ἐρωτικὴν.

- 82 Τῆς πολιτείας ἐστὶν εἶδη πέντε· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐστὶ δημοκρατικόν, ἄλλο δὲ ἀριστοκρατικόν, τρίτον δὲ ὀλιγαρχικόν, τέταρτον βασιλικόν, πέμπτον τυραννικόν. δημοκρατικόν μὲν οὖν ἐστίν, ἐν αἷς πόλεσι κρατεῖ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τοὺς νόμους δι' ἑαυτοῦ αἰρεῖται. ἀριστοκρατία δὲ ἐστίν, ἐν ᾗ μήθ' οἱ πλούσιοι μήθ' οἱ πένητες μήθ' οἱ ἔνδοξοι ἀρχοῦσιν, ἀλλ' οἱ ἀριστοὶ τῆς πόλεως προστατοῦσιν. ὀλιγαρχία δὲ ἐστίν, ὅταν ἀπὸ τιμημάτων αἱ ἀρχαὶ αἰρῶνται· ἐλάττους γάρ εἰσιν οἱ πλούσιοι τῶν πενήτων. τῆς δὲ βασιλείας ἡ μὲν κατὰ νόμον, ἡ δὲ κατὰ γένος ἐστίν. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐν Κερκηδόνι κατὰ νόμον· πωλητὴ γάρ ἐστίν.
- 83 ἡ δὲ ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι καὶ Μακεδονίᾳ κατὰ γένος· ἀπὸ γάρ τινος γένους ποιοῦνται τὴν βασιλείαν. τυραννὶς δὲ ἐστίν, ἐν ᾗ παρακρουσθέντες ἡ βιασθέντες ὑπὸ τινος ἀρχοῦνται. τῆς ἄρα πολιτείας ἡ μὲν ἐστὶ δημοκρατία, ἡ δὲ ἀριστοκρατία, ἡ δὲ ὀλιγαρχία, ἡ δὲ βασιλεία, ἡ δὲ τυραννὶς.

Τῆς δὲ δικαιοσύνης ἐστὶν εἶδη τρία· ἡ μὲν γὰρ

• Plato probably refers to Carthage when he mentions *πυρρὰς βασιλείας*, *ἀνὴται βασιλείαι*, amongst barbarians, *Rep.* 544 d. Aristotle repeats the epithet in his description of the Carthaginian constitution, *Pol.* ii. 11, 1273 a 36. Polybius says that at Carthage magistrates attain office, *δῶρα*

By the social form of friendship we mean that which arises from intimacy and has nothing to do with kinship; for instance, that of Pylades for Orestes. The friendship of hospitality is that which is extended to strangers owing to an introduction or letters of recommendation. Thus friendship is either natural or social or hospitable. Some add a fourth species, that of love.

There are five forms of civil government: one form is democratic, another aristocratic, a third oligarchic, a fourth monarchic, a fifth that of a tyrant. The democratic form is that in which the people has control and chooses at its own pleasure both magistrates and laws. The aristocratic form is that in which the rulers are neither the rich nor the poor nor the nobles, but the state is under the guidance of the best. Oligarchy is that form in which there is a property-qualification for the holding of office; for the rich are fewer than the poor. Monarchy is either regulated by law or hereditary. At Carthage the kingship is regulated by law, the office being put up for sale.<sup>a</sup> But the monarchy in Lacedaemon and in Macedonia is hereditary, for they select the king from a certain family. A tyranny is that form in which the citizens are ruled either through fraud or force by an individual. Thus civil government is either democratic, aristocratic, oligarchic, or a monarchy or a tyranny.

There are three species of justice. One is *φανερῶς διδόντες*, vi. 56. 4. This phrase is some help towards an explanation, but whether it means open bribery—possibly of the people, more probably of the Council—or whether it refers to very large fees payable upon taking office, it is not easy to determine. In either case wealth would preponderate over merit.

αὐτῆς ἐστὶ περὶ θεοῦς, ἡ δὲ περὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἡ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀποικομένους. οἱ μὲν γὰρ θύοντες κατὰ νόμους καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι δῆλον ὅτι περὶ θεοῦς εὐσεβοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ δάνεια ἀποδιδόντες καὶ παραθήκας δικαιοπραγοῦσι περὶ ἀνθρώπων· οἱ δὲ τῶν μνημείων ἐπιμελούμενοι δῆλον ὅτι περὶ τοὺς ἀποικομένους. τῆς ἄρα δικαιοσύνης ἡ μὲν πρὸς θεοῦς ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, ἡ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀποικομένους.

84 Τῆς ἐπιστήμης εἶδη ἐστὶ τρία· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ πρακτικόν, τὸ δὲ ποιητικόν, τὸ δὲ θεωρητικόν. ἡ μὲν οἰκοδομικὴ καὶ ναυπηγικὴ ποιητικά· εἰσιν ἐστὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἰδεῖν ἔργον πεποιημένον. πολιτικὴ δὲ καὶ αὐλητικὴ καὶ κιθαριστικὴ καὶ αἱ τοιαῦται πρακτικά· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν οὐδὲν ἰδεῖν ἴθρον αὐτῶν πεποιημένον, ἀλλὰ πράττουσιν τι· ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐλεῖ καὶ κιθαρίζει, ὁ δὲ πολιτεύεται. ἡ δὲ γεωμετρικὴ καὶ ἁρμονικὴ καὶ ἀστρολογικὴ θεωρητικά· οὔτε γὰρ πράττουσιν οὔτε ποιοῦσιν οὐθέν· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν γεωμέτρης θεωρεῖ πῶς πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἔχουσιν αἱ γραμμαί, ὁ δ' ἁρμονικὸς τοὺς φθόγγους, ὁ δ' ἀστρολογικὸς τὰ ἄστρα καὶ τὸν κόσμον. τῶν ἄρα ἐπιστημῶν αἱ μὲν εἰσι θεωρητικά, αἱ δὲ πρακτικά, αἱ δὲ ποιητικά.

85 Τῆς ἱατρικῆς ἐστὶν εἶδη πέντε· ἡ μὲν φαρμακευτικὴ, ἡ δὲ χειρουργικὴ, ἡ δὲ διαιτητικὴ, ἡ δὲ νοσογνωμονικὴ, ἡ δὲ βοηθητικὴ. ἡ μὲν φαρμακευτικὴ διὰ φαρμάκων ἰᾶται τὰς ἀρρωστίας, ἡ δὲ χειρουργικὴ διὰ τοῦ τέμνειν καὶ καίειν ὑγιάζει, ἡ δὲ διαιτητικὴ διὰ τοῦ διαιτᾶν ἀπαλλάττει τὰς ἀρρωστίας, ἡ δὲ νοσογνωμονικὴ διὰ τοῦ γινῶναι

cerned with gods, another with men, and the third with the departed. For those who sacrifice according to the laws and take care of the temples are obviously pious towards the gods. Those again who repay loans and restore what they have received upon trust act justly towards men. Lastly, those who take care of tombs are obviously just towards the departed. Thus one species of justice relates to the gods, another to men, while a third species is concerned with the departed.

There are three species of knowledge or science, one practical, another productive, and a third theoretical. For architecture and shipbuilding are productive arts, since the work produced by them can be seen. Politics and flute-playing, harp-playing and similar arts are practical. For nothing visible is produced by them; yet they do or perform something. In the one case the artist plays the flute or the harp, in the other the politician takes part in politics. Geometry and harmonics and astronomy are theoretical sciences. For they neither perform nor produce anything. But the geometer considers how lines are related to each other, the student of harmony investigates sounds, the astronomer stars and the universe. Thus some sciences are theoretical, others are practical, and others are productive.

There are five species of medicine: the first is pharmacy, the second is surgery, the third deals with diet and regimen, the fourth with diagnosis, the fifth with remedies. Pharmacy cures sickness by drugs, surgery heals by the use of knife and cautery, the species concerned with diet prescribes a regimen for the removal of disease, that concerned with diagnosis proceeds by determining the nature

τὸ ἀρρώστημα, ἡ δὲ βοηθητικὴ διὰ τοῦ βοηθῆσαι εἰς τὸ παραχρήμα ἀπαλλάττει τῆς ἀλγηδόνης. τῆς ἄρα ἱατρικῆς ἡ μὲν ἐστὶ φαρμακευτικὴ, ἡ δὲ χειρουργικὴ, ἡ δὲ διαιτητικὴ, ἡ δὲ βοηθητικὴ, ἡ δὲ νοσογνωμονικὴ.

86 Νόμον διαιρέσεις δύο· ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένος, ὁ δὲ ἄγραφος. ᾧ μὲν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι πολιτευόμεθα, γεγραμμένος ἐστίν. ὁ δὲ κατὰ ἔθνη γινόμενος οὗτος ἄγραφος καλεῖται· οἷον τὸ μὴ γυμνὸν πορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν μηδὲ γυναικεῖον ἱμάτιον περιβάλλεσθαι. ταῦτα γὰρ οὐθεὶς νόμος κωλύει, ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐ πράττομεν διὰ τὸ ἀγράφῳ νόμῳ κωλύεσθαι. τοῦ ἄρα νόμου ἐστὶν ὁ μὲν γεγραμμένος, ὁ δὲ ἄγραφος.

Ὁ λόγος διαιρεῖται εἰς πέντε, ὧν εἰς μὲν ἐστίν, ὃν οἱ πολιτευόμενοι λέγουσιν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, 87 ὃς καλεῖται πολιτικός. ἑτέρα δὲ διαίρεσις λόγου, ὃν οἱ ῥήτορες γράφουσιν ᾗ ἐπίδειξιν προφέρουσιν εἰς ἐγκώμια καὶ ψόγους καὶ κατηγορίας· τὸ δὴ τοιοῦτον εἶδος ἐστὶ ῥητορικόν. τρίτη δὲ διαίρεσις λόγου, ὃν οἱ ἰδιῶται διαλέγονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους· οὗτος δὴ ὁ τρόπος προσαγορεύεται ἰδιωτικόν. ἑτέρα δὲ διαίρεσις λόγου, ὃν οἱ κατὰ βραχὺ ἐρωτῶντες καὶ ἀποκρινόμενοι τοῖς ἐρωτῶσι διαλέγονται· οὗτος δὲ καλεῖται ὁ λόγος διαλεκτικός. πέμπτη δὲ διαίρεσις λόγου, ὃν οἱ τεχνῖται περὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν διαλέγονται τέχνης· ὃς δὴ καλεῖται τεχνικός. τοῦ λόγου ἄρα τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ πολιτικόν, τὸ δὲ ῥητορικόν, τὸ δὲ ἰδιωτικόν, τὸ δὲ διαλεκτικόν, τὸ δὲ τεχνικόν.

88 Ἡ μουσικὴ εἰς τρία διαιρεῖται· ἐστὶ γὰρ ἡ μὲν διὰ τοῦ στόματος μόνον, οἷον ἡ ψῆδῃ· δεύτερον δὲ

of the ailment, that concerned with remedies by prescribing for the immediate removal of the pain. The species of medicine, then, are pharmacy, surgery, diet and regimen, diagnosis, prescription of remedies.

There are two divisions of law, the one written and the other unwritten. Written law is that under which we live in different cities, but that which has arisen out of custom is called unwritten law; for instance, not to appear in the market-place undressed or in women's attire. There is no statute forbidding this, but nevertheless we abstain from such conduct because it is prohibited by an unwritten law. Thus law is either written or unwritten.

There are five kinds of speech, of which one is that which politicians employ in the assemblies; this is called political speech. The second division is that which the rhetors employ in written compositions, whether composed for display or praise or blame, or for accusation. Hence this division is termed rhetorical. The third division of speech is that of private persons conversing with one another; this is called the mode of speech of ordinary life. Another division of speech is the language of those who converse by means of short questions and answers; this kind is called dialectical. The fifth division is the speech of craftsmen conversing about their own subjects; this is called technical language. Thus speech is either political, or rhetorical, or that of ordinary conversation, or dialectical, or technical.

Music has three divisions. One employs the mouth alone, like singing. The second employs both the



διὰ τοῦ στόματος καὶ τῶν χειρῶν, ὅλον ἢ κιθαριδίᾳ· τρίτον ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν μόνον, ὅλον κιθαριστικῇ. τῆς ἄρα μουσικῆς ἐστὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος μόνον, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος καὶ τῶν χειρῶν, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν.

Διαιρεῖται δὲ ἡ εὐγένεια εἰς εἶδη τέτταρα. ἐν μὲν, ἂν ὦσιν οἱ πρόγονοι καλοὶ κάγαθοι καὶ δίκαιοι, τοὺς ἐκ τούτων γεγεννημένους εὐγενεῖς φασιν εἶναι. ἄλλο δέ, ἂν ὦσιν οἱ πρόγονοι δεδυναστευκότες καὶ ἄρχοντες γεγεννημένοι, τοὺς ἐκ τούτων εὐγενεῖς φασιν εἶναι. ἄλλο δέ, ἂν ὦσιν οἱ πρόγονοι ὀνομαστοί, ὅλον ἀπὸ στρατηγίας, ἀπὸ στεφανιτῶν ἀγώνων· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐκ τούτων γεγεννημένους  
89 εὐγενεῖς προσαγορεύομεν. ἄλλο εἶδος, ἂν αὐτὸς τις ᾖ γεννάδας τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ μεγαλόψυχος· καὶ τοῦτον εὐγενῆ φασιν· καὶ τῆς γε εὐγενείας αὕτη κρατίστη. τῆς ἄρα εὐγενείας τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ προγόνων ἐπιεικῶν, τὸ δὲ δυναστῶν, τὸ δὲ ἐνδόξων, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ καλοκαγαθίας.

Τὸ κάλλος διαιρεῖται εἰς τρία· ἐν μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἐπαινετόν, ὅλον ἢ διὰ τῆς ὀψεως εὐμορφία· ἄλλο δὲ χρηστικόν, ὅλον ὄργανον καὶ οἰκία καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς χρῆσιν ἐστὶ καλὰ· τὸ δὲ πρὸς νόμους καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, <ᾧ> πρὸς ὠφέλειαν ἐστὶ καλὰ. τοῦ ἄρα κάλλους τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ πρὸς ἔπαινον, τὸ δὲ πρὸς χρῆσιν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν.

90 Ἡ ψυχὴ διαιρεῖται εἰς τρία· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐστὶ λογιστικόν, τὸ δὲ ἐπιθυμητικόν, τὸ δὲ θυμικόν. τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν λογιστικόν ἐστὶν αἴτιον τοῦ βουλευέσθαι τε καὶ λογίζεσθαι καὶ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων· τὸ δ' ἐπιθυμητικόν μέρος

mouth and the hands, as is the case with the harper singing to his own accompaniment. The third division employs the hands alone; for instance, the music of the harp. Thus music employs either the mouth alone, or the mouth and the hands, or the hands alone.

Nobility has four divisions. First, when the ancestors are gentle and handsome and also just, their descendants are said to be noble. Secondly, when the ancestors have been princes or magistrates, their descendants are said to be noble. The third kind arises when the ancestors have been illustrious; for instance, through having held military command or through success in the national games. For then we call the descendants noble. The last division includes the man who is himself of a generous and high-minded spirit. He too is said to be noble. And this indeed is the highest form of nobility. Thus, of nobility, one kind depends on excellent ancestors, another on princely ancestors, a third on illustrious ancestors, while the fourth is due to the individual's own beauty and worth.

Beauty has three divisions. The first is the object of praise, as of form fair to see. Another is serviceable; thus an instrument, a house and the like are beautiful for use. Other things again which relate to customs and pursuits and the like are beautiful because beneficial. Of beauty, then, one kind is matter for praise, another is for use, and another for the benefit it procures.

The soul has three divisions. One part of it is rational, another appetitive, and a third irascible. Of these the rational part is the cause of purpose, reflection, understanding and the like. The appeti-



ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αἴτιον τοῦ ἐπιθυμεῖν φαγεῖν καὶ τοῦ πλησιάζειν καὶ τῶν τοιούτων πάντων. τὸ δὲ θυμικὸν μέρος αἰτίον ἐστὶ τοῦ θαρρεῖν καὶ ᾗδεσθαι καὶ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ὀργίζεσθαι. τῆς ἄρα ψυχῆς ἐστὶ τὸ μὲν λογιστικόν, τὸ δὲ ἐπιθυμητικόν, τὸ δὲ θυμικόν.

Τῆς τελείας ἀρετῆς εἶδη τέτταρα· ἐν μὲν φρόνησις, ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνη, ἄλλο δ' ἀνδρεία, τέταρτον <sup>91</sup> σωφροσύνη. τούτων ἡ μὲν φρόνησις αἰτία τοῦ πράττειν ὀρθῶς τὰ πράγματα· ἡ δὲ δικαιοσύνη τοῦ ἐν ταῖς κοινωνίαις καὶ τοῖς συναλλάγμασι δικαιοπραγεῖν· ἡ δὲ ἀνδρεία τοῦ ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις καὶ φοβεροῖς μὴ ἐξίστασθαι ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ μένειν· ἡ δὲ σωφροσύνη τοῦ κρατεῖν τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ ὑπὸ μηδεμιᾶς ἡδονῆς δουλοῦσθαι, ἀλλὰ κοσμίως ζῆν. τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄρα τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ φρόνησις, ἄλλο δικαιοσύνη, τρίτον ἀνδρεία, τέταρτον σωφροσύνη.

Ἡ ἀρχὴ διαιρεῖται εἰς μέρη πέντε· ἐν μὲν εἰς τὸ κατὰ νόμον, ἐν δὲ εἰς τὸ κατὰ φύσιν, ἐν δὲ εἰς τὸ κατὰ ἔθος, τέταρτον εἰς τὸ κατὰ γένος, πέμπτον <sup>92</sup> δὲ κατὰ βίαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἄρχοντες ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπὶ ἀναιρέθωσι, κατὰ νόμον ἄρχουσιν· οἱ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν, οἱ ἄρρενες, οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις· ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ πανταχοῦ τὰ ἄρρενα τῶν θηλειῶν ἄρχει. ἡ δὲ τοῦ κατὰ ἔθος ἀρχῆς τοιαύτη ἐστίν, οἷαν οἱ παιδαγωγοὶ τῶν παιδῶν ἄρχουσι καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι τῶν φοιτῶντων. κατὰ γένος δὲ ἀρχῆς τοιαύτη τις λέγεται, οἷαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι βασιλεῖς ἄρχουσιν· ἀπὸ γὰρ γένους τινὸς ἡ βασιλεία. καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἄρχουσι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἀπὸ γένους ἡ βασιλεία καθίσταται. οἱ

tive part of the soul is the cause of desire of eating, sexual indulgence and the like, while the irascible part is the cause of courage, of pleasure and pain, and of anger. Thus one part of the soul is rational, another appetitive, and a third irascible.

Of perfect virtue there are four species : prudence, justice, bravery and temperance. Of these prudence is the cause of right conduct, justice of just dealing in partnerships and commercial transactions. Bravery is the cause which makes a man not give way but stand his ground in alarms and perils. Temperance causes mastery over desires, so that we are never enslaved by any pleasure, but lead an orderly life. Thus virtue includes first prudence, next justice, thirdly bravery, and lastly temperance.

Rule has five divisions, one that which is according to law, another according to nature, another according to custom, a fourth by birth, a fifth by force. Now the magistrates in cities when elected by their fellow-citizens rule according to law. The natural rulers are the males, not only among men, but also among the other animals ; for the males everywhere exert wide-reaching rule over the females. Rule according to custom is such authority as attendants exercise over children and teachers over their pupils. Hereditary rule is exemplified by that of the Lacedaemonian kings, for the office of king is confined to a certain family. And the same system is in force for the kingdom of Macedonia ; for there too the office of king goes by birth. Others have

δὲ βιασάμενοι ἢ παρακρουσάμενοι ἄρχουσιν ἀκόν-  
 των τῶν πολιτῶν· ἡ τοιαύτη ἀρχὴ κατὰ βίαν  
 λέγεται εἶναι. τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄρα ἐστὶ τὸ μὲν κατὰ  
 νόμον, τὸ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ ἔθος, τὸ δὲ  
 κατὰ γένος, τὸ δὲ κατὰ βίαν.

- 93 Τῆς ῥητορείας εἶδη ἐστὶν ἕξ. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ  
 κελεύωσι πολεμεῖν ἢ συμμαχεῖν πρὸς τινα, καλεῖται  
 τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδος προτροπή. ὅταν δ' ἀξιῶσι μὴ  
 πολεμεῖν <ἢ> μὴ συμμαχεῖν, ἀλλ' ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν,  
 τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδος ἐστὶν ἀποτροπή. τρίτον εἶδος  
 τῆς ῥητορείας, ὅταν τις φάσκη ἀδικεῖσθαι ὑπό  
 τινος καὶ πολλῶν κακῶν αἴτιον ἀποφαίνῃ· τὸ δὲ  
 τοιοῦτον εἶδος κατηγορία ὀνομάζεται. τέταρτον  
 εἶδος τῆς ῥητορείας [ἀπολογία καλεῖται], ὅταν  
 ἀποφαίνῃ αὐτὸν μὴθὲν ἀδικοῦντα μήτε ἄλλο ἄτοπον  
 μὴθὲν πράττοντα· τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον ἀπολογίαν καλοῦσι.  
 94 πέμπτον εἶδος ῥητορείας, ὅταν τις εὖ λέγῃ καὶ  
 ἀποφαίνῃ καλὸν κἀγαθόν· τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον εἶδος  
 καλεῖται ἐγκώμιον. ἕκτον εἶδος, ὅταν τις ἀπο-  
 φαίνῃ φαῦλον· τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον εἶδος καλεῖται ψόγος.  
 τῆς ἄρα ῥητορείας ἐστὶ τὸ μὲν ἐγκώμιον, τὸ δὲ  
 ψόγος, τὸ δὲ προτροπή, τὸ δὲ ἀποτροπή, τὸ δὲ  
 κατηγορία, τὸ δὲ ἀπολογία.

- Τὸ ὀρθῶς λέγειν διαιρεῖται εἰς τέτταρα· ἐν μὲν ᾧ  
 δεῖ λέγειν, ἐν δὲ ὅσα δεῖ λέγειν, τρίτον πρὸς οὓς  
 δεῖ λέγειν, τέταρτον δὲ πηνίκα λέγειν δεῖ. ᾧ μὲν  
 οὖν δεῖ λέγειν, ᾧ μέλλει συμφέρειν τῷ λέγοντι καὶ  
 τῷ ἀκούοντι· τὸ δὲ ὅσα δεῖ λέγειν, μὴ πλείω μηδὲ  
 95 ἐλάττω τῶν ἱκανῶν. τὸ δὲ πρὸς οὓς δεῖ λέγειν,  
 ἃν τε πρὸς πρεσβυτέρους [ἀμαρτάνοντας] διαλέγῃ,

acquired power by force or fraud, and govern the  
 citizens against their will; this kind of rule is called  
 forcible. Thus rule is either by law, or by nature,  
 or by custom, or by birth, or by force.

There are six kinds of rhetoric. For when the  
 speakers urge war or alliance with a neighbouring  
 state, that species of rhetoric is called persuasion.  
 But when they speak against making war or alliance,  
 and urge their hearers to remain at peace, this kind  
 of rhetoric is called dissuasion. A third kind is  
 employed when a speaker asserts that he is wronged  
 by some one whom he makes out to have caused  
 him much mischief; accusation is the name applied  
 to the kind here defined. The fourth kind of rhetoric  
 is termed defence; here the speaker shows that he  
 has done no wrong and that his conduct is in no  
 respect abnormal; defence is the term applied in  
 such a case. A fifth kind of rhetoric is employed  
 when a speaker speaks well of some one and proves  
 him to be worthy and honourable; encomium is the  
 name given to this kind. A sixth kind is that  
 employed when the speaker shows some one to be un-  
 worthy; the name given to this is invective. Under  
 rhetoric, then, are included encomium, invective,  
 persuasion, dissuasion, accusation and defence.

Successful speaking has four divisions. The first  
 consists in speaking to the purpose, the next to the  
 requisite length, the third before the proper audience,  
 and the fourth at the proper moment. The things  
 to the purpose are those which are likely to be  
 expedient for speaker and hearer. The requisite  
 length is that which is neither more nor less than  
 enough. To speak to the proper audience means  
 this: in addressing persons older than yourself, the

ἀρμόττοντας δὲ τοὺς λόγους διαλέγεσθαι ὡς  
 πρεσβυτέροις· ἂν τε πρὸς νεωτέρους, ἀρμόττοντας  
 δὲ λέγεσθαι ὡς νεωτέροις. πηνίκα δὲ λέγειν ἐστὶ,  
 μήτε προτέρω μήτε ὑστέρω· εἰ δὲ μή, διαμαρτή-  
 σσεται καὶ οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔρεῖν.

Ἡ εὐεργεσία διαιρεῖται εἰς τέτταρα· ἥ γὰρ  
 χρήμασιν ἢ σώμασιν ἢ ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις ἢ τοῖς  
 λόγοις. τοῖς μὲν οὖν χρήμασιν, ὅταν δεομένῳ  
 παραβοηθήσῃ τις εἰς χρημάτων λόγον εὐπορήσαι·  
 τοῖς δὲ σώμασιν εὐ ποιοῦσιν ἀλλήλους, ὅταν παρα-  
 96 γεγόμενοι τυπτομένοις παραβοηθῶσιν· οἱ δὲ παι-  
 δεύοντες καὶ ἰατρούοντες καὶ διδάσκοντες ἀγαθόν  
 τι, οὗτοι δὲ ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις εὐεργετοῦσιν· ὅταν  
 δ' εἰσέλθωσιν εἰς δικαστήριον ἄλλος ὑπὲρ ἄλλου  
 βοηθὸς καὶ λόγον τινὰ ἐπιεικῆ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ εἴπῃ,  
 οὗτος δὲ λόγῳ εὐεργετεῖ. τῆς ἄρα εὐεργεσίας ἡ  
 μὲν ἐστὶ διὰ χρημάτων, ἡ δὲ διὰ σωμάτων, ἡ δὲ  
 διὰ ἐπιστημῶν, τετάρτη διὰ λόγων.

Διαιρεῖται τὸ τέλος τῶν πραγμάτων εἰς τέτταρα  
 εἶδη· ἓν μὲν κατὰ νόμον τέλος τὰ πράγματα λαμ-  
 βάνει, ὅταν ψήφισμα γένηται καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ νόμος  
 τελέσῃ· κατὰ φύσιν δὲ τέλος τὰ πράγματα λαμ-  
 βάνει, ἥ τε ἡμέρα καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς καὶ αἱ ὥραι.  
 κατὰ τέχνην δὲ τέλος τὰ πράγματα λαμβάνει,  
 οἷον ἡ οἰκοδομικὴ οἰκίαν γάρ τις ἐπιτελεῖ· καὶ ἡ  
 97 ναυπηγικὴ πλοῖα γάρ. κατὰ τύχην δὲ γίνεται τοῖς  
 πράγμασι τέλος, ὅταν ἄλλως καὶ μὴ ὡς ὑπο-  
 λαμβάνει τις ἀποβαίνει. τοῦ τέλους ἄρα τῶν πραγ-  
 μάτων τὸ μὲν κατὰ νόμον, τὸ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν, τὸ  
 δὲ κατὰ τέχνην, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τύχην ἐστίν.

Ἡ δύναμις διαιρεῖται εἰς τέτταρα εἶδη· ἓν μὲν  
 ὁ δυνάμεθα τῇ διανοίᾳ, λογίζεσθαι καὶ ὑπονοεῖν·  
 360

discourse must be made suitable to the audience as  
 being elderly men; whereas in addressing juniors  
 the discourse must be suitable to young men.  
 The proper time of speaking is neither too soon nor  
 too late; otherwise you will miss the mark and not  
 speak with success.

Of conferring benefits there are four divisions.  
 For it takes place either by pecuniary aid or by  
 personal service, by means of knowledge or of speech.  
 Pecuniary aid is given when one assists a man in  
 need, so that he is relieved from all anxiety on the  
 score of money. Personal service is given when men  
 come up to those who are being beaten and rescue  
 them. Those who train or heal, or who teach some-  
 thing valuable, confer benefit by means of knowledge.  
 But when men enter a law-court and one appears as  
 advocate for another and delivers an effective speech  
 on his behalf, he is benefiting him by speech. Thus  
 benefits are conferred by means either of money or  
 of personal service, or of knowledge, or of speech.

There are four ways in which things are completed  
 and brought to an end. The first is by legal enact-  
 ment, when a decree is passed and this decree is  
 confirmed by law. The second is in the course of  
 nature, as the day, the year and the seasons are  
 completed. The third is by the rules of art, say the  
 builder's art, for so a house is completed; and so it  
 is with shipbuilding, whereby vessels are completed.  
 Fourthly, matters are brought to an end by chance  
 or accident, when they turn out otherwise than is  
 expected. Thus the completion of things is due  
 either to law, or to nature, or to art, or to chance.

Of power or ability there are four divisions. First,  
 whatever we can do with the mind, namely calculate

ἕτερον δὲ τῷ σώματι, ὅλον πορεύεσθαι καὶ διδόναι καὶ λαμβάνειν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· τρίτον δὲ δυνάμεθα κληθεὶ στρατιωτῶν καὶ χρημάτων, ὅθεν καλεῖται πολλὴν δύναμιν ἔχων βασιλεὺς· τετάρτη δὲ διαίρεσις δυνάμεως πάσχειν καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ κακῶς· ὅλον ἄρρωστέιν καὶ παιδεύεσθαι δυνάμεθα καὶ ὑγιεῖς γίνεσθαι καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα. τῆς ἄρα δυνάμεως ἢ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν διανοίᾳ, ἢ δ' ἐν τῷ σώματι, ἢ δ' ἐν στρατοπέδῳ καὶ χρήμασιν, ἢ δ' ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν.

98 Τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἐστὶν εἶδη τρία· ἐν μὲν διὰ τῆς προσηγορίας γινόμενον, ὅλον ἐν οἷς τινες τὸν ἐντυχόντα πάντα προσαγορεύουσι καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐμβάλλοντες χαιρετίζουσιν. ἄλλο εἶδος, ὅταν τις βοηθητικὸς ᾖ παντὶ τῷ ἀτυχούντι. ἕτερον εἶδος ἐστὶ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας, ἐν ᾧ τινες φιλοδεικνύονται εἰσι. τῆς ἄρα φιλανθρωπίας τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ διὰ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν, τὸ δὲ διὰ τοῦ εὐεργετεῖν, τὸ δὲ διὰ τοῦ ἐστιᾶν καὶ φιλοσυνομιλεῖν.

Ἡ εὐδαιμονία διαιρεῖται εἰς πέντε μέρη· ἢ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐστὶν εὐβουλία, ἕτερον δὲ εὐαισθησία καὶ ὑγίεια τοῦ σώματος, τρίτον εὐτυχία ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι, τέταρτον εὐδοξία παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, πέμπτον εὐπορία χρημάτων καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν βίον 99 χρησίμων. ἢ μὲν εὐβουλία γίνεται ἐκ παιδείας καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πολλῶν ἔμπειρον γενέσθαι· ἢ δὲ εὐαισθησία ἐκ τῶν τοῦ σώματος μερῶν, ὅλον ἐάν τις ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρᾷ καὶ τοῖς ὤσιν ἀκούῃ καὶ τῇ ῥινὶ καὶ τῷ στόματι αἰσθάνηται ὧν δεῖ αἰσθάνεσθαι· τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον εὐαισθησία. ἢ δὲ εὐτυχία, ὅταν ἐφ' ᾧ σκοπεῖ πράξῃ κατ' ὁρθὸν ἃ δεῖ πράττειν τὸν σπου-

or anticipate; next, whatever we can effect with the body, for instance, marching, giving, taking and the like. Thirdly, whatever we can do by a multitude of soldiers or a plentiful supply of money; hence a king is said to have great power. The fourth division of power or influence is doing, or being done by, well or ill; thus we can become ill or be educated, be restored to health and the like. Power, then, is either in the mind, or the body, or in armies and resources, or in acting and being acted upon.

Philanthropy is of three kinds. One is by way of salutations, as when certain people address every one they meet and, stretching out their hand, give him a hearty greeting; another mode is seen when one is given to assisting every one in distress; another mode of philanthropy is that which makes certain people fond of giving dinners. Thus philanthropy is shown either by a courteous address, or by conferring benefits, or by hospitality and the promotion of social intercourse.

Welfare or happiness includes five parts. One part of it is good counsel, a second soundness of the senses and bodily health, a third success in one's undertakings, a fourth a reputation with one's fellow-men, a fifth ample means in money and in whatever else subserves the end of life. Now deliberating well is a result of education and of having experience of many things. Soundness of the senses depends upon the bodily organs: I mean, if one sees with his eyes, hears with his ears, and perceives with his nostrils and his mouth the appropriate objects, then such a condition is soundness of the senses. Success is attained when a man does what he aims at in the right way, as becomes a good man.

δαῖον. εὐδοξία δ' ἐστὶν ὅταν τις εὖ ἀκούῃ· εὐπορία δ' ἐστὶν ὅταν τις πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῷ βίῳ χρήσεις οὕτως ἔχῃ ὥστε καὶ φίλους εὖ ποιῆσαι καὶ φιλοτίμως καὶ εὐπόρως ἀπολειτουργῆσαι. ᾧ δὲ ὑπάρχει τὰυτα πάντα, οὗτός ἐστιν εὐδαίμων τελέως. τῆς ἄρα εὐδαιμονίας ἐστὶ τὸ μὲν εὐβουλία, τὸ δὲ εὐαισθησία καὶ ὑγίεια τοῦ σώματος, τὸ δὲ εὐτυχία, τὸ δὲ εὐδοξία, τὸ δὲ εὐπορία.

100 Αἱ τέχναι εἰς τρία διαιροῦνται· ἡ μὲν πρώτη, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα, ἡ δὲ τρίτη. πρώτη μὲν οὖν ἡ μεταλλευτική καὶ ὑλοτομική· παρασκευαστικαὶ γάρ εἰσιν. ἡ δὲ χαλκευτική καὶ ἡ τεκτονική μετασχηματιστικαὶ εἰσιν· ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σιδήρου ἡ χαλκευτική ὅπλα ποιεῖ, ἡ δὲ τεκτονική ἐκ τῶν ξύλων αὐλοὺς καὶ λύρας. ἡ δὲ χρηστική, ὅλον ἵππικὴ τοῖς χαλινοῖς χρῆται, ἡ πολεμική τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἡ μουσική τοῖς αὐλοῖς καὶ τῇ λύρᾳ. τῆς τέχνης ἄρα τρία εἶδη ἐστί· τὸ μὲν τι πρῶτον, τὸ δὲ τι δεύτερον, τὸ δὲ τι τρίτον.

101 Τὸ ἀγαθὸν εἰς τέτταρα γένη διαιρεῖται· ὧν ἐν μὲν λέγομεν εἶναι τὸν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχοντα ἰδίᾳ ἀγαθόν· ἄλλο δὲ αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην λέγομεν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι· τρίτον δέ, ὅλον σιτία καὶ γυμνάσια τὰ πρόσφορα καὶ φάρμακα· τέταρτον δὲ φαμεν εἶναι ἀγαθόν, ὅλον αὐλητικὴν καὶ ὑποκριτικὴν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἀγαθοῦ ἄρα τέτταρα εἶδη ἐστί· τὸ μὲν τὸ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχειν, ἕτερον δὲ αὐτὴ ἡ ἀρετή, τρίτον δὲ σιτία καὶ γυμνάσια τὰ ὠφέλιμα· τέταρτον δὲ αὐλητικὴν καὶ ὑποκριτικὴν  
102 καὶ ποιητικὴν ἀγαθὸν λέγομεν εἶναι. τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν ἐστί κακά, τὰ δὲ ἀγαθά, τὰ δὲ οὐδέτερα. τούτων κακὰ μὲν ταῦτα λέγομεν, τὰ δυνάμενα

A man has a good reputation when he is well spoken of. A man has ample means when he is so equipped for the needs of life that he can afford to benefit his friends and discharge his public services with lavish display. If a man has all these things, he is completely happy. Thus of welfare or happiness one part is good counsel, another soundness of senses and bodily health, a third success, a fourth a good reputation, a fifth ample means.

There are three divisions of the arts and crafts. The first division consists of mining and forestry, which are productive arts. The second includes the smith's and carpenter's arts which transform material; for the smith makes weapons out of iron, and the carpenter transforms timber into flutes and lyres. The third division is that which uses what is thus made, as horsemanship employs bridles, the art of war employs weapons, and music flutes and the lyre. Thus of art there are three several species, those above-mentioned in the first, second and third place.

Good is divided into four kinds. One is the possessor of virtue, whom we affirm to be individually good. Another is virtue itself and justice; these we affirm to be good. A third includes such things as food, suitable exercises and drugs. The fourth kind which we affirm to be good includes the arts of flute-playing, acting and the like. Thus there are four kinds of good: the possession of virtue; virtue itself; thirdly, food and beneficial exercises; lastly, flute-playing, acting, and the poetic art. Whatever is either evil or good or indifferent. We call that evil which is capable of invariably doing harm; for

βλάπτειν αἰέ, οἷον ἀκρισίαν καὶ ἀφροσύνην καὶ ἀδικίαν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· τὰ δὲ τούτοις ἐναντία ἀγαθὰ ἐστὶ. τὰ δὲ ἐνίοτε μὲν ὠφελεῖν, ἐνίοτε δὲ βλάπτειν—οἷον τὸ περιπατεῖν καὶ τὸ καθῆσθαι καὶ ἐσθίειν—*<η>* ὅλως μῆτε ὠφελῆσαι μῆτε βλάψαι δυνάμενα, ταῦτα γοῦν οὔτε ἀγαθὰ οὔτε κακὰ ἐστὶ. τῶν ἄρα ὄντων τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ, τὰ δὲ κακὰ, τὰ δ' οὐδέτερα τούτων.

103 Εὐνομία διαιρεῖται εἰς τρία· ἐν μὲν, ἐὰν ὦσιν οἱ νόμοι σπουδαῖοι, εὐνομίαν φαμέν εἶναι· ἕτερον δέ, ἐὰν τοῖς κειμένοις νόμοις ἐμμένωσιν οἱ πολῖται, καὶ τοῦτό φαμεν εὐνομίαν εἶναι· τρίτον δέ, ἐὰν μὴ ὄντων τῶν νόμων κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα χρηστῶς πολιτεύωνται, καὶ τοῦτο εὐνομίαν προσ-αγορεύομεν· τῆς εὐνομίας ἄρα ἐν μὲν ἐστὶ νόμους σπουδαίους εἶναι· ἄλλο δέ, ἐὰν τοῖς οὖσι νόμοις ἐμμένωσι· τρίτον δέ, ἐὰν ἔθνη καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα χρηστοῖς πολιτεύωνται.

Διαιρεῖται ἡ ἀνομία εἰς τρία· ὧν ἐν μὲν ἐστὶν, ἐὰν ὦσιν οἱ νόμοι μοχθηροὶ καὶ πρὸς ξένους καὶ 104 πρὸς πολίτας· ἕτερον δέ, ἐὰν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι μὴ πείθωνται· ἄλλο δέ, ἐὰν ὅλως μηδεὶς ἡ νόμος· τῆς ἄρα ἀνομίας ἐν μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ μοχθηροῦς εἶναι τοὺς νόμους· ἄλλο δέ, ἐὰν τοῖς οὖσι μὴ πείθωνται· τρίτον δέ, ἐὰν μηδεὶς ἡ νόμος.

Τὰ ἐναντία διαιρεῖται εἰς τρία· οἷον ἀγαθὰ κακοῖς ἐναντία φαμέν εἶναι, ὡς τὴν δικαιοσύνην τῇ ἀδικίᾳ καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν τῇ ἀφροσύνῃ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. κακὰ δὲ κακοῖς ἐναντία ἐστίν, οἷον ἡ ἀσωτία τῇ ἀνελευθερίᾳ καὶ τὸ ἀδικῶν στρεβλοῦσθαι τῷ δικαίως στρεβλοῦσθαι· καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κακὰ κακοῖς ἐναντία ἐστί. τὸ δὲ βαρὺ τῷ κούφῳ καὶ τὸ ταχὺ 366

instance, bad judgement and folly and injustice and the like. The contraries of these things are good. But the things which can sometimes benefit and sometimes harm, such as walking and sitting and eating, or which can neither do any benefit nor harm at all, these are things indifferent, neither good nor evil. Thus all things whatever are either good, or evil, or neither good nor evil.

Good order in the state falls under three heads. First, if the laws are good, we say that there is good government. Secondly, if the citizens obey the established laws, we also call this good government. Thirdly, if, without the aid of laws, the people manage their affairs well under the guidance of customs and institutions, we call this again good government. Thus three forms of good government may exist, (1) when the laws are good, (2) when the existing laws are obeyed, (3) when the people live under salutary customs and institutions.

Disorder in a state has three forms. The first arises when the laws affecting citizens and strangers are alike bad, the second when the existing laws are not obeyed, and the third when there is no law at all. Thus the state is badly governed when the laws are bad or not obeyed, or lastly, when there is no law.

Contraries are divided into three species. For instance, we say that goods are contrary to evils, as justice to injustice, wisdom to folly, and the like. Again, evils are contrary to evils, prodigality is contrary to niggardliness, and to be unjustly tortured is the contrary of being justly tortured, and so with similar evils. Again, heavy is the contrary of light,

τῷ βραδεὶ καὶ τὸ μέλαν τῷ λευκῷ ὡς οὐδέτερα  
 105 οὐδετέροις ἐναντία ἐστίν. τῶν ἐναντίων ἅρα τὰ  
 μὲν ὡς ἀγαθὰ κακοῖς ἐναντία ἐστί· τὰ δὲ ὡς κακὰ  
 κακοῖς· τὰ δὲ ὡς οὐδετέροις οὐδέτερα.

Τῶν ἀγαθῶν γένη ἐστὶ τρία· τὰ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν  
 ἐκτά, τὰ δὲ μεθεκτά, τὰ δὲ ὑπαρκτά. τὰ μὲν  
 οὖν ἐκτά ἐστίν, ὅσα ἐνδέχεται ἔχειν, ὅλον ἢ δι-  
 καιοσύνη καὶ ἡ υἱεία· μεθεκτά δέ, ὅσα ἔχειν μὲν  
 μὴ ἐνδέχεται, μετασχεῖν δὲ αὐτῶν ἐνδέχεται·  
 ὅλον αὐτὸ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔχειν μὲν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται,  
 μετασχεῖν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐνδέχεται. ὑπαρκτά δέ, ὅσα  
 μήτε μετασχεῖν μήτε σχεῖν ἐνδέχεται, ὑπάρχειν  
 δὲ δεῖ· ὅλον τὸ σπουδαῖον εἶναι <καὶ> τὸ δίκαιον  
 εἶναι ἀγαθόν ἐστι· καὶ ταῦτα οὔτε σχεῖν οὔτε  
 μετασχεῖν ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὑπάρχειν δεῖ [σπουδαῖον  
 εἶναι καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι]. τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἅρα τὰ μὲν  
 ἐστίν ἐκτά, τὰ δὲ μεθεκτά, τὰ δὲ ὑπαρκτά.

106 Ἡ συμβουλίαι διαιρεῖται εἰς τρία· ἔστι γάρ  
 αὐτῆς ἐν μὲν ἐκ τῶν παροικομένων χρόνων λαμ-  
 βανόμενον, ἐν δὲ ἐκ τῶν μελλόντων, ἐν δὲ ἐκ τῶν  
 ἐνεστώτων. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν παροικομένων  
 παραδείγματα, ὅλον τί ἔπαθον Λακεδαιμόνιοι πι-  
 στεύσαντες· τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, ὅλον ἀποφαίνειν  
 τείχη· ἀσθενῆ, δειλοὺς ἀνθρώπους, σῖτον ὀλίγον·  
 τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν μελλόντων, ὅλον ταῖς ὑπονοίαις μὴ  
 ἀδικεῖν τὰς πρεσβείας, ὅπως μὴ ἄδοξος ἡ Ἑλλὰς  
 γένηται. τῆς ἅρα συμβουλίας τὰ μὲν ἐστίν ἐκ  
 τῶν παροικομένων, τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, τὰ  
 δ' ἐκ τῶν μελλόντων.

quick of slow, black of white, and these pairs are  
 contraries, while they are neither good nor evil. Thus,  
 of contraries, some are opposed as goods to evils,  
 others as evils to evils, and others, as things which are  
 neither good nor evil, are opposed to one another.

There are three kinds of goods, those which can  
 be exclusively possessed, those which can be shared  
 with others, and those which simply exist. To the  
 first division, namely, those which can be exclusively  
 possessed, belong such things as justice and health.  
 To the next belong all those which, though they  
 cannot be exclusively possessed, can be shared with  
 others. Thus we cannot possess the absolute good,  
 but we can participate in it. The third division  
 includes those goods the existence of which is  
 necessary, though we can neither possess them ex-  
 clusively nor participate in them. The mere exist-  
 ence of worth and justice is a good; and these things  
 cannot be shared or had in exclusive possession, but  
 must simply exist. Of goods, then, some are pos-  
 sessed exclusively, some shared, and others merely  
 subsist.

Counsel is divided under three heads. One is  
 taken from past time, one from the future, and the  
 third from the present. That from past time con-  
 sists of examples; for instance, what the Lacedae-  
 monians suffered through trusting others. Counsel  
 drawn from the present is to show, for instance, that  
 the walls are weak, the men cowards, and the  
 supplies running short. Counsel from the future is,  
 for instance, to urge that we should not wrong the  
 embassies by suspicions, lest the fair fame of Hellas  
 be stained. Thus counsel is derived from the past,  
 the present and the future.



107 Ἡ φωνὴ διαιρεῖται εἰς δύο· ἐν μὲν αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ἔμφυχον, ἐν δὲ ἄψυχον. ἔμφυχον μὲν ἡ τῶν ζώων φωνή, ἄψυχον δὲ φθόγγοι καὶ ἤχοι. τῆς τοῦ ἔμφυχου φωνῆς ἡ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐγγράμματος, ἡ δὲ ἀγράμματος. ἐγγράμματος μὲν ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀγράμματος δὲ ἡ τῶν ζώων. τῆς ἄρα φωνῆς ἡ μὲν ἔμφυχος, ἡ δὲ ἄψυχος.

Τῶν ὄντων ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν μεριστά, τὰ δὲ ἀμέριστα. τούτων δὲ τῶν μεριστῶν τὰ μὲν ὁμοιομερῆ, τὰ δὲ ἀνομοιομερῆ. ἀμερῆ μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ὅσα μὴ ἔχει διαίρεσιν μηδὲ ἕκ τινος σύγκειται, οἷον ἡ τε μονὰς καὶ ἡ στιγμή καὶ ὁ φθόγγος· μεριστά δὲ ὅσα ἕκ τινος σύγκειται, οἷον αἱ τε συλλαβαὶ καὶ συμ-  
 108 φωναί καὶ ζῶα καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ χρυσός. ὁμοιομερῆ ὅσα ἐξ ὁμοίων σύγκειται καὶ μηδὲν διαφέρει τὸ ὅλον τοῦ μέρους εἰ μὴ τῷ πλήθει, οἷον τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ χρυσίον καὶ πᾶν τὸ χυτὸν καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον. ἀνομοιομερῆ δὲ ὅσα ἐξ ἀνομοίων μερῶν σύγκειται, οἷον οἰκία καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. τῶν ὄντων ἄρα τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ μεριστά, τὰ δὲ ἀμερῆ· τῶν δὲ μεριστῶν τὰ μὲν ὁμοιομερῆ, τὰ δὲ ἀνομοιομερῆ.

Τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ καθ' ἑαυτά, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τι λέγεται. τὰ μὲν οὖν καθ' ἑαυτὰ λεγόμενά ἐστὶν ὅσα ἐν τῇ ἐρμηνείᾳ μηδενὸς προσδεῖται· ταῦτα δ' ἂν εἴη οἷον ἄνθρωπος, ἵππος καὶ τᾶλλα ζῶα.  
 109 τούτων γὰρ οὐδὲν δι' ἐρμηνείας χωρεῖ. τῶν δὲ πρὸς τι λεγομένων ὅσα προσδεῖται τινος ἐρμηνείας, οἷον τὸ μείζον τινος καὶ τὸ θάττον τινος καὶ τὸ κάλλιον καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· τό τε γὰρ μείζον ἐλάττονος ἐστὶ μείζον καὶ τὸ θάττον τινός ἐστι <θάττον>.

Vocal sound falls into two divisions according as it is animate or inanimate. The voice of living things is animate sound; notes of instruments and noises are inanimate. And of the animate voice part is articulate, part inarticulate, that of men being articulate speech, that of the animals inarticulate. Thus vocal sound is either animate or inanimate.

Whatever exists is either divisible or indivisible. Of divisible things some are divisible into similar and others into dissimilar parts. Those things are indivisible which cannot be divided and are not compounded of elements, for example, the unit, the point and the musical note; whereas those which have constituent parts, for instance, syllables, concords in music, animals, water, gold, are divisible. If they are composed of similar parts, so that the whole does not differ from the part except in bulk, as water, gold and all that is fusible, and the like, then they are termed homogeneous. But whatever is composed of dissimilar parts, as a house and the like, is termed heterogeneous. Thus all things whatever are either divisible or indivisible, and of those which are divisible some are homogeneous, others heterogeneous in their parts.

Of existing things some are absolute and some are called relative. Things said to exist absolutely are those which need nothing else to explain them, as man, horse, and all other animals. For none of these gains by explanation. To those which are called relative belong all which stand in need of some explanation, as that which is greater than something or quicker than something, or more beautiful and the like. For the greater implies a less, and the quicker is quicker than something. Thus existing



τῶν ὄντων ἄρα τὰ μὲν αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ λέγεται, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τι. ὧδε καὶ τὰ πρῶτα διήρει κατὰ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην.

Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Πλάτων φιλόσοφος Ῥόδιος, μαθητὴς Παναητίου, καθά φησι Σέλευκος ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ φιλοσοφίας· καὶ ἄλλος, περιπατητικὸς, μαθητὴς Ἀριστοτέλους· καὶ ἕτερος Πραξιφάνους· καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας ποιητής.

things are either absolute or relative. And in this way, according to Aristotle, Plato used to divide the primary conceptions also.

There was also another man named Plato, a philosopher of Rhodes, a pupil of Panaetius, as is stated by Seleucus the grammarian in his first book *On Philosophy*; another a Peripatetic and pupil of Aristotle; and another who was a pupil of Praxiphanes; and lastly, there was Plato, the poet of the Old Comedy.

Δ

Κεφ. α'. ΣΠΕΥΣΙΠΠΟΣ

- 1 Τὰ μὲν περὶ Πλάτωνος τοσαῦτα ἦν ἐς τὸ δυνατόν ἡμῖν συναγαγεῖν, φιλοπόνως διειλήσασι τὰ λεγόμενα περὶ τάνδρος. διεδέξατο δ' αὐτὸν Σπεύσιππος Εὐρυμέδοντος Ἀθηναῖος, τῶν μὲν δήμων Μυρρινούσιος, υἱὸς δὲ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ Πωτῶννης. καὶ ἐσχολάρχησεν ἔτη ὀκτώ, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος. Χαρίτων τ' ἀγάλματ' ἀνέθηκεν ἐν τῷ μουσεῖῳ τῷ ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ ἰδρυθέντι. καὶ ἔμεινε μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν Πλατωνι δογμάτων· οὐ μὴν τό γ' ἦθος διέμεινε τοιοῦτος. καὶ γὰρ ὀργίλος καὶ ἡδονῶν ἡττων ἦν. φασὶ γοῦν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ θυμοῦ τὸ κυνίδιον εἰς τὸ φρέαρ ρῖψαι καὶ ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἐλθεῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Κασάνδρου γάμον.
- 2 Ἐλέγοντο δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ Πλάτωνος ἀκούειν μαθήτραι, Λασθένεια τε ἡ Μαντινικὴ καὶ Ἀξιοθέα ἡ Φλιασία. ὅτε καὶ Διονύσιος πρὸς αὐτὸν γράφων τωθαστικῶς φησι· "καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκαδικῆς σου μαθητρίας ἔστι καταμαθεῖν τὴν σοφίαν. καὶ Πλάτων μὲν ἀτελεῖς φόρων τοὺς παρ' αὐτὸν φοιτῶντας

<sup>a</sup> 348-344 B.C.

BOOK IV

CHAPTER I. SPEUSIPPUS (circa 407-339 B.C.)  
(Head of the Academy, 347-339 B.C.)

THE foregoing is the best account of Plato that we were able to compile after a diligent examination of the authorities. He was succeeded by Speusippus, an Athenian and son of Eurymedon, who belonged to the deme of Myrrhinus, and was the son of Plato's sister Potone. He was head of the school for eight years beginning in the 108th Olympiad.<sup>a</sup> He set up statues of the Graces in the shrine of the Muses erected by Plato in the Academy. He adhered faithfully to Plato's doctrines. In character, however, he was unlike him, being prone to anger and easily overcome by pleasures. At any rate there is a story that in a fit of passion he flung his favourite dog into the well, and that pleasure was the sole motive for his journey to Macedonia to be present at the wedding-feast of Casander.

It was said that among those who attended his lectures were the two women who had been pupils of Plato, Lastheneia of Mantinea and Axiothea of Phlius. And at the time Dionysius in a letter says derisively, "We may judge of your wisdom by the Arcadian girl who is your pupil. And, whereas Plato exempted from fees all who came to him, you

ἐποίει· σὺ δὲ δασμολογεῖς καὶ παρ' ἐκόντων καὶ ἀκόντων λαμβάνεις." οὗτος πρῶτος, καθά φησι Διόδωρος ἐν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων πρῶτῳ, ἐν τοῖς μαθημασιν ἐθεάσατο τὸ κοινὸν καὶ συνωκείωσε καθόσον ἦν δυνατὸν ἀλλήλοις· καὶ πρῶτος παρὰ Ἰσοκράτους τὰ καλούμενα ἀπόρρητα ἐξήνεγκεν, ὡς φησι Καινεύς. καὶ πρῶτος εὗρεν ᾧ τὰ φορμὰ τῶν φρυγάνων εὖογκα ποιοῦσιν.

Ἦδη δὲ ὑπὸ παραλύσεως καὶ τὸ σῶμα διέφθαρτο, καὶ πρὸς Ξενοκράτην διεπέμπετο παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν καὶ τὴν σχολὴν διαδέξασθαι. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἀμαξίου φερόμενον εἰς τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν συναντῆσαι Διογένην καὶ Χαῖρε εἰπεῖν· τὸν δὲ φάναι, "ἀλλὰ μὴ σὺ γε, ὅστις ὑπομένεις ζῆν τοιοῦτος ὢν." καὶ τέλος ὑπὸ ἀθυμίας ἐκὼν τὸν βίον μετήλλαξε γηραιὸς ὢν. καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτόν.

ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ Σπεύσιππον ἐμάνθανον ὧδε θανεῖσθαι, οὐκ ἂν ἔπεισέ μέ τις τόδε λέξει· ὡς ἦν οὐχὶ Πλάτωνι πρὸς αἵματος· οὐ γὰρ ἀθυμῶν κάτθανεν ἂν διὰ τι σφόδρα μικρόν.

Πλούταρχος δὲ φησιν ἐν τῷ Λυσάνδρου βίῳ καὶ Σύλλα φθειρῶν ἐκζέσαι αὐτόν. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα διακεχυμένος, ὡς φησι Τιμόθεος ἐν τῷ Περὶ βίων. οὗτος, φησὶ, πρὸς τὸν ἐρώντα πλούσιον ἀμόρφου ἔφη, "τί δέ σοι δεῖ τούτου; ἐγὼ γάρ σοι δέκα ταλάντων εὐμορφότεραν<sup>1</sup> εὕρησά."

<sup>1</sup> εὐμορφότεραν] fort. ἀμορφότερον H. Richards.

<sup>a</sup> Romance seems to have been busy with the life of Speusippus. Athenaeus, vii. 279 E, quotes from the same forged letter of Dionysius to Speusippus bringing similar charges.

levy tribute on them and collect it whether they will or no."<sup>a</sup> According to Diodorus in the first book of his *Memorabilia*, Speusippus was the first to discern the common element in all studies and to bring them into connexion with each other so far as that was possible. And according to Caeneus he was the first to divulge what Isocrates called the secrets of his art, and the first to devise the means by which fagots of firewood are rendered portable.

When he was already crippled by paralysis, he sent a message to Xenocrates entreating him to come and take over the charge of the school.<sup>b</sup> They say that, as he was being conveyed to the Academy in a tiny carriage, he met and saluted Diogenes, who replied, "Nay, if you can endure to live in such a plight as this, I decline to return your greeting." At last in old age he became so despondent that he put an end to his life. Here follows my epigram upon him<sup>c</sup>:

Had I not learnt that Speusippus would die thus, no one would have persuaded me to say that he was surely not of Plato's blood: for else he would never have died in despair for a trivial cause.

Plutarch in the Lives of Lysander and Sulla makes his malady to have been "morbus pedicularis."<sup>d</sup> That his body wasted away is affirmed by Timotheus in his book *On Lives*. Speusippus, he says, meeting a rich man who was in love with one who was no beauty, said to him, "Why, pray, are you in such sore need of him? For ten talents I will find you a more handsome bride."

<sup>b</sup> The most trustworthy account of what happened when Xenocrates was elected is furnished by *Index Academicus*, pp. 38 sq. ed. Mekler.

<sup>c</sup> *Anth. Pal.* viii. 101.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. *supra*, iii. 40.

## DIODENES LAERTIUS

Καταλέλοιπε δὲ πᾶμπλειστα ὑπομνήματα καὶ διαλόγους πλείοντας, ἐν οἷς καὶ

- Ἀριστιππον τὸν Κυρηναῖον.  
Περὶ πλούτου α'.  
Περὶ ἡδονῆς α'.  
Περὶ δικαιοσύνης α'.  
Περὶ φιλοσοφίας α'.  
Περὶ φιλίας α'.  
Περὶ θεῶν α'.  
Φιλόσοφος α'.  
Πρὸς Κέφαλον α'.  
Κέφαλος α'.  
Κλεινόμενος ἢ Λυσίας α'.  
Πολίτης α'.  
Περὶ ψυχῆς α'.  
Πρὸς Γρύλλον α'.  
Ἀριστιππος α'.  
Τεχνῶν ἑλεγχος α'.  
Ὑπομνηματικοὶ διάλογοι.  
Τεχνικὸν α'.  
Διάλογοι τῶν περὶ τὴν πραγματείαν ὁμοίων α' β' γ'  
δ' ε' ζ' η' θ' ι'.  
Διαιρέσεις καὶ πρὸς τὰ ὅμοια ὑποθέσεις.  
Περὶ γενῶν καὶ εἰδῶν παραδειγμάτων.  
Πρὸς τὸν Ἀμάρτυρον.  
Πλάτωνος ἐγκώμιον.  
Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς Δίωνα, Διονύσιον, Φίλιππον.  
Περὶ νομοθεσίας.  
Μαθηματικός.  
Μανδρόβολος.  
Λυσίας.  
Ὅροι.  
Τάξεις ὑπομνημάτων.

## IV. 4-5. SPEUSIPPUS

He has left behind a vast store of memoirs and numerous dialogues, among them :

- Aristippus the Cyrenaic.  
On Wealth, one book.  
On Pleasure, one book.  
On Justice,  
On Philosophy,  
On Friendship,  
On the Gods,  
The Philosopher,  
A Reply to Cephalus,  
Cephalus,  
Clinomachus or Lysias,  
The Citizen,  
Of the Soul,  
A Reply to Gryllus,  
Aristippus,  
Criticism of the Arts, each in one book.  
Memoirs, in the form of dialogues.  
Treatise on System, in one book.  
Dialogues on the Resemblances in Science, in ten books.  
Divisions and Hypotheses relating to the Resemblances.  
On Typical Genera and Species.  
A Reply to the Anonymous Work.  
Eulogy of Plato.  
Epistles to Dion, Dionysius and Philip.  
On Legislation.  
The Mathematician.  
Mandrobolus.  
Lysias.  
Definitions.  
Arrangements of Commentaries.

Στίχοι τρεῖς καὶ τετρακισμῦριοι τεσσαρακόσιοι ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε. πρὸς τοῦτον γράφει καὶ Τιμωνίδης<sup>1</sup> τὰς ἱστορίας, ἐν αἷς κατέταξε τὰς πράξεις Δίωνος τε καὶ Βίωνος.<sup>2</sup> φησὶ δὲ καὶ Φαβωνίους ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἀπομνημονευμάτων ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης αὐτοῦ τὰ βιβλία τριῶν ταλάντων ὠνήσατο.

Γέγονε Σπεύσιππος καὶ ἕτερος, ἱατρὸς Ἡροφίλειος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς.

### Κεφ. β'. ΞΕΝΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ

Ξενοκράτης Ἀγαθήνορος Χαλκηδόνιος· οὗτος ἐκ νέου Πλάτωνος ἠκουσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Σικελίαν αὐτῷ συναπεδήμησεν. ἦν δὲ τὴν φύσιν νωθρός, ὥστε λέγειν τὸν Πλάτωνα συγκρίνοντα αὐτὸν Ἀριστοτέλει, “τῷ μὲν μύωπος δεῖ, τῷ δὲ χαλινού.” καὶ “ἐφ’ οἷον ἵππον οἷον ὄνον ἀλείφω.” σεμνὸς δὲ τὰ τ’ ἄλλα Ξενοκράτης καὶ σκυθρωπὸς αἰεί, ὥστε αὐτῷ λέγειν συνεχῆς τὸν Πλάτωνα, “Ξενοκράτες, θῦε ταῖς Χάρισι.” διηγέ τ’ ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ τὰ πλεῖστα· καὶ εἰ ποτε μέλλοι εἰς ἄστυ ἀνιέναι, φασι τοὺς θορυβῶδεις πάντας καὶ προυνίκους ὑποστέλλειν αὐτοῦ τῇ παρόδῳ. καὶ ποτε καὶ Φρύνην τὴν ἑταίραν ἐβελῆσαι πειρᾶσαι αὐτόν, καὶ δῆθεν διωκομένην ὑπὸ τινων καταφυγεῖν εἰς τὸ οἰκίδιον. τὸν δὲ ἔνεκα τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου εἰσδέξασθαι, καὶ ἐνὸς ὄντος κλινιδίου δεομένη μεταδοῦναι τῆς κατακλίσεως· καὶ τέλος πολλὰ ἐκκλιπα-

<sup>1</sup> Τιμωνίδης] Σιμωνίδης vulg.: sed cf. Plut. Vit. Dion. 35 et 31.

<sup>2</sup> τε καὶ Βίωνος secl. Mueller, F.H.G. ii. 83. Βίωνος] fort. Διονυσίου.

\* Nothing is known of any such Bion having taken part

They comprise in all 43,475 lines. To him Timonides addresses his narrative in which he related the achievements of Dion and Bion.<sup>4</sup> Favorinus also in the second book of his *Memorabilia* relates that Aristotle purchased the works of Speusippus for three talents.

There was another Speusippus, a physician of Alexandria, of the school of Herophilus.

### CHAPTER 2. XENOCRATES (396-314 B.C.)

(Head of the Academy 339-314 B.C.)

Xenocrates, the son of Agathenor, was a native of Chalcidion. He was a pupil of Plato from his earliest youth; moreover he accompanied him on his journey to Sicily. He was naturally slow and clumsy. Hence Plato, comparing him to Aristotle, said, “The one needed a spur, the other a bridle.” And again, “See what an ass I am training and what a horse he has to run against.” However, Xenocrates was in all besides dignified and grave of demeanour, which made Plato say to him continually, “Xenocrates, sacrifice to the Graces.” He spent most of his time in the Academy; and whenever he was going to betake himself to the city, it is said that all the noisy rabble and hired porters made way for him as he passed. And that once the notorious Phryne tried to make his acquaintance and, as if she were being chased by some people, took refuge under his roof; that he admitted her out of ordinary humanity and, there being but one small couch in the room, permitted her to share it with him, and at last, after in the expedition of Dion against Syracuse. There may be an error in the text arising from dittography.

ροῦσαν ἄπρακτον ἀναστῆναι. λέγειν τε πρὸς τοὺς πυνθανομένους ὡς οὐκ ἂπ' ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ἂπ' ἀνδριάντος ἀνασταίη. ἔνιοι δὲ Λαΐδα φασὶ παρακατακλῖναι αὐτῷ τοὺς μαθητάς· τὸν δὲ οὕτως εἶναι ἐγκρατῆ, ὥστε καὶ τομὰς καὶ καύσεις πολλάκις ὑπομῖναι περὶ τὸ αἰδοῖον. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀξιοπίστος σφόδρα, ὥστε μὴ ἐξὸν ἀνώμοτον μαρτυρεῖν, τούτῳ  
 8 μόνῳ συνεχώρουν Ἀθηναῖοι. καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐταρκέστατος ἦν. Ἀλεξάνδρου γοῦν ποτὲ συχνὸν ἀργύριον ἀποστείλαντος αὐτῷ, τρισχιλίας Ἀττικὰς ἀφελὼν τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπέπεμψεν, εἰπὼν ἐκείνῳ πλείονων δεῖν πλείονας τρέφοντι. ἀλλὰ καὶ <τὸ> ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου πεμφθὲν μὴ προσέσθαι, ὥς φησι Μυρωνιανὸς ἐν Ὅμοιοις. καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ τιμηθέντα ἐπάθλω πολυποσίας τοῖς Χουσί παρὰ Διονυσίῳ ἐξίοντα θεῖναι πρὸς τὸν ἱδρυμένον Ἑρμῆν, ἔνθα περ τιθέναι καὶ τοὺς ἀνθινούς εἰώθει. λόγος δὲ αὐτὸν μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων πεμφθῆναι πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς Φίλιππον· καὶ τοὺς μὲν δώροις μαλθασσομένους καὶ εἰς τὰς κλήσεις συνιέναι καὶ τῷ Φίλιππῳ λαλεῖν· τὸν δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων ποιεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Φίλιππος  
 9 αὐτὸν προσίετο διὰ τοῦτο. ὅθεν ἐλθόντας τοὺς πρέσβεις εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας φάσκειν ὡς μάτην αὐτοῖς Ξενοκράτης συνεληλύθει· καὶ τοὺς ἐτοίμους εἶναι ζῆμιον αὐτόν. μαθόντας δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ ὡς νῦν καὶ μᾶλλον φροντιστέον εἶη τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς (τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἤδει δωροδοκήσαντας ὁ Φίλιππος,

many importunities, she retired without success, telling those who inquired that he whom she quitted was not a man but a statue. Another version of the story is that his pupils induced Laïs to invade his couch; and that so great was his endurance that he many times submitted to amputation and cautery. His words were entirely worthy of credit, so much so that, although it was illegal for witnesses to give evidence unsworn, the Athenians allowed Xenocrates alone to do so. Furthermore, he was extremely independent; at all events, when Alexander sent him a large sum of money, he took three thousand Attic drachmas and sent back the rest to Alexander, whose needs, he said, were greater than his own, because he had a greater number of people to keep. Again, he would not accept the present sent him by Antipater, as Myronianus attests in his *Parallels*. And when he had been honoured at the court of Dionysius with a golden crown as the prize for his prowess in drinking at the Feast of Pitchers, he went out and placed it on the statue of Hermes just as he had been accustomed to place there garlands of flowers. There is a story that, when he was sent, along with others also, on an embassy to Philip, his colleagues, being bribed, accepted Philip's invitations to feasts and talked with him. Xenocrates did neither the one nor the other. Indeed on this account Philip declined to see him. Hence, when the envoys returned to Athens, they complained that Xenocrates had accompanied them without rendering any service. Thereupon the people were ready to fine him. But when he told them that now more than ever they ought to consider the interests of the state—"for," said he, "Philip knew

ἐμέ δὲ μηδενὶ λόγῳ ὑπαξόμενος) φασὶ διπλασίως αὐτὸν τιμῆσαι. καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον δὲ λέγειν ὕστερον ὡς μόνος εἶη Ξενοκράτης τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικμένων ἀδωροδόκητος. ἀλλὰ καὶ πρεσβεύων πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον περὶ αἰχμαλώτων Ἀθηναίων κατὰ τὸν Λαμιακὸν πόλεμον, καὶ κληθεὶς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον πρὸς αὐτὸν προηγέκατο ταυτί·

ὦ Κίρκη, τίς γάρ κεν ἀνὴρ, ὃς ἐναίσιμος εἴη,  
πρὶν τλαίῃ πάσασθαι ἐδητύος ἢ δὲ ποτῆτος,  
πρὶν λύσασθ' ἐτάρους καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ιδέσθαι;

καὶ τὸν ἀποδεξάμενον τὴν εὐστοχίαν εὐθὺς ἀφείναι.  
10 Στρουθίου δέ ποτε διωκομένου ὑπὸ ἱέρακος καὶ εἰσπηδήσαντος εἰς τοὺς κόλπους αὐτοῦ, καταψήσας μεθήκεν, εἰπὼν τὸν ἱκέτην δεῖν μὴ ἐκδιδόναι. σκωπτόμενος ὑπὸ Βίωνος οὐκ ἔφη αὐτῷ ἀποκρινεῖσθαι· μηδὲ γὰρ τὴν τραγωδίαν ὑπὸ τῆς κωμωδίας σκωπτομένην ἀποκρίσεως ἀξιοῦν. πρὸς δὲ τὸν μήτε μουσικὴν μήτε γεωμετρίαν μήτε ἀστρονομίαν μεμαθηκότα, βουλόμενον δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν φοιτᾶν, "πορεύου," ἔφη· "λαβὰς γὰρ οὐκ ἔχεις φιλοσοφίας." οἱ δὲ τοῦτό φασιν εἰπεῖν, "παρ' ἐμοὶ γὰρ πόκος οὐ κνάπτεται."

11 Εἰπόντος δὲ Διονυσίου πρὸς Πλάτωνα ὡς ἀφαιρήσεται αὐτοῦ τὸν τράχηλον, παρὼν οὗτος καὶ δείξας τὸν ἴδιον, "οὐκ ἂν γε," ἔφη, "τίς πρότερον τούτου;" φασὶ καὶ Ἀντιπάτρου ποτὲ ἐλθόντος εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἀσπασαμένου αὐτόν, μὴ πρότερον ἀντιπροσαγορεῦσαι πρὶν ἢ τὸν λόγον ὃν ἔλεγε διαπεράνασθαι. ἀτυφότητος δὲ ὦν πολλάκις τῆς

that the others had accepted his bribes, but that he would never win me over"—then the people paid him double honours. And afterwards Philip said that, of all who had arrived at his court, Xenocrates was the only man whom he could not bribe. Moreover, when he went as envoy to Antipater to plead for Athenians taken prisoners in the Lamian war,<sup>a</sup> being invited to dine with Antipater, he quoted to him the following lines<sup>b</sup>:

O Circe! what righteous man would have the heart to taste meat and drink ere he had redeemed his company and beheld them face to face?

and so pleased Antipater with his ready wit that he at once released them.

When a little sparrow was pursued by a hawk and rushed into his bosom, he stroked it and let it go, declaring that a suppliant must not be betrayed. When bantered by Bion, he said he would make no reply. For neither, said he, does tragedy deign to answer the banter of comedy. To some one who had never learnt either music or geometry or astronomy, but nevertheless wished to attend his lectures, Xenocrates said, "Go your ways, for you offer philosophy nothing to lay hold of." Others report him as saying, "It is not to me that you come for the carding of a fleece."

When Dionysius told Plato that he would lose his head, Xenocrates, who was present, pointed to his own and added, "No man shall touch it till he cut off mine." They say too that, when Antipater came to Athens and greeted him, he did not address him in return until he had finished what he was saying. He was singularly free from pride; more than once

<sup>a</sup> 322 B.C.

<sup>b</sup> Hom. *Od.* x. 383-5.

## DIODENES LAERTIUS

ἡμέρας ἑαυτῷ ἐμελέτα, καὶ ὥραν μίαν, φασίν, ἀπένεμε σιωπῇ.

Καὶ πλείστα ὅσα καταλέλοιπε συγγράμματα καὶ ἔπη καὶ παραινέσεις, ἃ ἔστι ταῦτα.

Περὶ φύσεως α' β' γ' δ' ε' ζ'.

Περὶ σοφίας ζ'.

Περὶ πλούτου α'.

Ἀρκὰς α'.

Περὶ τοῦ ἀορίστου α'.

12 Περὶ τοῦ παιδίου α'.

Περὶ ἐγκρατείας α'.

Περὶ τοῦ ὠφελίμου α'.

Περὶ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου α'.

Περὶ θανάτου α'.

Περὶ ἐκουσίου α'.

Περὶ φιλίας α' β'.

Περὶ ἐπιεικειᾶς α'.

Περὶ τοῦ ἐναντίου α' β'.

Περὶ εὐδαιμονίας α' β'.

Περὶ τοῦ γράφειν α'.

Περὶ μνήμης α'.

Περὶ τοῦ ψεύδους α'.

Καλλικλῆς α'.

Περὶ φρονήσεως α' β'.

Οἰκονομικὸς α'.

Περὶ σωφροσύνης α'.

Περὶ δυνάμεως νόμου α'.

Περὶ πολιτείας α'.

Περὶ δσιότητος α'.

Ὅτι παραδοτὴ ἡ ἀρετὴ α'.

Περὶ τοῦ ὄντος α'.

Περὶ εἰμαρμένης α'.

## IV. 11-12. XENOCRATES

a day he would retire into himself, and he assigned, it is said, a whole hour to silence.

He left a very large number of treatises, poems and addresses, of which I append a list :

On Nature, six books.

On Wisdom, six books.

On Wealth, one book.

The Arcadian, one book.

On the Indeterminate, one book.

On the Child, one book.

On Continence, one book.

On Utility, one book.

On Freedom, one book.

On Death, one book.\*

On the Voluntary, one book.

On Friendship, two books.

On Equity, one book.

On that which is Contrary, two books.

On Happiness, two books.

On Writing, one book.

On Memory, one book.

On Falsehood, one book.

Callicles, one book.

On Prudence, two books.

The Householder, one book.

On Temperance, one book.

On the Influence of Law, one book.

On the State, one book.

On Holiness, one book.

That Virtue can be taught, one book.

On Being, one book.

On Fate, one book.

\* Supposed by Marsilius Ficinus to be the extant dialogue *Aziochus* attributed to Plato (*cf. supra*, iii. 62).



- Περὶ παθῶν α'.  
 Περὶ βίων α'.  
 Περὶ ὁμοιοῦς α'.  
 Περὶ μαθητῶν α' β'.  
 Περὶ δικαιοσύνης α'.  
 Περὶ ἀρετῆς α' β'.  
 Περὶ εἰδῶν α'.  
 Περὶ ἡδονῆς α' β'.  
 Περὶ βίου α'.  
 Περὶ ἀνδρείας α'.  
 Περὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς α'.  
 Περὶ ἰδεῶν α'.  
 18 Περὶ τέχνης α'.  
 Περὶ θεῶν α' β'.  
 Περὶ ψυχῆς α' β'.  
 Περὶ ἐπιστήμης α'.  
 Πολιτικὸς α'.  
 Περὶ ἐπιστημοσύνης α'.  
 Περὶ φιλοσοφίας α'.  
 Περὶ τῶν Παρμενίδου α'.  
 Ἀρχέδημος ἢ περὶ δικαιοσύνης α'.  
 Περὶ τὰγαθοῦ α'.  
 Τῶν περὶ τὴν διάνοιαν α' β' γ' δ' ε' σ' ζ' η'.  
 Λύσεις τῶν περὶ τοὺς λόγους ι'.  
 Φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως α' β' γ' δ' ε' σ'.  
 Κεφάλαιον α'.  
 Περὶ γενῶν καὶ εἰδῶν α'.  
 Πυθαγόρεια α'.  
 Λύσεις α' β'.  
 Διαιρέσεις η'.  
 Θέσεων βιβλία κμγ'.  
 Τῆς περὶ τὸ διαλέγεσθαι πραγματείας βιβλία  
 ἰδμαβψμ'.

- On the Emotions, one book.  
 On Modes of Life, one book.  
 On Concord, one book.  
 On Students, two books.  
 On Justice, one book.  
 On Virtue, two books.  
 On Forms, one book.  
 On Pleasure, two books.  
 On Life, one book.  
 On Bravery, one book.  
 On the One, one book.  
 On Ideas, one book.  
 On Art, one book.  
 On the Gods, two books.  
 On the Soul, two books.  
 On Science, one book.  
 The Statesman, one book.  
 On Cognition, one book.  
 On Philosophy, one book.  
 On the Writings of Parmenides, one book.  
 Archedemus or Concerning Justice, one book.  
 On the Good, one book.  
 Things relating to the Understanding, eight  
 books.  
 Solution of Logical Problems, ten books.  
 Physical Lectures, six books.  
 Summary, one book.  
 On Genera and Species, one book.  
 Things Pythagorean, one book.  
 Solutions, two books.  
 Divisions, eight books.  
 Theses, in twenty books, 30,000 lines.  
 The Study of Dialectic, in fourteen books, 12,740  
 lines.

Μετὰ τοῦτο βιβλία ιε' καὶ ἄλλα βιβλία ις' περὶ  
μαθημάτων τῶν περὶ τὴν λέξιν.

Λογιστικῶν βιβλία θ'.

Τῶν περὶ τὰ μαθήματα βιβλία ε'.

Τῶν περὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἄλλα βιβλία δύο.

Περὶ γεωμετρῶν βιβλία ε'.

Ὑπομνημάτων α'.

Ἐναντίων α'.

Περὶ ἀριθμῶν α'.

Ἀριθμῶν θεωρία α'.

Περὶ διαστημάτων α'.

Τῶν περὶ ἀστρολογίαν ε'.

14 Στοιχεῖα πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον περὶ βασιλείας δ'.

Πρὸς Ἀρύβαν.

Πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνα.

Περὶ γεωμετρίας α' β'.

Στίχοι μικροσθ'.

Ἀθηναῖοι δ' ὅμως αὐτὸν ὄντα τοιοῦτον ἐπί-  
πρασκόν ποτε, τὸ μετοίκιον ἀπονοῦντα θεῖναι. καὶ  
αὐτὸν ὠνεῖται Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς καὶ ἐκάτερον  
ἀποκατέστησε· Ξενοκράτει μὲν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν,  
Ἀθηναίοις δὲ τὸ μετοίκιον. τοῦτό φησι Μυρωνια-  
νὸς ὁ Ἀμαστριανὸς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἱστορικῶν  
Ὅμοιων κεφαλαίων. διεδέξατο δὲ Σπεύσιππον  
καὶ ἀφηγήσατο τῆς σχολῆς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη  
ἐπὶ Λυσιμαχίδου ἀρξάμενος κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον  
ἔτος τῆς δεκάτης καὶ ἐκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος.  
ἐτελεύτα δὲ νυκτὸς λεκάνῃ προσπταίσας, ἔτος  
ἤδη γεγωνὺς δεύτερον καὶ ὀγδοηκοστόν.

15 Φαμέν δὲ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτως·

After this come fifteen books, and then sixteen  
books of Studies relating to Style.

Nine books on Ratiocination.

Six books concerned with Mathematics.

Two other books entitled Things relating to the  
Intellect.

On Geometers, five books.

Commentaries, one book.

Contraries, one book.

On Numbers, one book.

Theory of Numbers, one book.

On Dimensions, one book.

On Astronomy, six books.

Elementary Principles of Monarchy, in four books,  
dedicated to Alexander.

To Arybas.

To Hephaestion.

On Geometry, two books.

These works comprise in all 224,239 lines.

Such was his character, and yet, when he was  
unable to pay the tax levied on resident aliens, the  
Athenians put him up for sale. And Demetrius of  
Phalerum purchased him, thereby making twofold  
restitution, to Xenocrates of his liberty, and to  
the Athenians of their tax. This we learn from  
Myronianus of Amastris in the first book of his  
*Chapters on Historical Parallels*. He succeeded  
Speusippus and was head of the school for twenty-five  
years from the archonship of Lysimachides, beginning  
in the second year of the 110th Olympiad.<sup>a</sup> He died  
in his 82nd year from the effects of a fall over some  
utensil in the night.

Upon him I have expressed myself as follows <sup>b</sup>:

<sup>a</sup> 339-338 B.C. <sup>b</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 102.

χαλκῇ προσκόψας λεκάνη ποτὲ καὶ τὸ μέτωπον  
πλήξας ἴαχεν ὧ σύντονον, εἴτ' ἔθανεν,  
ὁ πάντα πάντῃ Ξενοκράτης ἀνὴρ γεγώς.

Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Ξενοκράταις ἑξ. ὁ τε  
τακτικός ἀρχαῖος σφόδρα \*\* καὶ ὁ συγγενὴς ἄμα  
καὶ πολίτης τῷ προειρημένῳ φιλοσόφῳ· φέρεται  
δὲ αὐτοῦ λόγος Ἀρσινοητικός, γεγραμμένος περὶ  
Ἀρσινόης ἀποθανούσης. τέταρτος φιλόσοφος, ἑλε-  
γίαν γεγραφώς οὐκ ἐπιτυχώς. ἴδιον δέ· ποιηταὶ  
μὲν γὰρ ἐπιβαλλόμενοι πεζογραφεῖν ἐπιτυχάνουσι·  
πεζογράφοι δὲ ἐπιτιθέμενοι ποιητικῇ πταίουσιν· τῷ  
δῆλον τὸ μὲν φύσεως εἶναι, τὸ δὲ τέχνης ἔργον.  
πέμπτος ἀνδριαντοποιός· ἔκτος ἄσματα γεγραφώς,  
ὥς φησιν Ἀριστόξενος.

### Κεφ. γ'. ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

16 Πολέμων Φιλοστράτου μὲν ἦν υἱός, Ἀθηναῖος  
τῶν δῆμων Οἷηθεν. νέος δ' ὢν ἀκόλαστός τε καὶ  
διακεχυμένος ἦν οὕτως, ὥστε καὶ περιφέρειν  
ἀργύριον πρὸς τὰς ἐτοιμούςας λύσεις τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν·  
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς διέκρυπτεν. καὶ ἐν  
Ἀκαδημείᾳ πρὸς κίονι τινι τριῷβολον εὐρέθη  
προσπεπλασμένον αὐτοῦ διὰ [τὴν] ὁμοίαν τῇ  
προειρημένῃ πρόφασιν. καὶ ποτε συνθήμενος τοῖς  
νέοις μεθύων καὶ ἐστεφανωμένος εἰς τὴν Ξενο-  
κράτους ἦξε σχολήν· ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν διατραπεῖς εἶρε  
τὸν λόγον ὁμοίως· ἦν δὲ περὶ σωφροσύνης. ἀκούον  
δὴ τὸ μειράκιον κατ' ὀλίγον ἐθιγρᾶθη καὶ οὕτως

\* In the enumeration of the first three one has accidentally dropped out.

† Cf. Lucian's account of his follies (*Bis accusatus*, 16),

Xenocrates, that type of perfect manliness, stumbled over a vessel of bronze and broke his head, and, with a loud cry, expired.

There have been six other men named Xenocrates : (1) a tactician in very ancient times ; (2) the kinsman and fellow-citizen of the philosopher : a speech by him is extant entitled the *Arsinoëtic*, treating of a certain deceased *Arsinoë* ; (4) a philosopher and not very successful writer of elegies ; it is a remarkable fact that poets succeed when they undertake to write prose, but prose-writers who essay poetry come to grief ; whereby it is clear that the one is a gift of nature and the other of art ; (5) a sculptor ; (6) a writer of songs mentioned by Aristoxenus.

### CHAPTER 3. POLEMO

(Head of the Academy from 314 to c. 276 B.C.)

Polemo, the son of Philostratus, was an Athenian who belonged to the deme of Oea. In his youth he was so profligate and dissipated that he actually carried about with him money to procure the immediate gratification of his desires, and would even keep sums concealed in lanes and alleys.<sup>b</sup> Even in the Academy a piece of three obols was found close to a pillar, where he had buried it for the same purpose. And one day, by agreement with his young friends, he burst into the school of Xenocrates quite drunk, with a garland on his head. Xenocrates, however, without being at all disturbed, went on with his discourse as before, the subject being temperance. The lad, as he listened, by degrees was taken in the toils. He became so industrious

the more piquant because put into the mouth of Academy pleading against Carouse, *Μέθη*.

ἐγένετο φιλόπονός ὡς ὑπερβάλλεσθαι τοὺς ἄλλους  
καὶ αὐτὸς διαδέξασθαι τὴν σχολήν, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ  
τῆς ἑκτης καὶ δεκάτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος.

- 17 Φησὶ δὲ Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τοῖς Βίοις τὸν  
πατέρα αὐτοῦ πρῶτόν τε εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ  
ἀρματοτροφήσαι. φυγεῖν δὲ τὸν Πολέμωνα καὶ  
δίκην κακώσεως ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικός, ὡς μειρακίους  
συνόντα. τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐπιτεῖναι τὸ ἦθος ἀρξά-  
μενον φιλοσοφεῖν, ὥστ' ἐπὶ ταύτῃ σχήματος τῆς  
μορφῆς πάντοτε μένειν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν φωνὴν  
ἀναλλοίωτος ἦν· διὸ καὶ θηραθῆναι Κράντορα ὑπ'  
αὐτοῦ. κυνὸς γοῦν λυττῶντος [καὶ] τὴν ἰγνύαν  
διασπάσαντος μόνον μὴ ὠχριάσαι· καὶ ταραχῆς  
γενομένης ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως πυθομένων τὸ γεγονὸς  
ἄτρεπτον μέναι. ἐν τε τοῖς θεάτροις ἀσυμπαθέ-  
18 στατος ἦν. Νικοστράτου γοῦν ποτε τοῦ ἐπικαλου-  
μένου Κλυταίμνηστρα ἀναγνώσκοντός τι τοῦ  
ποιητοῦ αὐτῷ τε καὶ Κράτητι, τὸν μὲν συνδια-  
τίθεσθαι, τὸν δ' ἴσα καὶ μὴ ἀκοῦσαι. καὶ ὅλως ἦν  
τοιούτος οἷόν φησι Μελάνθιος ὁ ζωγράφος ἐν τοῖς  
Περὶ ζωγραφικῆς· φησὶ γὰρ δεῖν αὐθάδειάν τινα  
καὶ σκληρότητα τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιτρέχειν, ὁμοίως δὲ  
καὶ τοῖς ἥθεσιν. ἔφασκε δὲ ὁ Πολέμων δεῖν ἐν  
τοῖς πράγμασι γυμνάζεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐν τοῖς δια-  
λεκτικοῖς θεωρήμασι, καθάπερ ἀρμονικόν τι τέχριον  
καταπιόντα καὶ μὴ μελετήσαντα, ὡς κατὰ μὲν τὴν  
ἐρώτησιν θαυμάζεσθαι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν διάθεσιν  
ἐαυτοῖς μάχεσθαι.

as to surpass all the other scholars, and rose to be  
himself head of the school in the 116th Olympiad.<sup>a</sup>

Antigonos of Carystus in his *Biographies* says that  
his father was foremost among the citizens and kept  
horses to compete in the chariot-race; that Polemo  
himself had been defendant in an action brought by  
his wife, who charged him with cruelty owing to the  
irregularities of his life; but that, from the time  
when he began to study philosophy, he acquired  
such strength of character as always to maintain the  
same unruffled calm of demeanour. Nay more, he  
never lost control of his voice. This in fact accounts  
for the fascination which he exercised over Crantor.<sup>b</sup>  
Certain it is that, when a mad dog bit him in the  
back of his thigh, he did not even turn pale, but  
remained undisturbed by all the clamour which  
arose in the city at the news of what had happened.  
In the theatre too he was singularly unmoved. For  
instance, Nicostratus, who was nicknamed Clytem-  
nestra, was once reading to him and Crates some-  
thing from Homer; and, while Crates was deeply  
affected, he was no more moved than if he had  
not heard him. Altogether he was a man such as  
Melanthius the painter describes in his work *On*  
*Painting*. There he says that a certain wilfulness  
and stubbornness should be stamped on works of  
art, and that the same holds good of character.  
Polemo used to say that we should exercise our-  
selves with facts and not with mere logical specula-  
tions, which leave us, like a man who has got by  
heart some paltry handbook on harmony but never  
practised, able, indeed, to win admiration for skill  
in asking questions, but utterly at variance with  
ourselves in the ordering of our lives.

<sup>a</sup> 316-312 B.C.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *infra*, § 24.

Ἦν οὖν ἀσολοικός τις καὶ γενναῖος, παρητημέ-  
νος ἃ φησιν Ἀριστοφάνης περὶ Εὐριπίδου, "ὄξωτά  
19 καὶ σιλφιωτά," ἄπερ, ὡς ὁ αὐτός φησι,

καταπυγυσύνῃ ταῦτ' ἐστὶ πρὸς κρέας μέγα.

ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ καθίζων ἔλεγε πρὸς τὰς θέσεις,  
φασί, περιπατῶν δὲ ἐπεχείρει. διὰ δὲ ὅν τὸ  
φιλογενναῖον ἐτιμάτο ἐν τῇ πόλει. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ  
καὶ ἐκπεπατηκώς ἦν διατρίβων ἐν τῷ κήπῳ, παρ'  
ὃν οἱ μαθηταὶ μικρὰ καλύβια ποιησάμενοι κατῴκουν  
πλησίον τοῦ μουσείου καὶ τῆς ἐξέδρας. ἐῴκει δὲ ὁ  
Πολέμων κατὰ πάντα ἐξηλωκέναι τὸν Ξενοκράτην·  
καὶ ἐρασθῆναι αὐτοῦ φησιν Ἀρίστιππος ἐν τῷ  
τετάρτῳ Περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς. αἰεὶ γοῦν ἐμέμνητο  
αὐτοῦ, τὴν τ' ἀκακίαν καὶ τὸν αὐχμὸν ἐνεδέδυτο  
τάνδρὸς καὶ τὸ βάρος οἰοῖναι τῆς Δωριστὶ ἁρμονίας.  
20 ἦν δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφοκλῆς, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ἐκείνοις  
ὅπου κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν τὰ ποιήματα αὐτῷ

κύων τις ἐδόκει συμποιεῖν Μολοττικός,  
καὶ ἔνθα ἦν κατὰ τὸν Φρύνιχον

οὐ γλύξιν οὐδ' ὑπόχυτος, ἀλλὰ Πράμνιος.

ἔλεγεν οὖν τὸν μὲν Ὅμηρον ἐπικὸν εἶναι Σοφοκλέα,  
τὸν δὲ Σοφοκλέα Ὅμηρον τραγικόν.

Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ γηραιὸς ἦδη ὑπὸ φθίσεως, ἱκανὰ  
συγγράμματα καταλιπών. καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς  
αὐτόν·

οὐκ αἰτεῖς; Πολέμωνα κεκεύθαμεν, ὃν θέτο τῆδε  
ἄρρωστίη, τὸ δεινὸν ἀνθρώποις πάθος.

• Frag. 180 Dind.  
• Cf. *supra*, i. § 112 note.

He was, then, refined and generous, and would beg  
to be excused, in the words of Aristophanes about  
Euripides, the "acid, pungent style," which, as the  
same author says, is "strong seasoning for meat when  
it is high."• Further, he would not, they say, even  
sit down to deal with the themes of his pupils, but  
would argue walking up and down. It was, then,  
for his love of what is noble that he was honoured  
in the state. Nevertheless would he withdraw from  
society• and confine himself to the Garden of the  
Academy, while close by his scholars made them-  
selves little huts and lived not far from the shrine of  
the Muses and the lecture-hall. It would seem that  
in all respects Polemo emulated Xenocrates. And  
Aristippus in the fourth book of his work *On the  
Luxury of the Ancients* affirms him to have been his  
favourite. Certainly he always kept his predecessor  
before his mind and, like him, wore that simple  
austere dignity which is proper to the Dorian mode.  
He loved Sophocles, particularly in those passages  
where it seemed as if, in the phrase of the comic  
poet,

A stout Molossian mastiff lent him aid,  
and where the poet was, in the words of Phrynichus,•

Nor must, nor blended vintage, but true Pramnian.  
Thus he would call Homer the Sophocles of epic, and  
Sophocles the Homer of tragedy

He died at an advanced age of gradual decay,  
leaving behind him a considerable number of works.  
I have composed the following epigram upon him•:

Dost thou not hear? We have buried Polemo, laid here  
by that fatal scourge of wasted strength. Yet not Polemo,

• Meineke, *C.G.F.* ii. 605.

• *Anth. Plan.* ii. 380.

οὐ μᾶλλον Πολέμωνα, τὸ σῶμα δὲ τοῦτο γὰρ  
 αὐτὸς  
 βαίνων ἐς ἀστρα διάβορον θῆκεν χαμαί.

Κεφ. δ'. ΚΡΑΤΗΣ

21 Κράτης πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Ἀντιγένης <Ἀθηναῖος>, Θριάσιος δὲ τῶν δήμων, ἀκροατῆς ἅμα καὶ ἐρώμενος Πολέμωνος· ἀλλὰ καὶ διεδέξατο τὴν σχολὴν αὐτοῦ. καὶ οὕτως ἀλλήλῳ ἐφιλείτην ὥστε καὶ ζῶντε οὐ μόνον τῶν αὐτῶν ἦσθην ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι σχεδὸν ἀναπνοῆς ἐξωμοιώσθην ἀλλήλοις καὶ θανόντε τῆς αὐτῆς ταφῆς ἐκοινωνεῖτην. ὅθεν Ἀνταγόρας εἰς ἅμφω τοῦτον ἐποίησε τὸν τρόπον·

μνήματι τῷδε Κράτητα θεοῦδᾶ καὶ Πολέμωνα  
 ἔννεπε κρύπτεσθαι, ξεῖνε, παρερχόμενος,  
 ἄνδρας ὁμοφροσύνη μεγαλήτορας, ὧν ἅπο μῦθος  
 ἱερὸς ἦῖσεν δαιμονίου στόματος,  
 καὶ βίोटος καθαρὸς σοφίας ἐπὶ θεῖον ἐκόσμει  
 αἰῶν' ἀστρέπτοις δόγμασι πειθόμενος.

22 ἔνθεν καὶ Ἀρκεσίλαον μετελθόντα παρὰ Θεοφράστου πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγειν ὡς εἶεν θεοὶ τινες ἢ λείψανα τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χρυσοῦ γένους. καὶ γὰρ ἦσθην οὐ φιλοδημῶδες· ἀλλ' οἷον Διονυσόδωρόν ποτέ φασι τὸν αὐλητὴν εἰπεῖν, σεμνυνόμενον ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένᾳ τῶν κρουμάτων αὐτοῦ μήτ' ἐπὶ τριήρους μήτ' ἐπὶ κρήνης ἀκηκοέναι, καθάπερ Ἰσμηνίου. συσσίτιον δὲ φησιν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀντίγονος εἶναι παρὰ Κράντορος, ὁμονόως συμβιούντων τούτων τε καὶ Ἀρκεσίλαου. τὴν δὲ οἶκον Ἀρκεσίλαον μὲν ἔχειν μετὰ Κράντορος, Πολέμωνα δὲ σὺν Κράτητι μετὰ Λυσισ-

but merely his body, which on his way to the stars he left to moulder in the ground.

CHAPTER 4. CRATES (of Athens)

(Head of the Academy in third century B.C.)

Crates, whose father was Antigenes, was an Athenian belonging to the deme of Thria. He was a pupil and at the same time a favourite of Polemo, whom he succeeded in the headship of the school. The two were so much attached to each other that they not only shared the same pursuits in life but grew more and more alike to their latest breath, and, dying, shared the same tomb. Hence Antagoras, writing of both, employed this figure<sup>a</sup>:

Passing stranger, say that in this tomb rest godlike Crates and Polemo, men magnanimous in concord, from whose inspired lips flowed sacred speech, and whose pure life of wisdom, in accordance with unswerving tenets, decked them for a bright immortality.

Hence Arcesilaus, who had quitted Theophrastus and gone over to their school, said of them that they were gods or a remnant of the Golden Age. They did not side with the popular party, but were such as Dionysodorus the flute-player is said to have claimed to be, when he boasted that no one ever heard his melodies, as those of Ismenias were heard, either on shipboard or at the fountain. According to Antigonos, their common table was in the house of Crantor; and these two and Arcesilaus lived in harmony together. Arcesilaus and Crantor shared the same house, while Polemo and Crates lived with

<sup>a</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 103.

κλέους τινὸς τῶν πολιτῶν. ἦν δέ, φησὶν, ἐρώμενος, Κράτης μὲν, ὡς προείρηται, Πολέμωνος· Ἀρκεσίλαος δὲ Κράντορος.

- 23 Τελευτῶν δὲ ὁ Κράτης, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τρίτῳ τῶν Χρονικῶν, ἀπέλιπε βιβλία τὰ μὲν φιλοσοφούμενα, τὰ δὲ περὶ κωμωδίας, τὰ δὲ λόγους δημηγορικοὺς καὶ πρεσβευτικούς. ἀλλὰ καὶ μαθητὰς ἐλλογίμους· ὧν Ἀρκεσίλαον περὶ οὗ λέγομεν—διήκουσε γὰρ καὶ τούτου—καὶ Βίωνα τὸν Βορυσθενίτην, ὕστερον δὲ Θεοδώρειον ἀπὸ τῆς αἵρέσεως ἐπικαλούμενον, περὶ οὗ καὶ αὐτοῦ λέγομεν ἐχομένους Ἀρκεσίλαου.

Γεγόνασι δὲ Κράτητες δέκα· πρῶτος ὁ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας ποιητής, δεύτερος ῥήτωρ Τραλιανὸς Ἰσοκράτειος, τρίτος ταφρωρύχος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνών, τέταρτος ὁ κύων περὶ οὗ λέγομεν, πέμπτος φιλόσοφος περιπατητικός, ἕκτος Ἀκαδημαϊκὸς ὁ προειρημένος, ἑβδομος Μαλῶτης γραμματικός, ὄγδοος γεωμετρικὰ γεγραφώς, ἔνατος ἐπιγραμματῶν ποιητής, δέκατος Ταρσεὺς φιλόσοφος Ἀκαδημαϊκός.

#### Κεφ. ε'. ΚΡΑΝΤΩΡ

- 24 Κράντωρ Σολεὺς θαυμαζόμενος ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδι ἀπῆρεν εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ Ξενοκράτους διήκουσε Πολέμωνι συσχολάζων. καὶ κατέλιπεν ὑπομήματα εἰς μυριάδας στίχων τρεῖς, ὧν τινὰ τινες Ἀρκεσίλαῳ προσάπτουσι. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐρωτηθέντα τίνη θηραθείη ὑπὸ Πολέμωνος, εἰπεῖν

Lysicles, one of the citizens. Crates, as already stated, was the favourite of Polemo and Arcesilaus of Crantor.

According to Apollodorus in the third book of his *Chronology*, Crates at his death left behind him works, some of a philosophical kind, others on comedy, others again speeches delivered in the assembly or when he was envoy. He also left distinguished pupils; among them Arcesilaus, of whom we shall speak presently—for he was also a pupil of Crates; another was Bion of Borysthenes, who was afterwards known as the Theodorean, from the school which he joined; of him too we shall have occasion to speak next after Arcesilaus.

There have been ten men who bore the name of Crates: (1) the poet of the Old Comedy; (2) a rhetorician of Tralles, a pupil of Isocrates; (3) a sapper and miner who accompanied Alexander; (4) the Cynic, of whom more hereafter; (5) a Peripatetic philosopher; (6) the Academic philosopher described above; (7) a grammarian of Malos; (8) the author of a geometrical work; (9) a composer of epigrams (10) an Academic philosopher of Tarsus.

#### CHAPTER 5. CRANTOR

(Perhaps about 340-290 B.C.)

Crantor of Soli, though he was much esteemed in his native country, left it for Athens and attended the lectures of Xenocrates at the same time as Polemo. He left memoirs extending to 30,000 lines, some of which are by some critics attributed to Arcesilaus. He is said to have been asked what it was in Polemo that attracted him, and to have

τῷ μῆτ' ὀξύτερον μῆτε βαρύτερον ἀκοῦσαι φθεγομένου. οὗτος νοσήσας εἰς τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἀνεχώρησε κακεῖ περιεπάτει· οἱ δὲ πανταχόθεν προσήσαν αὐτῷ, νομίζοντες οὐ διὰ νόσον, ἀλλὰ βούλεσθαι αὐτόθι σχολὴν συστήσασθαι. ὦν ἦν καὶ Ἀρκεσίλαος θέλων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συστήναι Πολέμωνι, καίπερ ἐρῶντος, ὡς ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀρκεσίλαου  
 25 λέξομεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ὑγιάναντα διακούμεν Πολέμωνος, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ μάλιστα θαυμασθῆναι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν καταλιπεῖν Ἀρκεσίλαῳ, ταλάντων οὔσαν δυοκαίδεκα. καὶ ἐρωτηθέντα πρὸς αὐτοῦ ποῦ βούλεται ταφῆναι, εἰπεῖν·

ἐν γῆς φίλης μυχοῖσι κρυφθῆναι καλόν.

λέγεται δὲ καὶ ποιήματα γράφειν καὶ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερῷ σφραγισάμενος αὐτὰ θεῖναι. καὶ φησι Θεαίτητος ὁ ποιητῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ οὕτως·

ἦνδανεν ἀνθρώποις, ὁ δ' ἐπὶ πλεόν ἦνδανε  
 Μούσαις

Κράντωρ, καὶ γήρως ἤλυθεν οὔτι πρόσω.  
 γῇ, σὺ δὲ τεττηνῶτα τὸν ἱερὸν ἄνδρ' ὑπόδεξαι·  
 ἡρέμα καὶ κεῖθι ζῶν ἐν εὐθενίᾳ.

26 Ἐθαύμαζε δὲ ὁ Κράντωρ πάντων δὴ μᾶλλον Ὀμηρον καὶ Εὐριπίδην, λέγων ἐργῶδες εἶναι ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ τραγικῶς ἅμα καὶ συμπαθῶς γράφειν. καὶ προεφέρετο τὸν στίχον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Βελλεροφόντου·

οἶμοι· τί δ' οἶμοι; θνητά τοι πεπόνθαμεν.

λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀνταγόρα τοῦ ποιητοῦ ὡς Κράντορος εἰς Ἐρωτα πεποιημένα φέρεσθαι ταυτί·

<sup>a</sup> Nauck, *T.G.F.*<sup>3</sup>, *Adesp.* 281. <sup>b</sup> *Anth. Plan.* ii. 28.

replied, "The fact that I never heard him raise or lower his voice in speaking." He happened to fall ill, and retired to the temple of Asclepius, where he proceeded to walk about. At once people flocked round him in the belief that he had retired thither, not on account of illness, but in order to open a school. Among them was Arcesilaus, who wished to be introduced by his means to Polemo, notwithstanding the affection which united the two, as will be related in the Life of Arcesilaus. However, when he recovered, he continued to attend Polemo's lectures, and for this he was universally praised. He is also said to have left Arcesilaus his property, to the value of twelve talents. And when asked by him where he wished to be buried, he answered <sup>a</sup> :

Sweet in some nook of native soil to rest.

It is also said that he wrote poems and deposited them under seal in the temple of Athena in his native place. And Theaetetus the poet writes thus of him <sup>b</sup> :

Pleasing to men, more pleasing to the Muses, lived Crantor, and never saw old age. Receive, O earth, the hallowed dead; gently may he live and thrive even in the world below.

Crantor admired Homer and Euripides above all other poets; it is hard, he said, at once to write tragedy and to stir the emotions in the language of everyday life. And he would quote the line from the story of Bellerophon <sup>c</sup> :

Alas! But why Alas? We have suffered the lot of mortals.

And it is said that there are extant <sup>d</sup> these lines of the poet Antagoras, spoken by Crantor on Love :

<sup>e</sup> Nauck, *T.G.F.*<sup>3</sup>, *Eur.* 300. <sup>d</sup> *Anth. Plan.* iii. 60.



27 ἐν δοίῃ μοι θυμός, ἐπεὶ γένος ἀμφίσβητον,  
 ἢ σε θεῶν τὸν πρῶτον ἀειγενέων, Ἔρος, εἶπω,  
 τῶν ὄσσοις Ἐρεβός τε πάλαι βασιλεία τε παῖδας  
 γείνατο Νύξ πελάγεσσιν ὑπ' εὐρέος Ὠκεανοῖο·  
 ἢ σέ γε Κύπριδος υἷα περίφρονος, ἢ σε Γαίης,  
 ἢ Ἀνέμων· τοῖος σὺ κακὰ φρονέων ἀλάλησαι  
 ἀνθρώποις ἢ δ' ἐσθλά· τὸ καὶ σέο σῶμα δίφυιον.

Ἦν δὲ καὶ δεινὸς ὀνοματοποιῆσαι. τραγῳδὸν  
 γοῦν ἀπελέκηντο εἶπεν ἔχειν φωνὴν καὶ φλοιοῦ  
 μεστήν· καὶ τινος ποιητοῦ σκίφης μεστοὺς εἶναι  
 τοὺς στίχους· καὶ τὰς Θεοφράστου θέσεις ὁστρέφω  
 γεγράφθαι. θαυμάζεται δὲ αὐτοῦ βιβλίον μάλιστα  
 τὸ Περὶ πένθους. καὶ κατέστρεψε πρὸ Πολέ-  
 μωνος καὶ Κράττητος, ὑδρωπικῇ διαθέσει νοσήσας.  
 καὶ ἔστιν εἰς αὐτὸν ἡμῶν·

ἐπέκλυσε καὶ σέ, Κράντορ, ἡ νόσων κακίστη,  
 χούτω μέλαν κατῆλθες Πλουτέως ἄβυσσον.  
 καὶ σὺ μὲν ἐκείθι χαίρεις, σὼν λόγων δὲ χήρη  
 ἔσθηκεν Ἀκαδήμεια καὶ Σόλοι, πατρίς σευ.

# Κεφ. 5'. ΑΡΚΕΣΙΛΑΟΣ

28 Ἀρκεσίλαος Σεύθου ([ἢ Σκύθου], ὡς Ἀπολ-  
 λόδωρος ἐν τρίτῳ Χρονικῶν), Πιτάνης τῆς Αἰολίδος.  
 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς μέσης Ἀκαδημείας κατάρξας,  
 πρῶτος ἐπισχὼν τὰς ἀποφάσεις διὰ τὰς ἐναντιό-  
 τητας τῶν λόγων. πρῶτος δὲ καὶ εἰς ἐκάτερον  
 ἐπεχείρησε, καὶ πρῶτος τὸν λόγον ἐκίνησε τὸν ὑπὸ  
 Πλάτωνος παραδεδομένον καὶ ἐποίησε δι' ἐρωτή-  
 σεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως ἐριστικώτερον. παρέβαλε δὲ

\* "Legimus omnes Crantoris, veteris Academi, de

My mind is in doubt, since thy birth is disputed, whether  
 I am to call thee, Love, the first of the immortal gods, the  
 eldest of all the children whom old Erebus and queenly  
 Night brought to birth in the depths beneath wide Ocean;  
 or art thou the child of wise Cypris, or of Earth, or of the  
 Winds? So many are the goods and ills thou devisest for  
 men in thy wanderings. Therefore hast thou a body of  
 double form.

He was also clever at inventing terms. For in-  
 stance, he said of a tragic player's voice that it  
 was unpolished and unpeeled. And of a certain poet  
 that his verses abounded in miserliness. And that  
 the disquisitions of Theophrastus were written with  
 an oyster-shell. His most highly esteemed work is  
 the treatise *On Grief*.<sup>a</sup> He died before Polemo and  
 Crates, his end being hastened by dropsy. I have  
 composed upon him the following epigram<sup>b</sup>:

The worst of maladies overwhelmed you, Crantor, and  
 thus did you descend the black abyss of Pluto. While you  
 fare well even in the world below, the Academy and your  
 country of Soli are bereft of your discourses.

## CHAPTER 6. ARCESILAUS (c. 318-242 B.C.)

Arcesilaus, the son of Seuthes, according to Apollo-  
 dorus in the third book of his *Chronology*, came from  
 Pitane in Aeolis. With him begins the Middle  
 Academy; he was the first to suspend his judgement  
 owing to the contradictions of opposing arguments.  
 He was also the first to argue on both sides of a  
 question, and the first to meddle with the system  
 handed down by Plato and, by means of question  
 and answer, to make it more closely resemble eristic.

luctu; est enim non magnus, verum aureolus et, ut Tuberoni  
 Panaetius praecipit, ad verbum ediscendus libellus" (Cic.  
*Ac. Pr.* ii. 44). <sup>b</sup> *Anth. Plan.* ii. 381.

Κράντορι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. τέταρτος ἀδελφὸς ἦν ὧν εἶχε δύο μὲν ὁμοπατέριους, δύο δὲ ὁμομητέριους· καὶ τῶν μὲν ὁμομητριῶν πρεσβύτερον Πυλάδην, τῶν δὲ ὁμοπατρίων Μοιρέαν, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ ἐπίτροπος. 29 ἤκουσε δὲ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν Αὐτολύκου τοῦ μαθηματικοῦ πολίτου τυγχάνοντος, πρὶν ἀπαίρειν εἰς Ἀθήνας, μεθ' οὗ καὶ εἰς Σάρδεις ἀπεδημήσεν· ἔπειτα Ξάνθου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου μουσικοῦ· μεθ' οὗ Θεοφράστου διήκουσεν. ἔπειτα μετήλθεν εἰς Ἀκαδημείαν πρὸς Κράντορα· Μοιρέας μὲν γὰρ ὁ προειρημένος ἀδελφὸς ἤγεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ῥητορικὴν· ὁ δὲ φιλοσοφίας ἦρα, καὶ αὐτοῦ Κράντωρ ἐρωτικῶς διατεθεὶς ἐπίθετο τὰ ἐξ Ἀνδρομέδας Εὐριπίδου προενεγκάμενος·

ὦ παρθέν', εἰ σώσαιμί σ', εἴσει μοι χάριν;  
καὶ ὃς τὰ ἐχόμενα·

ἄγου μ', ὦ ξέν', εἴτε δμῶδ' ἐθέλεις εἶτ' ἄλοχον.  
30 ἐκ τούτου συνήστην ἀλλήλοιον· ἵνα καὶ τὸν Θεόφραστον κνιζόμενόν φασιν εἰπεῖν ὡς εὐφυῆς καὶ εὐεπιχειρήτος ἀπεληλυθὼς τῆς διατριβῆς εἴη νεανίσκος. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἐμβριθέστατος καὶ φιλογράμματος ἱκανῶς γενόμενος ἤπτετο καὶ ποιητικῆς. καὶ αὐτοῦ φέρεται ἐπίγραμμα εἰς Ἀτταλον ἔχον οὕτω·

Πέργαμος οὐχ ὅπλοις κλεινὴ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵπποις  
πολλάκις αὐδᾶται Πίσαν ἀνὰ ζαθέην.  
εἰ δὲ τὸν ἐκ Διόθεν θεμιτὸν θνατῷ νόον εἰπεῖν,  
ἔσσεται εἰσαυτίς πολλὸν ἀοιδότερη.

He came across Crantor in this way. He was the youngest of four brothers, two of them being his brothers by the same father, and two by the same mother. Of the last two Pylades was the elder, and of the former two Moereas, and Moereas was his guardian. At first, before he left Pitane for Athens, he was a pupil of the mathematician Autolycus, his fellow-countryman, and with him he also travelled to Sardis. Next he studied under Xanthus, the musician, of Athens; then he was a pupil of Theophrastus. Lastly, he crossed over to the Academy and joined Crantor. For while his brother Moereas, who has already been mentioned, wanted to make him a rhetorician, he was himself devoted to philosophy, and Crantor, being enamoured of him, cited the line from the *Andromeda* of Euripides <sup>a</sup>:

O maiden, if I save thee, wilt thou be grateful to me?

and was answered with the next line <sup>b</sup>:

Take me, stranger, whether for maidservant or for wife.

After that they lived together. Whereupon Theophrastus, nettled at his loss, is said to have remarked, "What a quick-witted and ready pupil has left my school!" For, besides being most effective in argument and decidedly fond of writing books, he also took up poetry. And there is extant an epigram of his upon Attalus which runs thus <sup>c</sup>:

Pergamos, not famous in arms alone, is often celebrated for its steeds in divine Pisa. And if a mortal may make bold to utter the will of heaven, it will be much more sung by bards in days to come.

<sup>a</sup> Nauck, *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup>, *Eur.* 129.

<sup>b</sup> *Ib.* 132.

<sup>c</sup> *Anth. Plan.* iii. 56.

ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Μηνόδωρον τὸν Εὐγάμου ἑνὸς τῶν  
 συσχολαστῶν ἐρώμενον·

- 31 τηλοῦ μὲν Φρυγίῃ, τηλοῦ δ' ἱερῇ Θυάτειρα·  
 ὃ Μηνόδωρε, σὴ πατρίς, Καδανάδῃ.  
 ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰς Ἀχέροντα τὸν οὐ φατὸν ἴσα κέλευθα,  
 ὡς αἴνος ἀνδρῶν, πάντοθεν μετρεύμενα.  
 σῆμα δέ τοι τόδ' ἔρεξεν ἀριφραδὲς Εὐγάμος, ᾧ σὺ  
 πολλῶν πενεστῶν ἦσθα προσφιλέστατος.

Ἀπεδέχετο δὲ πάντων μᾶλλον Ὅμηρον, οὗ καὶ  
 εἰς ὕπνον ἰὼν πάντως τι ἀνεγίνωσκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 ὄρθρου λέγων ἐπὶ τὸν ἐρώμενον ἀπιέναι ὅποτε  
 βούλοιο ἀναγνῶναι. τὸν τε Πίνδαρον ἔφασκε  
 δεινὸν εἶναι φωνῆς ἐμπλήσαι καὶ ὀνομάτων καὶ  
 ῥημάτων εὐπορίαν παρασχεῖν. Ἴωνα δὲ καὶ ἔχα-  
 κτήριζε νέος ὢν.

- 32 Διήκουσε δὲ καὶ Ἰππονίκου τοῦ γεωμέτρου· ὃν  
 καὶ ἔσκωψε τὰ μὲν ἄλλα νωθρὸν ὄντα καὶ χασμῶδη,  
 ἐν δὲ τῇ τέχνῃ τεθεωρημένον, εἰπὼν τὴν γεωμετρίαν  
 αὐτοῦ χάσκοντος εἰς τὸ στόμα ἐμπτήναι. τοῦτον  
 καὶ παρακόψαντα ἀναλαβὼν οἶκοι ἐς τοσοῦτον  
 ἐθεράπευσεν, ἐς ὅσον ἀποκαταστήσαι. Κράτητος  
 δὲ ἐκλιπόντος κατέσχε τὴν σχολήν, ἐκχωρήσαντος  
 αὐτῷ Σωκρατίδου τινός. διὰ δὲ τὸ περὶ πάντων  
 ἐπέχεω οὐδὲ βιβλίον, φασι τινες, συνέγραψεν· οἱ  
 δὲ, ὅτι ἐφωράθη <Κράντορος> τινὰ διορθῶν, ᾧ φασιν  
 οἱ μὲν ἐκδοῦναι, οἱ δὲ κατακαῦσαι. ἐώκει δὲ  
 θαυμάζειν καὶ τὸν Πλάτωνα καὶ τὰ βιβλία ἐκέ-  
 33 κτητο αὐτοῦ. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Πύρρωνα κατὰ τινὰς  
 ἐζηλώκει καὶ τῆς διαλεκτικῆς εἶχετο καὶ τῶν

<sup>a</sup> *Anth. Plan.* ii. 382.

<sup>b</sup> If this be so, the study of the poet Ion (§ 31) must have  
 remained unpublished.

And again upon Menodorus, the favourite of  
 Eugamus, one of his fellow-students <sup>a</sup> :

Far, far away are Phrygia and sacred Thyatira, thy  
 native land, Menodorus, son of Cadanus. But to unspeak-  
 able Acheron the ways are equal, from whatever place they be  
 measured, as the proverb saith. To thee Eugamus raised  
 this far-seen monument, for thou wert dearest to him of all  
 who for him toiled.

He esteemed Homer above all the poets and would  
 always read a passage from him before going to  
 sleep. And in the morning he would say, whenever  
 he wanted to read Homer, that he would pay a visit  
 to his dear love. Pindar too he declared matchless  
 for imparting fullness of diction and for affording a  
 copious store of words and phrases. And in his youth  
 he made a special study of Ion.

He also attended the lectures of the geometer  
 Hipponicus, at whom he pointed a jest as one who  
 was in all besides a listless, yawning sluggard but  
 yet proficient in his subject. "Geometry," he said,  
 "must have flown into his mouth while it was agape."  
 When this man's mind gave way, Arcesilaus took him  
 to his house and nursed him until he was completely  
 restored. He took over the school on the death of  
 Crates, a certain Socratides having retired in his  
 favour. According to some, one result of his sus-  
 pending judgement on all matters was that he never  
 so much as wrote a book.<sup>b</sup> Others relate that he was  
 caught revising some works of Crantor, which  
 according to some he published, according to others  
 he burnt. He would seem to have held Plato in  
 admiration, and he possessed a copy of his works.  
 Some represent him as emulous of Pyrrho as well.  
 He was devoted to dialectic and adopted the methods

Ερετρικῶν ἤπτετο λόγων, ὅθεν καὶ ἐλέγετο ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ὑπ' Ἀρίστωνος·

πρόσθε Πλάτων, ὅπιθεν Πύρρων, μέσσος Διόδωρος. καὶ ὁ Τίμων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ φησιν οὕτως·

τῇ γὰρ ἔχων Μενεδήμου ὑπὸ στέρνοισι μόλιβδον θεύσεται ἢ Πύρρωνα τὸ πᾶν κρέας ἢ Διόδωρον.

καὶ διαλιπὼν αὐτὸν ποιεῖ λέγοντα·

ἰνῆσομαι εἰς Πύρρωνα καὶ εἰς σκολιὸν Διόδωρον.

Ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀξιωματικώτατος καὶ συνηγμένος καὶ ἐν τῇ λαλιᾷ διαστατικός τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἐπι-  
κόπτης θ' ἱκανῶς καὶ παρρησιαστής· διὸ καὶ πάλιν ὁ Τίμων οὕτως περὶ αὐτοῦ·

καὶ \* νόον αἰμυλλίοις<sup>1</sup> ἐπιπλήξεσιν ἐγκαταμινύς.

ὅθεν καὶ πρὸς τὸν θρασύτερον διαλεγόμενον νεανίσκον, “οὐ λήψεται τίς,” ἔφη, “τοῦτον ἀστραγάλω;” πρὸς δὲ τὸν αἰτίαν ἔχοντα περαίνεσθαι, ὡς ἀνῆγεγκεν αὐτῷ ὅτι οὐ δοκεῖ ἕτερον ἕτερον μείζον εἶναι, ἠρώτησεν εἰ οὐδὲ τὸ δεκαδάκτυλον τοῦ ἑξαδάκτυλου. “Ἡμονος δέ τινος Χίου ἀειδοῦς ὄντος καὶ ὑπολαμβάνοντος εἶναι καλοῦ καὶ ἐν χλανίσι ἀεὶ ἀναστρεφόμενου εἰπόντος ὅτι οὐ δοκεῖ αὐτῷ <ὁ> σοφὸς ἐρασθήσεσθαι, ἔφη, πότερον οὐδ' εἰς οὕτω καλὸς ἢ τις ὥσπερ σὺ οὐδ' εἰς οὕτω καλὰ ἱμάτια ἔχη; ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ παρακιναιδὸς ὢν ὡς εἰς βαρὺν τὸν Ἀρκεσίλαον ἔφη·

<sup>1</sup> καὶ νέον μη λησος vulg.: νόον Casaubon: αἰμυλλίος Wilam.: παλιν γινώσκων αἰμυλλίως (inter alia) Wachs.

\* A parody of Homer, *Il.* vi. 181: a chimaera has a lion's front, a dragon's tail, and the body of a goat.

of argument introduced by the Eretrian school. On account of this Ariston said of him:

Plato the head of him, Pyrrho the tail, midway Diodorus.<sup>a</sup> And Timon speaks of him thus <sup>b</sup>:

Having the lead of Menedemus at his heart, he will run either to that mass of flesh, Pyrrho, or to Diodorus.

And a little farther on he introduces him as saying:

I shall swim to Pyrrho and to crooked Diodorus.

He was highly axiomatic and concise, and in his discourse fond of distinguishing the meaning of terms. He was satirical enough, and outspoken. This is why Timon speaks of him again as follows:

And mixing sound sense with wily cavils.<sup>c</sup>

Hence, when a young man talked more boldly than was becoming, Arcesilaus exclaimed, “Will no one beat him at a game of knuckle-bone?” Again, when some one of immodest life denied that one thing seemed to him greater than another, he rejoined, “Then six inches and ten inches are all the same to you?” There was a certain Hemon, a Chian, who, though ugly, fancied himself to be handsome, and always went about in fine clothes. He having propounded as his opinion that the wise man will never fall in love, Arcesilaus replied, “What, not with one so handsome as you and so handsomely dressed?” And when one of loose life, to imply that Arcesilaus was arrogant, addressed him thus <sup>d</sup>:

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Hom. *Od.* v. 346.

<sup>c</sup> Or possibly with Wachsmuth: “mixing jest in wily fashion (αἰμυλλίως) with abuse.”

<sup>d</sup> Nauck, *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup>, *Adesp.* 282.

35 ἔξεστ' ἐρωτᾶν πότνια σ' ἢ σιγὴν ἔχω;  
ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη·

γύναι, τί μοι τραχεῖα κοῦκ εἰθισμένως  
λαλεῖς;

στωμύλου δὲ ἀγεννοὺς πράγματα αὐτῷ παρέχοντος  
ἔφη·

ἀκόλασθ' ὁμιλεῖν γίγνεται δούλων τέκνα.

ἄλλου δὲ πολλὰ φλυαροῦντος οὐδὲ τίτθης αὐτὸν  
χαλεπῆς τετυχηκέναι ἔφη· τισὶ δὲ οὐδὲ ἀπεκρίνετο.  
πρὸς δὲ τὸν δανειστικὸν καὶ φιλόλογον εἰπόντα τι  
ἀγνοεῖν, ἔφη·

λήθουσι γάρ τοι κἀνέμων διέξοδοι  
θήλειαν ὄρνιν, πλὴν ὅταν τόκος παρῇ.

ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ Οἰνομάου τοῦ Σοφοκλέους.

36 Πρὸς Ἀλεξινεῖον τινα διαλεκτικὸν μὴ δυνάμενον  
κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν Ἀλεξίνου τι διηγῆσασθαι τὸ  
Φιλοξένῳ πρὸς τοὺς πλυνθιακοὺς πραχθὲν εἶπεν·  
ἐκεῖνος γὰρ τὰ αὐτοῦ κακῶς ἄδοντας τούτους  
καταλαβὼν αὐτὸς τὰς πλυνθους αὐτῶν συνεπάτησεν,  
εἰπὼν, "ὡς ὑμεῖς τὰ ἐμὰ διαφθείρετε, οὕτω καὶ γὰρ  
τὰ ὑμέτερα." ἤχθετο οὖν δὴ τοῖς μὴ κατ' ὥραν  
τὰ μαθήματα ἀνειληφόσι. φυσικῶς δὲ πως ἐν τῷ  
διαλέγεσθαι ἐχρήτο τῷ Φημ' ἐγώ, καί, Οὐ συγ-  
καταθήσεται τούτοις ὁ δεῖνα, εἰπὼν τοῦνομα· ὁ

<sup>a</sup> Nauck, *T.G.F.*<sup>3</sup>, *Adesp.* 283: cf. Wilam. *Antiq.* v. Kar. p. 74.

<sup>b</sup> Nauck, *T.G.F.*<sup>3</sup>, Eur. 976.

<sup>c</sup> Nauck, *T.G.F.*<sup>3</sup>, Soph. 436.

<sup>d</sup> "Men pay little heed to obvious facts except when their own interests are concerned." So A. C. Pearson, *ad loc.*,

Queen, may I speak, or must I silence keep?  
his reply was <sup>a</sup>:

Woman, why talk so harshly, not as thou art wont?

When some talkative person of no family caused him considerable trouble, he cited the line <sup>b</sup>:

Right ill to live with are the sons of slaves.

Of another who talked much nonsense he said that he could not have had even a nurse to scold him. And some persons he would not so much as answer. To a money-lending student, upon his confessing ignorance of something or other, Arcesilaus replied with two lines from the *Oenomaus* of Sophocles <sup>c</sup>:

Be sure the hen-bird knows not from what quarter the wind blows until she looks for a new brood in the nest. <sup>d</sup>

A certain dialectic, a follower of Alexinus, was unable to repeat properly some argument of his teacher, whereupon Arcesilaus reminded him of the story of Philoxenus and the brickmakers. He found them singing some of his melodies out of tune; so he retaliated by trampling on the bricks they were making, saying, "If you spoil my work, I'll spoil yours." He was, moreover, genuinely annoyed with any who took up their studies too late. By some natural impulse he was betrayed into using such phrases as "I assert," and "So-and-so" (mentioning the name) "will not assent to this." <sup>e</sup> And this trait

Soph. *Fragments*, 477 (vol. ii. p. 130), who takes διέξοδοι in the more specific sense: "passage of the winds (through her body)," the reference being to the old fable of the wind-egg (Aristoph. *Aves*, 695, Aristot. *Hist. An.* vi. 2, 560 a 6). To the usurer τόκος would suggest interest on loans.

<sup>e</sup> The use of these phrases was inconsistent with the suspension of judgement professed by Arcesilaus.

καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν μαθητῶν ἐζήλουν <ὡς> καὶ τὴν ῥητορείαν καὶ πᾶν τὸ σχῆμα.

37 Ἦν δὲ καὶ εὐρεσιλογώτατος ἀπαντῆσαι εὐστόχως καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον ἀνενεγκεῖν τὴν περίοδον τῶν λόγων καὶ ἀπαντῇ συναρμόσασθαι καιρῶ. πειστικός τε ὑπὲρ πάνθ' ὄντινούν· παρὸ καὶ πλείους πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπῆντων εἰς τὴν σχολὴν καίπερ ὑπ' ὀξύτητος αὐτοῦ ἐπιπληττόμενοι. ἀλλ' ἔφερον ἡδέως· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἀγαθὸς σφόδρα καὶ ἐλπιδῶν ὑποπιμπλᾶς τοὺς ἀκούοντας. ἔν τε τῷ βίῳ κοινωνικώτατος ἐγένετο καὶ εὐεργετῆσαι πρόχειρος ἦν καὶ λαθεῖν τὴν χάριν ἀτυφότατος. εἰσελθὼν γοῦν ποτὲ πρὸς Κτησίβιον νοσοῦντα καὶ ἰδὼν ἀπορίᾳ θλιβόμενον, κρύφα βαλάντιον ὑπέθηκε τῷ προσκεφαλαίῳ· καὶ ὃς εὐρών, "Ἀρκεσιλάου," φησί, "τὸ παίγνιον." ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοτε χιλίας ἀπέστειλεν.

38 Ἀρχίαν τε τὸν Ἀρκάδα Εὐμένει συστήσας πολλῆς ἐποίησε τυχεὶν τῆς ἀξίας. ἐλευθερίος τε ὦν καὶ ἀφιλαργυρώτατος εἰς τὰς ἀργυρικὰς δεῖξεις ἀπῆντα πρῶτος, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρχεκράτους καὶ Καλλικράτους τὰς χρυσαίας παντὸς ἔσπευδε μᾶλλον. συχνοῖς τε ἐπήρκει καὶ συνηράνιζε· καὶ ποτὲ τινος ἀργυρώματα λαβόντος εἰς ὑποδοχὴν φίλων καὶ ἀποστεροῦντος οὐκ ἀπήτησεν οὐδὲ προσεποιήθη. οἱ δὲ φασιν ἐπίτηδες χρῆσαι καὶ ἀποδιδόντος, ἐπεὶ πένης ἦν, χαρίσασθαι. ἦν μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν Πιτάνῃ περιουσία, ἀφ' ἧς ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ Πυλάδης ὁ ἀδελφός. ἀλλὰ καὶ

many of his pupils imitated, as they did also his style of speaking and his whole address.

Very fertile in invention, he could meet objection acutely or bring the course of discussion back to the point at issue, and fit it to every occasion. In persuasiveness he had no equal, and this all the more drew pupils to the school, although they were in terror of his pungent wit. But they willingly put up with that; for his goodness was extraordinary, and he inspired his pupils with hopes. He showed the greatest generosity in private life, being ever ready to confer benefits, yet most modestly anxious to conceal the favour. For instance, he once called upon Ctesibius when he was ill and, seeing in what straits he was, quietly put a purse under his pillow. He, when he found it, said, "This is the joke of Arcesilaus." Moreover, on another occasion, he sent him 1000 drachmas.

Again, by introducing Archias the Arcadian to Eumenes, he caused him to be advanced to great dignity. And, as he was very liberal, caring very little for money, so he was the first to attend performances where seats were paid for, and he was above all eager to go to those of Archecrates and Callicrates, for which the fee was a gold piece. And he helped many people and collected subscriptions for them. Some one once borrowed his silver plate in order to entertain friends and never brought it back, but Arcesilaus did not ask him for it and pretended it had not been borrowed. Another version of the story is that he lent it on purpose, and, when it was returned, made the borrower a present of it because he was poor. He had property in Pitane from which his brother Pylades sent him supplies. Furthermore, Eumenes,

ἐχορήγει αὐτῷ πολλὰ Εὐμένης ὁ τοῦ Φιλεταίρου· διὸ καὶ τούτῳ μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων προσεφώνει.

39 Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον θεραπευόντων καὶ ὁπότε ἦκοι ἀπαντῶντων αὐτὸς ἡσύχαζε, μὴ βουλόμενος προεμπίπτειν εἰς γνῶσιν. φίλος τε ἦν μάλιστα Ἱεροκλεῖ τῷ τὴν Μουνιχίαν ἔχοντι καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ· ἔν τε ταῖς ἑορταῖς κατῆει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκάστοτε. καὶ δὴ καὶ πολλὰ ἐκείνου συμπεῖθοντος ὥστ' ἀσπάσασθαι τὸν Ἀντίγονον, οὐκ ἐπείσθη, ἀλλ' ἕως πυλῶν ἐλθὼν ἀνέστρεψε. μετὰ τε τὴν Ἀντιγόνου ναυμαχίαν πολλῶν προσιόντων καὶ ἐπιστόλια παρακλητικὰ γραφόντων αὐτὸς ἐσιώπησεν. ἀλλ' οὖν ὁμως ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπρέσβευσεν εἰς Δημητριάδα πρὸς Ἀντίγονον καὶ οὐκ ἐπέτυχε. τὸ πᾶν δὴ διέτριβεν ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημείᾳ τὸν πολιτισμὸν ἐκτοπίζων.

40 Καὶ ποτε δὴ καὶ Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ πρὸς τὰς θέσεις λέγων ἐχρόνισεν, οἰκείως ἔχων πρὸς Ἱεροκλέα· ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ πρὸς τινων διεβάλλετο. πολυτελὲς δὲ ἄγαν ὦν—καὶ τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ ἕτερος Ἀριστιππος;—ἐπὶ τὰ δέιπνα πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοιοτρόπους μὲν, πλὴν ἄλλ' ἀπήντα. καὶ Θεοδότῃ τε καὶ Φίλᾳ ταῖς Ἥλείαις ἐταίραις συνώκει φανερώς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς διασύροντας προεφέρετο τὰς Ἀριστιππου χρείας. φιλομειράκιός τε ἦν καὶ καταφερής· ὅθεν οἱ περὶ Ἀρίστωνα τὸν Χίον στωικοὶ

\* The reference may be to one of the naval victories gained by Antigonus over the Egyptian fleet towards the end of his reign, at Cos and again at Andros. See W. W. Tarn, *Antigonus Gonatas*, pp. 378, 461-6.

<sup>b</sup> It has been suggested that the sense would be improved

the son of Philetaerus, furnished him with large sums, and for this reason Eumenes was the only one of the contemporary kings to whom he dedicated any of his works.

And whereas many persons courted Antigonus and went to meet him whenever he came to Athens, Arcesilaus remained at home, not wishing to thrust himself upon his acquaintance. He was on the best of terms with Hierocles, the commandant in Munichia and Piraeus, and at every festival would go down to see him. And though Hierocles joined in urging him to pay his respects to Antigonus, he was not prevailed upon, but, after going as far as the gates, turned back. And after the battle at sea,<sup>a</sup> when many went to Antigonus or wrote him flattering letters, he held his peace. However, on behalf of his native city, he did go to Demetrias as envoy to Antigonus, but failed in his mission. He spent his time wholly in the Academy, shunning politics.

Once indeed, when at Athens, he stopped too long in the Piraeus, discussing themes, out of friendship for Hierocles, and for this he was censured by certain persons.<sup>b</sup> He was very lavish, in short another Aristippus, and he was fond of dining well, but only with those who shared his tastes. He lived openly with Theodete and Phila, the Elean courtesans, and to those who censured him he quoted the maxims of Aristippus. He was also fond of boys and very susceptible. Hence he was accused by Ariston of

if Ἀθήνησι were transposed to come between τὸν and πολιτισμὸν, adding καὶ πρὸς τὰς θέσεις λέγων after πολιτισμὸν ἐκτοπίζων instead of after Πειραιεῖ. This account seems in some respects to confirm the impression conveyed by the sentence a little higher up, beginning πολλῶν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον . . . ἐκάστοτε.



ἐπεκάλουν αὐτῷ, φθορέα τῶν νέων καὶ κιναιδο-  
 41 λόγον καὶ θρασὺν ἀποκαλοῦντες. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ  
 Δημητρίου τοῦ πλεῦσαντος εἰς Κυρήνην ἐπὶ πλεόν  
 ἐρασθῆναι λέγεται, καὶ Κλεοχάρους τοῦ Μυρλεανοῦ·  
 ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κωμῶσαντας εἰπεῖν αὐτὸς μὲν  
 θέλειν ἀνοῖξαι, ἐκείνους δὲ διακωλύειν. τούτου δὲ  
 ἥρων καὶ Δημοχάρης ὁ Λάχηςτος καὶ Πυθοκλῆς ὁ  
 τοῦ Βουγέλου· οὓς καταλαβὼν ὑπ' ἀνεξικακίας  
 παραχωρεῖν ἔφη. διὰ ταῦτα δὴ οὖν ἔδακνόν τε  
 αὐτὸν οἱ προειρημένοι καὶ ἐπέσκωπτον ὡς φίλοχλον  
 καὶ φιλόδοξον· μάλιστα δὲ ἐπετίθεντο αὐτῷ οἱ  
 περὶ Ἱερώνυμον τὸν Περιπατητικόν, ὁπότε συνάγοι  
 τοὺς φίλους εἰς τὴν Ἀλκυνόεως τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου  
 42 υἱοῦ ἡμέραν, εἰς ἣν ἱκανὰ χρήματα ἀπέστελλεν  
 Ἀντίγονος πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν. ἔνθα καὶ παραιτού-  
 μενος ἐκάστοτε τὰς ἐπικυλικαίους ἐξηγήσεις πρὸς  
 Ἀριδεΐκην προτείνοντά τι θεώρημα καὶ ἀξιούντα  
 εἰς αὐτὸ λέγειν εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο μάλιστα  
 φιλοσοφίας ἴδιον, τὸ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκάστων ἐπι-  
 ίστασθαι." εἰς δὲ τὸ διαβαλλόμενον αὐτοῦ φίλ-  
 οχλον καὶ Τίμων τά τ' ἄλλα φησίν, ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ  
 τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον·

ὡς εἰπὼν ὄχλοιο περίστασιν εἰσκατέδυνεν.  
 οἱ δὲ μιν ἤτε γλαῦκα περὶ σπίζαι τερατοῦντο  
 ἡλέματον δευκύντες, ὁθούνεκεν ὄχλοάρεσκος.  
 οὐ μέγα πρήγμα, τάλας· τί πλατύνει ἡλίθιος ὥς;  
 Οὐ μὲν ἀλλ' οὕτως ἄτυφος ἦν ὥστε τοῖς μα-

<sup>a</sup> οἱ περὶ Ἱερώνυμον τὸν Περιπατητικόν is said by Stephanus to be a marginal gloss. The reading of the mss. is παρὰ Ἱερώνυμῳ τῷ Π.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *infra*, v. 59.

Chios, the Stoic, and his followers, who called him a corrupter of youth and a shameless teacher of immorality. He is said to have been particularly enamoured of Demetrius who sailed to Cyrene, and of Cleochares of Myrlea; of him the story is told that, when a band of revellers came to the door, he told them that for his part he was willing to admit them but that Cleochares would not let him. This same youth had amongst his admirers Demochares the son of Laches, and Pythocles the son of Bugelus, and once when Arcesilaus had caught them, with great forbearance he ordered them off. For all this he was assailed and ridiculed by the critics above-mentioned, as a friend of the mob who courted popularity. The most virulent attacks were made upon him in the circle of Hieronymus the Peripatetic,<sup>a</sup> whenever he collected his friends to keep the birthday of Halcyoneus, son of Antigonos, an occasion for which Antigonos used to send large sums of money to be spent in merrymaking. There he had always shunned discussion over the wine; and when Aridices, proposing a certain question, requested him to speak upon it, he replied, "The peculiar province of philosophy is just this, to know that there is a time for all things." As to the charge brought against him that he was the friend of the mob, Timon, among many other things, has the following<sup>b</sup>:

So saying, he plunged into the surrounding crowd. And they were amazed at him, like chaffinches about an owl, pointing him out as vain, because he was a flatterer of the mob. And why, insignificant thing that you are, do you puff yourself out like a simpleton?

And yet for all that he was modest enough to

<sup>c</sup> Frag. 34 D. Cf. the rhythm, Hom. *Il.* i. 326 and iv. 482.



θηταῖς παρήγει καὶ ἄλλων ἀκούειν. καὶ τινος Χίου νεανίσκου μὴ εὐαρεστούμενου τῇ διατριβῇ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' Ἱερωνύμου τοῦ προειρημένου, αὐτὸς ἀπαγαγὼν συνέστησε τῷ φιλοσόφῳ, παραινέσας εὐτακτεῖν.

48 Χάριεν δ' αὐτοῦ φέρεται κάκεινο· πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον διὰ τί ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων μεταβαίνουσιν εἰς τὴν Ἐπικούρειον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ἐπικουρείων οὐδέποτε, ἔφη, "ἐκ μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρῶν γάλλοι γίνονται, ἐκ δὲ γάλλων ἄνδρες οὐ γίνονται."

Λοιπὸν δὲ πρὸς τῷ τέλει γενόμενος ἅπαντα καταλέλοιπε Πυλάδῃ τὰ δελφῶ γὰ αὐτοῦ, ἀνθ' ὧν εἰς Χίον αὐτὸν προήγαγε τὸν Μοιρέαν λανθάνων, κάκειθεν εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀπήγαγε. περιῶν δὲ οὔτε γύναιον ἐπηγάγετο οὔτ' ἐπαιδοποιήσατο. τρεῖς τε διαθήκας ποιησάμενος ἔθετο τὴν μὲν ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ πρὸς Ἀμφίκριτον, τὴν δ' Ἀθήνῃσι παρά τινος τῶν φίλων, τὴν δὲ τρίτην ἀπέστειλεν εἰς οἶκον πρὸς Θαυμασίαν ἕνα τινὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἀξιώσας διατηρῆσαι· πρὸς ὃν καὶ γράφει ταυτί·

"Ἀρκεσίλαος Θαυμασίᾳ χαίρειν.

44 "Δέδωκα Διογένηι διαθήκας ἑμαυτοῦ κομίσαι πρὸς σέ· διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολλάκις ἀρρωστεῖν καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀσθενῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξέ μοι διαθέσθαι, ἵν' εἴ τι γένοιτο ἄλλοιον, μή τι σέ ἡδικηκῶς ἀπίω τὸν εἰς ἔμ' ἔκτενῶς οὕτω πεφιλοτιμημένον. καὶ αξιοπιστότατος δ' εἰ τῶν ἐνθάδε σύ μοι τηρῶν αὐτὰς διὰ τε τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἰκειότητα. πειρῶ οὖν, μεμνημένος διότι σοι πίστιν τὴν ἀναγκαϊοτάτην παρακατατίθεμαι, δίκαιος ἡμῖν εἶναι,

recommend his pupils to hear other philosophers. And when a certain youth from Chios was not well pleased with his lectures and preferred those of the above-mentioned Hieronymus, Arcesilaus himself took him and introduced him to that philosopher, with an injunction to behave well.

Another pleasant story told of him is this. Some one had inquired why it was that pupils from all the other schools went over to Epicurus, but converts were never made from the Epicureans: "Because men may become eunuchs, but a eunuch never becomes a man," was his answer.

At last, being near his end, he left all his property to his brother Pylades, because, unknown to Moereas, he had taken him to Chios and thence brought him to Athens. In all his life he never married nor had any children. He made three wills: the first he left at Eretria in the charge of Amphicritus, the second at Athens in the charge of certain friends, while the third he dispatched to his home to Thaumantias, one of his relatives, with the request that he would keep it safe. To this man he also wrote as follows:

"Arcesilaus to Thaumantias greeting.

"I have given Diogenes my will to be conveyed to you. For, owing to my frequent illnesses and the weak state of my body, I decided to make a will, in order that, if anything untoward should happen, you, who have been so devotedly attached to me, should not suffer by my decease. You are the most deserving of all those in this place to be entrusted with the will, on the score both of age and of relationship to me. Remember then that I have reposed the most absolute confidence in you, and strive to

ὅπως ὅσον ἐπὶ σοὶ τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ εὐσχημόνως ἢ μοι  
διωκημένα. κείται δὲ Ἀθήνησιν αὐταὶ παρά  
τισι τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ παρ' Ἀμφι-  
κρίτῳ."

Ἐτελεύτησε δέ, ὥς φησιν Ἑρμιππος, ἄκρατον  
ἐμφορηγὲς πολὺν καὶ παρακόψας, ἤδη γεγόνως  
ἔτος πέμπτον καὶ ἑβδομηκοστόν, ἀποδεχθεὶς πρὸς  
Ἀθηναίων ὡς οὐδεὶς.

45 Ἔστι καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἡμῶν.

Ἀρκεσίλαε, τί μοι τόσον οἶνον ἄκρατον ἀφειδῶς  
ἔσπασας, ὥστε φρενῶν ἐκτὸς ὀλισθῆς ἑών;  
οἰκτεῖρω σ' οὐ τόσον ἐπεὶ θάνης, ἀλλ' ὅτι Μούσας  
ὑβρίσας οὐ μετρίῃ χρησάμενος κύλικι.

Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τρεῖς Ἀρκεσίλαοι· ποιητῆς  
ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας, ἄλλος ἐλεγείας, ἕτερος ἀγαλ-  
ματοποιός· εἰς ὃν καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐποίησεν ἐπί-  
γραμμα τουτί·

Ἀρτέμιδος τόδ' ἀγαλμα, διηκόσαι δ' ἄρ' ὁ μισθὸς  
δραχμαὶ ταὶ Πάριαι, τῶν ἐπίσημα τράγος.  
ἀσκητὸς δ' ἐποίησεν Ἀθηναίης παλάμῃσιν  
ἄξιος Ἀρκεσίλας υἱὸς Ἀριστοδίκου.

Ὁ δὲ προειρημένος φιλόσοφος, καθά φησιν  
Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς, ἤκμαζε περὶ τὴν  
εἰκοστὴν καὶ ἑκατοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα.

## Κεφ. ζ'. BION

46 Βίων τὸ μὲν γένος ἦν Βορυσθενίτης, ὧντινων δὲ  
γονέων καὶ ἀφ' οἷων πραγμάτων ἤξεν ἐπὶ φιλο-  
422

deal justly by me, in order that, so far as you are  
concerned, the provisions I have made may be  
carried out with fitting dignity. A copy is deposited  
at Athens with some of my acquaintance, and another  
in Eretria with Amphicritus."

He died, according to Hermippus, through drinking  
too freely of unmixed wine which affected his reason ;  
he was already seventy-five and regarded by the  
Athenians with unparalleled good-will.

I have written upon him as follows<sup>a</sup> :

Why, pray, Arcesilaus, didst thou quaff so unsparingly  
unmixed wine as to go out of thy mind ? I pity thee not so  
much for thy death as because thou didst insult the Muses  
by immoderate potations.

Three other men have borne the name of Arcesi-  
laus : a poet of the Old Comedy, another poet who  
wrote elegies, and a sculptor besides, on whom  
Simonides composed this epigram<sup>b</sup> :

This is a statue of Artemis and its cost two hundred  
Parian drachmas, which bear a goat for their device. It  
was made by Arcesilaus, the worthy son of Aristodicus, well  
practised in the arts of Athena.

According to Apollodorus in his *Chronology*, the  
philosopher described in the foregoing flourished  
about the 120th Olympiad.<sup>c</sup>

## CHAPTER 7. BION (third century B.C.)

Bion was by birth a citizen of Borysthenes [Olbia] ;  
who his parents were, and what his circumstances  
before he took to philosophy, he himself told

<sup>a</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 104.

<sup>b</sup> *Anth. Plan.* iii. 9.

<sup>c</sup> 300-296 B.C.

σοφίαν, αὐτὸς Ἀντιγόνῳ διασαφεῖ. ἐρομένου γὰρ αὐτὸν

τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἡδὲ τοκῆς; αἰσθόμενος ὅτι προδιαβέβληται, φησὶ πρὸς αὐτόν· "ἐμοὶ ὁ πατήρ μὲν ἦν ἀπελευθέρως, τῷ ἀγκῶνι ἀπομυσσόμενος—διεδήλου δὲ τὸν ταριχέμπορον—γένος Βορυσθενίτης, ἔχων οὐ πρόσωπον, ἀλλὰ συγγραφὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου, τῆς τοῦ δεσπότης πικρίας σύμβολον· μήτηρ δὲ οἶαν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀν γήμαι, ἀπ' οἰκήματος. ἔπειτα ὁ πατήρ παρατελωνισάμενός τι πανοίκιος ἐπράθη μεθ' ἡμῶν. καὶ με ἀγοράζει τις ῥήτωρ νεώτερον ὄντα καὶ εὖχαριν· ὃς καὶ ἀποθνήσκων κατέλιπέ μοι πάντα. 47 καὶ γὰρ κατακάυσας αὐτοῦ τὰ συγγράμματα καὶ πάντα συγξέυσας Ἀθήναζε ἦλθον καὶ ἐφιλοσόφησα.

ταύτης τοι γενεῆς τε καὶ αἵματος εὖχομαι εἶναι.

ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ κατ' ἐμέ. ὥστε παυσάσθωσαν Περσαῖός τε καὶ Φιλωνίδης ἰστοροῦντες αὐτά· σκόπει δέ με ἕξ ἑμαυτοῦ."

Καὶ ἦν ὡς ἀληθὺς ὁ Βίων τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πολύτροπος καὶ σοφιστὴς ποικίλος καὶ πλείστας ἀφορμὰς δεδωκώς τοῖς βουλομένοις καθιππάζεσθαι φιλοσοφίας· ἔν τισι δὲ καὶ πομπικὸς καὶ ἀπολαῦσαι τύφου δυνάμενος. πλείστά τε καταλέλοιπεν ὑπομνήματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποφθέγματα χρειώδη πραγματεῖαν περιέχοντα. οἷον ὀνειδιζόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ θηρᾶσαι μειράκιον, "οὐχ οἶόν τε," εἶπεν, "ἀπαλὸν 48 τυρὸν ἀγκίστρω ἐπισπᾶσθαι." ἐρωτηθεὶς ποτε

\* Hom. Od. x. 325.

• Hom. Il. vi. 211.

Antigonus in plain terms. For, when Antigonus inquired :

Who among men, and whence, are you? What is your city and your parents?\*

he, knowing that he had already been maligned to the king, replied, "My father was a freedman, who wiped his nose on his sleeve"—meaning that he was a dealer in salt fish—"a native of Borysthenes, with no face to show, but only the writing on his face, a token of his master's severity. My mother was such as a man like my father would marry, from a brothel. Afterwards my father, who had cheated the revenue in some way, was sold with all his family. And I, then a not ungraceful youngster, was bought by a certain rhetorician, who on his death left me all he had. And I burnt his books, scraped everything together, came to Athens and turned philosopher.

This is the stock and this the blood from which I boast to have sprung.<sup>1</sup>

Such is my story. It is high time, then, that Persaeus and Philonides left off recounting it. Judge me by myself."

In truth Bion was in other respects a shifty character, a subtle sophist, and one who had given the enemies of philosophy many an occasion to blaspheme, while in certain respects he was even pompous and able to indulge in arrogance. He left very many memoirs, and also sayings of useful application. For example, when he was reproached for not paying court to a youth, his excuse was, "You can't get hold of a soft cheese with a hook." Being once asked who suffers most from anxiety, he

τίς μᾶλλον ἀγωνιᾷ, ἔφη, "ὁ τὰ μέγιστα βουλό-  
μενος εὐημερεῖν." ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ γήμαι—ἀναφέ-  
ρεται γὰρ καὶ εἰς τοῦτον—ἔφη, "ἐὰν μὲν γήμῃς  
αἰσχράν, ἔξεις ποιμήν· ἂν δὲ καλήν, ἔξεις κουνήν."  
τὸ γήρας ἔλεγεν ὄρμον εἶναι τῶν κακῶν· εἰς αὐτὸ  
γούν πάντα καταφεύγειν. τὴν δόξαν <ἀρ>ετῶν<sup>1</sup>  
μητέρα εἶναι· τὸ κάλλος ἀλλότριον ἀγαθόν· τὸν  
πλοῦτον νεῦρα πραγμάτων. πρὸς τὸν τὰ χωρία  
κατεδιδόκοτα, "τὸν μὲν Ἀμφιάραον," ἔφη, "ἡ  
γῆ κατέπιε, σὺ δὲ τὴν γῆν." μέγα κακὸν τὸ μὴ  
δύνασθαι φέρειν κακόν. κατεγίνωσκε δὲ καὶ τῶν  
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κατακαόντων μὲν ὡς ἀναισθήτους,  
49 παρακαόντων δὲ ὡς αἰσθανομένων. ἔλεγε δὲ  
συνεχῆς ὅτι αἰρετώτερόν ἐστι τὴν ὥραν ἄλλω  
χαρίζεσθαι ἢ ἀλλοτρίας ἀποδρέπεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ  
εἰς σῶμα βλάπτεσθαι καὶ εἰς ψυχὴν. διέβαλε δὲ  
καὶ τὸν Σωκράτην, λέγων ὡς εἰ μὲν εἶχεν Ἀλκι-  
βιάδου χρεῖαν καὶ ἀπείχετο, μάταιος ἦν· εἰ δὲ μὴ  
εἶχεν, οὐδὲν ἐποίει παράδοξον. εὐκόλον ἔφασκε  
τὴν εἰς ἄδου ὁδόν· καταμύοντας γούν ἀπιέναι. τὸν  
Ἀλκιβιάδην μεμφόμενος ἔλεγεν ὡς νέος μὲν ὦν  
τοὺς ἀνδρας ἀπαγάγοι τῶν γυναικῶν, νεανίσκος  
δὲ γενόμενος τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ὁνδρῶν. ἐν  
Ῥόδῳ τὰ ῥητορικὰ διασκούντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων  
τὰ φιλοσοφούμενα ἐδίδασκε· πρὸς οὖν τὸν αἰτια-  
σάμενον ἔφη, "πυροὺς ἐκόμισα καὶ κριθὰς πι-  
πράσκω;"  
50 "Ἐλεγε δὲ τοὺς ἐν ἄδου μᾶλλον ἂν κολάζεσθαι  
εἰ ὀλοκλήρους καὶ μὴ τετρημένους ἀγγείοις ὑδρο-

<sup>1</sup> <ἀρ>ετῶν corr. H. Richards, ἐτῶν vulg.

¶ Cf. *infra*, vi. 3.

replied, "He who is ambitious of the greatest pros-  
perity." Being consulted by some one as to whether  
he should marry—for this story is also told of Bion—  
he made answer, "If the wife you marry be ugly,  
she will be your bane; if beautiful, you will not  
keep her to yourself."<sup>a</sup> He called old age the  
harbour of all ills; at least they all take refuge  
there. Renown he called the mother of virtues;  
beauty another's good; wealth the sinews of success.  
To some one who had devoured his patrimony he  
said, "The earth swallowed Amphiaras, but you  
have swallowed your land." To be unable to bear  
an ill is itself a great ill. He used to condemn those  
who burnt men alive as if they could not feel, and  
yet cauterized them as if they could. He used  
repeatedly to say that to grant favours to another  
was preferable to enjoying the favours of others.  
For the latter means ruin to both body and soul.  
He even abused Socrates, declaring that, if he felt  
desire for Alcibiades and abstained, he was a fool; if he  
did not, his conduct was in no way remarkable. The  
road to Hades, he used to say, was easy to travel;  
at any rate men passed away with their eyes shut.  
He said in censure of Alcibiades that in his boyhood  
he drew away the husbands from their wives, and as  
a young man the wives from their husbands. When  
the Athenians were absorbed in the practice of  
rhetoric, he taught philosophy at Rhodes. To some  
one who found fault with him for this he replied,  
"How can I sell barley when what I brought to  
market is wheat?"

He used to say that those in Hades would be  
more severely punished if the vessels in which they  
drew water were whole instead of being pierced with

φόρουν. πρὸς τὸν ἀδολέσχην λιπαροῦντα αὐτῷ συλλαβέσθαι, "τὸ ἱκανὸν σοι ποιήσω," φησίν, "ἐὰν παρακλήτους πέμψῃς καὶ αὐτὸς μὴ ἔλθῃς." πλέων μετὰ πονηρῶν λησταῖς περιέπεσε· τῶν δέ, "ἀπολώλαμεν," εἰπόντων, "ἐὰν γνωσθῶμεν," "ἐγὼ δέ γε," φησίν, "ἐὰν μὴ γνωσθῶ." τὴν οἷσιν ἔλεγε προκοπῆς ἐγκοπὴν. πρὸς τὸν μικρολόγον πλούσιον, "οὐχ οὗτος," ἔφη, "τὴν οὐσίαν κέκτηται, ἀλλ' ἡ οὐσία τοῦτον." ἔλεγε τοὺς μικρολόγους τῶν μὲν ὑπαρχόντων ὡς ἰδίῳν ἐπιμελείσθαι, ὡς δ' ἐξ ἀλλοτρίων μηδὲν ὠφελείσθαι. τῇ μὲν ἀνδρεία νέους ὄντας ἔφη χρῆσθαι, τῇ δὲ φρονήσει γηράσκον-  
 51 τας ἀκμάζειν. τοσοῦτον διαφέρειν τὴν φρόνησιν τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν, ὅσον τὴν ὄρασιν τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων. μὴ δεῖν ἔφασκεν ὀνειδίξειν τὸ γῆρας, εἰς ὃ, ἔφη, πάντες εὐχόμεθα ἐλθεῖν. πρὸς τὸν βάσκανον ἐσκυθρωπακότα, "οὐκ οἶδα," ἔφη, "πότερον σοὶ κακὸν γέγονεν ἢ ἄλλω ἀγαθόν." τὴν δυσγένειαν πονηρὸν ἔλεγεν εἶναι σύνοικον τῇ παρρησίᾳ.

δουλοῖ γὰρ ἄνδρα, καὶ θρασύπλαγχνός τις ἦ.

τοὺς φίλους ὅποιοι ἂν ᾧσι συντηρεῖν, ἵνα μὴ δοκοίημεν πονηροῖς κεκρῆσθαι ἢ χρηστοὺς παρ-  
 ητήσθαι.

Οὗτος τὴν ἀρχὴν μὲν παρηγείτο τὰ Ἀκαδημαϊκά, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἤκουε Κρατήτος· εἰτ' ἐπανείλετο τὴν κυνικὴν ἀγωγὴν, λαβὼν τρίβωνα καὶ πήραν.  
 52 καὶ τί γὰρ ἄλλο μετεσκεύασεν αὐτὸν πρὸς

<sup>a</sup> Eur. Hipp. 424.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. he had his doubts. Reiske, however, by his con-

holes. To an importunate talker who wanted his help he said, "I will satisfy your demand, if you will only get others to plead your cause and stay away yourself." On a voyage in bad company he fell in with pirates. When his companions said, "We are lost if we are discovered," "And I too," he replied, "unless I am discovered." Conceit he styled a hindrance to progress. Referring to a wealthy miser he said, "He has not acquired a fortune; the fortune has acquired him." Misers, he said, took care of property as if it belonged to them, but derived no more benefit from it than if it belonged to others. "When we are young," said he, "we are courageous, but it is only in old age that prudence is at its height." Prudence, he said, excels the other virtues as much as sight excels the other senses. He used to say that we ought not to heap reproaches on old age, seeing that, as he said, we all hope to reach it. To a slanderer who showed a grave face his words were, "I don't know whether you have met with ill luck, or your neighbour with good." He used to say that low birth made a bad partner for free speech, for—

It cowers a man, however bold his heart.<sup>a</sup>

We ought, he remarked, to watch our friends and see what manner of men they are, in order that we may not be thought to associate with the bad or to decline the friendship of the good.

Bion at the outset used to deprecate the Academic doctrines,<sup>b</sup> even at the time when he was a pupil of Crates. Then he adopted the Cynic discipline, donning cloak and wallet. For little else was needed to convert him to the doctrine of entire insensibility.

jecture προήρητο gives the statement a totally different turn, viz. that Bion *had* at the outset *preferred* the Academy.

ἀπάθειαν; ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τὰ Θεοδώρεια μετῆλθε διακούσας Θεοδώρου τοῦ ἀθέου κατὰ πᾶν εἶδος λόγου σοφιστευόντος· μεθ' ὃν Θεοφράστου διήκουσε τοῦ περιπατητικοῦ. ἦν δὲ καὶ θεατρικὸς καὶ πολὺς ἐν τῷ γελοίῳ διαφορῆσαι, φορτικοῖς ὀνόμασι κατὰ τῶν πραγμάτων χρώμενος. διὰ δὴ οὖν τὸ παντὶ εἶδει λόγου κεκράσθαι φασὶ λέγειν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἐρατοσθένην, ὡς πρῶτος Βίων τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀνθινὰ ἐνέδυσεν. εὐφυῆς γὰρ ἦν καὶ παρρωδῆσαι· οἷά ἐστιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῦτα·

ὦ πέπον Ἀρχύτα, ψαλληγενές, ὀλβιότυφε,  
τῆς ὑπάτης ἐριδος πάντων ἐμπειρότατ' ἀνδρῶν.

53 καὶ ὅλως καὶ μουσικὴν καὶ γεωμετρίαν διέπειζεν. ἦν δὲ πολυτελής· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πόλιν ἐκ πόλεως ἤμειβεν, ἐνίοτε καὶ φαντασίαν ἐπιτεχνώμενος. ἐν γοῦν Ῥόδῳ τοὺς ναύτας ἔπεισε σχολαστικὰς ἐσθῆτας ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ ἀκολουθῆσαι αὐτῷ· σὺν οἷς εἰσβάλλων εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον περίβλεπτος ἦν. εἰώθει τε νεανίσκων τινῶν υἱοθεσίας ποιεῖσθαι εἰς τὸ ἀποχρησθαι αὐτοῖς ἔς τε τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ ὥστε φυλάττεσθαι ὑπ' εὐνοίας αὐτῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ φίλαντος ἦν ἰσχυρῶς καὶ πολὺς ἐγκείμενος τῷ Κοινὰ τὰ φίλων. παρ' ὃ καὶ οὐδεὶς μαθητῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπιγράφεται, τοσοῦτων αὐτῷ σχολασάντων· καίτοι  
54 τινὰς εἰς ἀνασχυντίαν προῆγεν. ὁ γοῦν Βητῖων εἰς τῶν συνήθων αὐτῷ πρὸς Μενέδημόν ποτε λέγεται εἰπεῖν, “ἐγὼ τοι, ὦ Μενέδημε, νύκτωρ συνδέομαι Βίῳ καὶ οὐδὲν ἄτοπον δοκῶ μοι

\* Cf. Hom. *Il.* iii. 182 ὦ μάκαρ Ἀτρεΐδῃ, μοιρηγενές, ὀλβιόδαιμον. The address πάντων ἐκπαγλότατ' ἀνδρῶν occurs in *Il.* i. 146 and xviii. 170.

<sup>b</sup> See, however, *supra*, 49.

Next he went over to Theodorean views, after he had heard the lectures of Theodorus the Atheist, who used every kind of sophistical argument. And after Theodorus he attended the lectures of Theophrastus the Peripatetic. He was fond of display and great at cutting up anything with a jest, using vulgar names for things. Because he employed every style of speech in combination, Eratosthenes, we hear, said of him that he was the first to deck philosophy with bright-flowered robes. He was clever also at parody. Here is a specimen of his style:

O gentle Archytas, musician-born, blessed in thine own conceit, most skilled of men to stir the bass of strife.\*

And in general he made sport of music and geometry. He lived extravagantly, and for this reason he would move from one city to another, sometimes contriving to make a great show. Thus at Rhodes he persuaded the sailors to put on students' garb and follow in his train. And when, attended by them, he made his way into the gymnasium, all eyes were fixed on him. It was his custom also to adopt certain young men for the gratification of his appetite and in order that he might be protected by their goodwill.<sup>b</sup> He was extremely selfish and insisted strongly on the maxim that “friends share in common.” And hence it came about that he is not credited with a single disciple, out of all the crowds who attended his lectures. And yet there were some who followed his lead in shamelessness. For instance, Betion, one of his intimates, is said once to have addressed Menedemus in these words: “For my part, Menedemus, I pass the night with Bion, and I don't think I am any the worse for it.” In

πεπονημένοι." πολλά δὲ καὶ ἀθεώτερον προεφέρετο τοῖς ὁμιλοῦσι, τοῦτο Θεοδώρειον ἀπολαύσας. καὶ ὕστερόν ποτε ἐμπεσὼν εἰς νόσον, ὡς ἔφασκον οἱ ἐν Χαλκίδι—αὐτόθι γὰρ καὶ κατέστρεψε—περίαπτα λαβεῖν ἐπίσθη καὶ μεταγινώσκειν ἐφ' οἷς ἐπλημμέλησεν εἰς τὸ θεῖον. ἀπορία δὲ καὶ τῶν νοσοκομούντων δεινῶς διετίθετο, ἕως Ἀντίγονος αὐτῷ δύο θεράποντας ἀπέστειλε. καὶ ἡκολούθει γε αὐτὸς<sup>1</sup> ἐν φορείῳ, καθὰ φησι Φαβωρίνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ.

Ἄλλὰ καὶ ὡς κατέστρεψε καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν οὕτως ἡγιστάμεθα.

- 55 Βίωνα, τὸν Βορυσθένης ἔφυσε γῇ Σκύθισσα, λέγειν ἀκούομεν θεοὺς ὡς οὐδὲν εἰσιν ὄντως. κεῖ μὲν τὸ δόγμα τοῦτ' ἔχων ἐμμενεν, ἦν ἂν εἰκὸς λέγειν, φρονεῖν ὅπως δοκεῖ. κακῶς μὲν, ἀλλ' ἔδοξε. νῦν δ' ἐς νόσον πεσὼν μακρὴν καὶ μὴ θάνῃ δεδοικῶς ὁ μὴ θεοὺς εἶναι λέγων, ὁ νηὸν οὐδὲ βλέψας,
- 56 ὁ πολλὰ χλευάσας βροτούς, ὅσοι θεοῖς ἔθνον, οὐ μόνον ἐσχάρης ὑπὲρ βωμῶν τε καὶ τραπέζης κνίσῃ, λίπει, θυλήμασιν θεῶν ἔδαισε ρίνας· οὐδ' εἶπε μόνον, "Ἥλιτον, σύγγνωτε τοῖς πρίν· ἀλλὰ καὶ γραὶ δῶκεν εὐμαρῶς τράχηλον εἰς ἐπιώδην καὶ σκυτίσιν βραχίονας πεπεισμένως ἔδωκε·
- 57 ῥάμνον τε καὶ κλάδον δάφνης ὑπὲρ θύρην ἔθηκεν, ἀπαντα μᾶλλον ἢ θανεῖν ἔτοιμος ὢν ὑποργεῖν. μαρὸς δ' ὅς ἤθελὲν τινος μισθοῦ τὸ θεῖον εἶναι, ὡς τῶν θεῶν ὄντων ὅταν Βίων θέλῃ νομίζειν. τοιγὰρ μάτην φρονῶν, ὅτ' ἦν ἅπας ὁ λέμφος ἀνθραξ, τὴν χεῖρα τείνας ὥδὲ πως, Χαῖρ', εἶπε, χεῖρε, Πλουτεῦ.

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῷ codd.: corr. Reiske.

his familiar talk he would often vehemently assail belief in the gods, a taste which he had derived from Theodorus. Afterwards, when he fell ill (so it was said by the people of Chalcis where he died), he was persuaded to wear an amulet and to repent of his offences against religion. And even for want of nurses he was in a sad plight, until Antigonos sent him two servants. And it is stated by Favorinus in his *Miscellaneous History* that the king himself followed in a litter.

Even so he died, and in these lines <sup>a</sup> I have taken him to task :

We hear that Bion, to whom the Scythian land of Borysthenes gave birth, denied that the gods really exist. Had he persisted in holding this opinion, it would have been right to say, "He thinks as he pleases: wrongly, to be sure, but still he does think so." But in fact, when he fell ill of a lingering disease and feared death, he who denied the existence of the gods, and would not even look at a temple, who often mocked at mortals for sacrificing to deities, not only over hearth and high altars and table, with sweet savour and fat and incense did he gladden the nostrils of the gods; nor was he content to say "I have sinned, forgive the past," but he cheerfully allowed an old woman to put a charm round his neck, and in full faith bound his arms with leather and placed the rhamnus and the laurel-branch over the door, being ready to submit to anything sooner than die. Fool for wishing that the divine favour might be purchased at a certain price, as if the gods existed just when Bion chose to recognize them! It was then with vain wisdom that, when the driveller was all ashes, he stretched out his hand and said "Hail, Pluto, hail!"

<sup>a</sup> *Anth. Plan.* v. 37.



58 Γεγόνασι δὲ Βίωνες δέκα· πρῶτος ὁ Φερεκύδης τῷ Συρίῳ συνακμάσας, οὗ φέρεται βιβλία δύο Ἰάδι· ἔστι δὲ Προκοννήσιος. δεύτερος Συρακόσιος, τέχνας ῥητορικὰς γεγραφώς· τρίτος αὐτὸς οὗτος· τέταρτος Δημοκρίτειος καὶ μαθηματικός, Ἀβδηρίτης, Ἀτθίδι γεγραφώς καὶ Ἰάδι· οὗτος πρῶτος εἶπεν εἶναι τινὰς οἰκῆσεις ἔνθα γίνεσθαι ἕξ μηνῶν τὴν νύκτα καὶ ἕξ τὴν ἡμέραν. πέμπτος Σολεύς, Αἰθιοπικὰ γεγραφώς· ἕκτος ῥητορικός, οὗ φέρεται ἑννέα βιβλία Μουσῶν ἐπιγραφόμενα· ἑβδομος μελικὸς ποιητής· ὄγδοος Μιλήσιος ἀνδριαντοποιός, οὗ μέμνηται καὶ Πολέμων· ἕνατος ποιητὴς τραγωδίας τῶν Ταρσικῶν λεγομένων· δέκατος ἀγαλματοποιὸς Κλαζομένιος ἢ Χίος, οὗ μέμνηται καὶ Ἰππώναξ.

Κεφ. η'. ΛΑΚΥΔΗΣ

59 Λακύδης Ἀλεξάνδρου Κυρηναῖος. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς νέας Ἀκαδημίας κατάρξας καὶ Ἀρκεσίλαον διαδεξάμενος, ἀνὴρ σεμνότητος καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγους ἐσχηκώς ζηλωτάς· φιλόπονος τε ἐκ νέου καὶ πένης μὲν, εὐχαρις δ' ἄλλως καὶ εὐόμιλος. τοῦτόν φασι καὶ περὶ οἰκονομίαν γλυκύτατα ἐσχηκέναι· ἐπειδὴ γάρ τι προέλοι τοῦ ταμείου, σφραγισάμενος πάλιν εἶσω τὸν δακτύλιον διὰ τῆς ὀπῆς ἐρρίπτει, ὥς μηδέποτε αὐτοῦ περιαιρεθεῖν τι καὶ βασταχθεῖν τῶν ἀποκειμένων. μαθόντα δὴ τοῦτο τὰ θεραπεύοντα ἀπεσφράγιζε καὶ ὅσα ἐβούλετο ἐβάσταζεν· ἔπειτα τὸν δακτύλιον τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον διὰ τῆς

\* Possibly Pytheas of Massilia in his "Northern Voyage" had had experience of Arctic winters and summers.

Ten men have borne the name of Bion : (1) the contemporary of Pherecydes of Syria, to whom are assigned two books in the Ionic dialect ; he was of Proconnesus ; (2) a Syracusan, who wrote rhetorical handbooks ; (3) our philosopher ; (4) a follower of Democritus and mathematician of Abdera, who wrote both in Attic and in Ionic : he was the first to affirm that there are places where the night lasts for six months and the day for six months<sup>a</sup> ; (5) a native of Soli, who wrote a work on Aethiopia ; (6) a rhetorician, the author of nine books called after the Muses ; (7) a lyric poet ; (8) a Milesian sculptor, mentioned by Polemo ; (9) a tragic poet, one of the poets of Tarsus, as they are called ; (10) a sculptor of Clazomenae or Chios, mentioned by Hipponax.

CHAPTER 8. LACYDES

(Head of the Academy c. 242-216 B.C.)

Lacydes, son of Alexander, was a native of Cyrene. He was the founder of the New Academy and the successor of Arcesilaus : a man of very serious character who found numerous admirers ; industrious from his youth up and, though poor, of pleasant manners and pleasant conversation. A most amusing story is told of his housekeeping. Whenever he brought anything out of the store-room, he would seal the door up again and throw his signet-ring inside through the opening, to ensure that nothing laid up there should be stolen or carried off. So soon, then, as his rogues of servants got to know this, they broke the seal and carried off what they pleased, afterwards throwing the ring in the same way through



ὁπῆς ἐνίει εἰς τὴν στοάν· καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦντα οὐδέ ποτ' ἐφωράθη.

60 Ὁ γοῦν Λακύνδης ἐσχόλαζεν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ ἐν τῷ κατασκευασθέντι κήπῳ ὑπὸ Ἀττάλου τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ Λακύνδειον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προσηγορεύετο. καὶ μόνος τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος ζῶν παρέδωκε τὴν σχολὴν Τηλεκλεί καὶ Εὐάνδρῳ τοῖς Φωκαεῦσι. παρὰ δ' Εὐάνδρου διεδέξατο Ἡγησίνους Περ- γαμηνός, ἀφ' οὗ Καρνεάδης. χάριεν δ' εἰς τὸν Λακύνδην ἀναφέρεται. Ἀττάλου γὰρ αὐτὸν μετα- πεμπομένου φασὶν εἰπεῖν τὰς εἰκόνας πόρρωθεν δεῖν θεωρεῖσθαι. ὁπῆ δὲ αὐτῷ γεωμετροῦντι λέγει τις, "εἴτα νῦν καιρός;" <καὶ ὅς> "εἴτα μὴδὲ νῦν;"

61 Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ σχολαρχεῖν ἀρξάμενος τῷ τε- τάρτῳ ἔτει τῆς τετάρτης καὶ τριακοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, τῆς σχολῆς ἀφηγησά- μενος ἕξ πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι ἔτη· ἡ τελευταῖα δὲ αὐτῷ παράλυσις ἐκ πολυποσίας. καὶ αὐτῷ προσ- ἐπαίξαμεν ἡμεῖς οὕτως·

καὶ σέο, Λακύνδη, φάτιν ἔκλυον ὡς ἄρα καὶ σὲ Βάκχος ἐλὼν Ἀΐδην ποσσὶν ἔσυρεν<sup>1</sup> ἄκροισ.  
ἡ σαφὲς ἦν, Διδόνυσος ὅταν πολὺς ἐς δέμας ἔλθῃ,  
λύσῃ μέλη· διὸ δὴ μήτι Λυαῖος ἔφυ;

Κεφ. θ'. ΚΑΡΝΕΑΔΗΣ

62 Καρνεάδης Ἐπικώμου ἢ Φιλοκώμου, ὡς Ἀλέξ- ανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, Κυρηναῖος. οὗτος τὰ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> σὲ . . . Βάκχος . . . ἔσυρεν Cobet: σὺ . . . βάκχον . . . ἔσυρες codd. nisi quod Anth. Pal. vii. 105 βάκχου scriptum sit.

the opening into the store-room. Nor were they ever detected in this.

Lacydes used to lecture in the Academy, in the garden which had been laid out by King Attalus, and from him it derived its name of Lacydeum. He did what none of his predecessors had ever done; in his lifetime he handed over the school to Telecles and Evander, both of Phocaea. Evander was succeeded by Hegesinus of Pergamum, and he again by Carneades. A good saying is attributed to Lacydes. When Attalus sent for him, he is said to have remarked that statues are best seen from a distance. He studied geometry late, and some one said to him, "Is this a proper time?" To which he replied, "Nay, is it not even yet the proper time?"

He assumed the headship of the school in the fourth year of the 134th Olympiad,<sup>a</sup> and at his death he had been head for twenty-six years. His end was a palsy brought on by drinking too freely. And here is a quip of my own upon the fact<sup>b</sup>:

Of thee too, O Lacydes, I have heard a tale, that Bacchus seized thee and dragged thee on tip-toe<sup>a</sup> to the underworld. Nay, was it not clear that when the wine-god comes in force into the frame, he loosens our limbs? Perhaps this is why he gets his name of the Loosener.

CHAPTER 9. CARNEADES (c. 213-129 B.C.)

Carneades, the son of Epicomus or (according to Alexander in his *Successions of Philosophers*) of Philocomus, was a native of Cyrene. He studied

<sup>a</sup> July 241-June 240 B.C.

<sup>b</sup> Anth. Pal. vii. 105.

<sup>c</sup> Or "with trailing toes." The vases show bodies carried in the arms or flung over the shoulders with the toes just touching the ground.

Στωικῶν βιβλία ἀναγνοὺς ἐπιμελῶς < καὶ μάλιστα >  
τὰ Χρυσίππου, ἐπεικῶς αὐτοῖς ἀντέλεγε καὶ  
εὐημέρει τοσοῦτον, ὥστε ἐκείνο ἐπιλέγειν.

εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν Χρύσιππος, οὐκ ἂν ἦν ἐγώ.

φιλόπονος δ' ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος,  
ἐν μὲν τοῖς φυσικοῖς ἦττον φερόμενος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς  
ἠθικοῖς μᾶλλον. ὅθεν καὶ ἐκόμα καὶ ἔτρεφεν  
ὄνυχας ἀσχολία τῇ περὶ τοὺς λόγους. τοσοῦτον  
δ' ἴσχυσεν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ῥήτορας  
ἀπολύσαντας ἐκ τῶν σχολῶν παρ' αὐτὸν ἰέναι  
καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀκοῦειν.

- 63 Ἦν δὲ καὶ μεγαλοφωνότατος, ὥστε τὸν γυμ-  
νασίαρχον προσπέμψαι αὐτῷ μὴ οὕτω βοᾶν· τὸν  
δὲ εἰπεῖν, “ καὶ δὸς μέτρον φωνῆς.” ἔνθεν εὐ-  
στόχως ἐλόντα ἀμείψασθαι· φάναι γάρ, “ μέτρον  
ἔχεις τοὺς ἀκούοντας.” δεινῶς τ' ἦν ἐπιπληκτικὸς  
καὶ ἐν ταῖς ζητήσεσι δύσμαχος· τά τε δειπνα λοιπὸν  
παρητεῖτο διὰ τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας. οὗτός  
ποτε Μέντορος τοῦ Βιθυνοῦ μαθητοῦ ὄντος καὶ  
παρ' αὐτὸν ἐλθόντος εἰς τὴν διατριβήν, ὡς ἐπείρα  
αὐτοῦ τὴν παλλακὴν ὁ Μέντωρ, καθά φησι Φα-  
βρίωνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ, μεταξὺ λέγων  
παρώδησεν εἰς αὐτόν·

- 64 πωλεῖται τις δεῦρο γέρων ἄλιος νημερτής,  
Μέντορι εἰδόμενος ἡμὲν δέμας ἡδὲ καὶ αὐδήν·  
τοῦτον σχολῆς τῆσδ' ἐκκεκηρῆχθαι λέγω·

καὶ ὃς ἀναστὰς ἔφη·

carefully the writings of the Stoics and particularly  
those of Chrysippus, and by combating these success-  
fully he became so famous that he would often say :

Without Chrysippus where should I have been ?

The man's industry was unparalleled, although in  
physics he was not so strong as in ethics. Hence he  
would let his hair and nails grow long from intense  
devotion to study. Such was his predominance in  
philosophy that even the rhetoricians would dismiss  
their classes and repair to him to hear him lecture.

His voice was extremely powerful, so that the  
keeper of the gymnasium sent to him and requested  
him not to shout so loud. To which he replied,  
“ Then give me something by which to regulate  
my voice.” Thereupon by a happy hit the man  
replied in the words, “ You have a regulator in your  
audience.” His talent for criticizing opponents was  
remarkable, and he was a formidable controversialist.  
And for the reasons already given he further declined  
invitations to dine out. One of his pupils was Mentor  
the Bithynian, who tried to ingratiate himself with  
a concubine of Carneades ; so on one occasion  
(according to Favorinus in his *Miscellaneous History*),  
when Mentor came to lecture, Carneades in the  
course of his remarks let fall these lines by way of  
parody at his expense :

Hither comes an old man of the sea, infallible, like to  
Mentor in person and in voice.” Him I proclaim to have  
been banished from this school.

Thereupon the other got up and replied :

“ Carneades applies two lines from the *Odyssey*, namely  
iv. 384 and (with a change to the masculine participle) ii. 268  
or 401.

οἱ μὲν ἐκήρυσσον, τοὶ δ' ἠγείροντο μάλ' ὦκα.

Δειλότερον δέ πως δοκεῖ περὶ τὴν τελευταίαν ἀνεστράφθαι, ὅτε συνεχὲς ἔλεγεν, "ἡ συστήσασα φύσις καὶ διαλύσει." μαθὼν τε Ἀντίπατρον φάρμακον πίνοντα ἀποθανεῖν, παρωρμήθη πρὸς τὸ εὐθαρσὲς τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς καὶ φησι, "δότε οὖν κάμοι;" τῶν δὲ εἰπόντων, "τί;" "οἰνόμελι" εἶπεν. τελευτῶντος δ' αὐτοῦ φασιν ἔκλειψιν γενέσθαι σελήνης, συμπάθειαν, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, αἰνιττομένου τοῦ μεθ' ἥλιον καλλίστου τῶν ἄστρον.

65 Φησὶ δὲ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς ἀπελθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἔτει τετάρτῳ τῆς δευτέρας καὶ ἐξηκοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, βιώσαντα ἔτη πέντε πρὸς τοῖς ὀγδοήκοντα. φέρονται δ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς Ἀριαράθην τὸν Καππαδοκίας βασιλέα. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ αὐτοῦ οἱ μαθηταὶ συνέγραψαν· αὐτὸς δὲ κατέλιπεν οὐδέν. ἔστι καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἡμῶν τῷ λογαοδικῷ μέτρῳ [καὶ Ἀρχεβουλείῳ].

τί με Καρνεάδην, τί με, Μούσα, θέλεις ἐλέγχειν; ἀμαθὴς γὰρ ὅς οὔτι κάτοιδεν ὅπως δεδοίκει τὸ θανεῖν· ὅτε καὶ φθισικὴν ποτ' ἔχων κακίστην νόσον, οὐκ ἔθελεν λύσιν ἰσχεῖν· ἀλλ' ἀκούσας ὅτι φάρμακον Ἀντίπατρός τι πινὼν ἀπέσβη,

66 "δότε τοίνυν," ἔφησε, "τί κάμει πινεῖν." "τί μέντοι; τί;" "δότ' οἰνόμελι." σφόδρα τ' εἶχε πρόχειρα ταυτί·

"φύσις ἡ συνέχουσα με καὶ διαλύσεται δή." ὁ μὲν οὐδὲν ἔλασσον ἔβη κατὰ γῆς, ἐνὴν δὲ τὰ πλέω κακὰ κέρδε' ἔχοντα μολεῖν ἐς ᾄδου.

Λέγεται καὶ τὰς ὄψεις νυκτὸς ὑποχυθῆναι καὶ

Those on their part made proclamation, and these speedily assembled.\*

He seems to have shown some want of courage in the face of death, repeating often the words, "Nature which framed this whole will also destroy it." When he learnt that Antipater committed suicide by drinking a potion, he was greatly moved by the constancy with which he met his end, and exclaimed, "Give it then to me also." And when those about him asked "What?" "A honeyed draught," said he. At the time he died the moon is said to have been eclipsed, and one might well say that the brightest luminary in heaven next to the sun thereby gave token of her sympathy.

According to Apollodorus in his *Chronology*, he departed this life in the fourth year of the 162nd Olympiad<sup>b</sup> at the age of eighty-five years. Letters of his to Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, are extant. Everything else was compiled by his pupils; he himself left nothing in writing. I have written upon him in logaoedic metre as follows<sup>c</sup>:

Why, Muse, oh why wouldst thou have me censure Carneades? For he is ignorant who knoweth not how he feared death. When wasting away with the worst of diseases, he would not find release. But when he heard that Antipater's life was quenched by drinking a potion, "Give me too," he cried, "a draught to drink." "What? pray what?" "Give me a draught of honeyed wine." He had often on his lips the words, "Nature which holds this frame together will surely dissolve it." None the less he too went down to the grave, and he might have got there sooner by cutting short his tale of woes.

It is said that his eyes went blind at night without

\* Hom. *Il.* ii. 52.

<sup>b</sup> 129-128 B.C.

<sup>c</sup> *Anth. Plan.* v. 39.

## DIOGENES LAERTIUS

ἀγνοεῖν· κελεύσαι τε τὸν παῖδα λύχον ἄψαι· εἰσκομίσαντος δὲ καὶ εἰπόντος, “κεκόμικα,” “οὐκοῦν,” εἰπεῖν, “σὺ ἀναγίνωσκε.”

Τούτου πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι γεγόνασι μαθηταί, ἐλλογιμώτατος δὲ Κλειτόμαχος· περὶ οὗ καὶ λεκτέον.

Γέγονε μέντοι καὶ ἄλλος Καρνεάδης, ἐλεγείας ποιητὴς ψυχρός.

### Κεφ. ι'. ΚΛΕΙΤΟΜΑΧΟΣ

87 Κλειτόμαχος Καρχηδόνιος. οὗτος ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν Ἀσδρούβας καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ φωνῇ κατὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐφιλοσόφει. ἐλθὼν δ' εἰς Ἀθήνας ἦδη τετταράκοντ' ἔτη γεγονώς ἤκουσε Καρνεάδου· κακείνους ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτοῦ τὸ φιλόπονον γράμματά τ' ἐποίησε μαθεῖν καὶ συνήσκει τὸν ἄνδρα. ὁ δὲ εἰς τοσοῦτον ἤλασεν ἐπιμελείας, ὥστε ὑπὲρ τὰ τετρακόσια βιβλία συνέγραψε. καὶ διεδέξατο τὸν Καρνεάδην καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα διὰ τῶν συγγραμμάτων ἐφώτισεν. ἀνὴρ ἐν ταῖς τρισὶν αἰρέσεσι διαπρέψας, ἐν τε τῇ Ἀκαδημαϊκῇ καὶ περιπατητικῇ καὶ στωικῇ. Καθόλου δὲ τοὺς Ἀκαδημαϊκοὺς ὁ Τίμων οὕτω διασύρει·

οὐδ' Ἀκαδημαϊκῶν πλατυρημοσύνης ἀναλίστου.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ τοὺς Ἀκαδημαϊκοὺς τοὺς ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος διελθλυθότες ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος περιπατητικούς, ὧν ἤρξεν Ἀριστοτέλης.

## IV. 66-67. CARNEADES—CLITOMACHUS

his knowing it, and he ordered the slave to light the lamp. The latter brought it and said, “Here it is.” “Then,” said Carneades, “read.”

He had many other disciples, but the most illustrious of them all was Clitomachus, of whom we have next to speak.

There was another Carneades, a frigid elegiac poet.

### CHAPTER 10. CLITOMACHUS

(Head of the Academy from 129 B.C.)

Clitomachus was a Carthaginian, his real name being Hasdrubal, and he taught philosophy at Carthage in his native tongue. He had reached his fortieth year when he went to Athens and became a pupil of Carneades. And Carneades, recognizing his industry, caused him to be educated and took part in training him. And to such lengths did his diligence go that he composed more than four hundred treatises. He succeeded Carneades in the headship of the school, and by his writings did much to elucidate his opinions. He was eminently well acquainted with the three sects—the Academy, the Peripatetics, and the Stoics.

The Academics in general are assailed by Timon in the line :

The prolixity of the Academics unseasoned by salt.

Having thus reviewed the Academics who derived from Plato, we will now pass on to the Peripatetics, who also derived from Plato. They begin with Aristotle.

# E

## Κεφ. α'. ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ

- 1 Ἀριστοτέλης Νικομάχου καὶ Φαιστίδος Σταγειρίτης. ὁ δὲ Νικόμαχος ἦν ἀπὸ Νικομάχου τοῦ Μαχάονος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, καθά φησιν Ἑρμιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἀριστοτέλους· καὶ συνεβίω Ἀμύντα τῷ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖ ἱατροῦ καὶ φίλου χρεῖα. οὗτος γνησιώτατος τῶν Πλάτωνος μαθητῶν, τραυλὸς τὴν φωνήν, ὥς φησι Τιμόθεος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ βίων· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰσχυροσκελής, φασίν, ἦν καὶ μικρόμματος ἐσθῆτί τ' ἐπισήμῳ χρώμενος καὶ δακτυλίοις καὶ κουρά. ἔσχε δὲ καὶ υἱὸν Νικόμαχον ἐξ Ἑρπυλλίδος τῆς παλλακῆς, ὥς φησι Τίμαιος.<sup>1</sup>
- 2 Ἀπέστη δὲ Πλάτωνος ἔτι περιόντος· ὥστε φασίν ἐκεῖνον εἰπεῖν, "Ἀριστοτέλης ἡμᾶς ἀπελάκτισε, καθαπερεὶ τὰ πωλάρια γεννηθέντα τὴν μητέρα." φησὶ δ' Ἑρμιππος ἐν τοῖς Βίοις ὅτι πρεσβεύοντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων σχολάρχης ἐγένετο τῆς ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ σχολῆς Ξενοκράτης· ἐλθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ θεασάμενον ὑπ' ἄλλῳ τὴν σχολήν, ἐλέσθαι περίπατον τὸν ἐν Λυκείῳ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> codd. Τιμόθεος repeated from above.

# BOOK V

## CHAPTER 1. ARISTOTLE (384-322 B.C.)

ARISTOTLE, son of Nicomachus and Phaestis, was a native of Stagira. His father, Nicomachus, as Hermippus relates in his book *On Aristotle*, traced his descent from Nicomachus who was the son of Machaon and grandson of Asclepius; and he resided with Amyntas, the king of Macedon, in the capacity of physician and friend. Aristotle was Plato's most genuine disciple; he spoke with a lisp, as we learn from Timotheus the Athenian in his book *On Lives*; further, his calves were slender (so they say), his eyes small, and he was conspicuous by his attire, his rings, and the cut of his hair. According to Timaeus, he had a son by Herpyllis, his concubine, who was also called Nicomachus.

He seceded from the Academy while Plato was still alive. Hence the remark attributed to the latter: "Aristotle spurns me, as colts kick out at the mother who bore them."<sup>a</sup> Hermippus in his *Lives* mentions that he was absent as Athenian envoy at the court of Philip when Xenocrates became head of the Academy, and that on his return, when he saw the school under a new head, he made choice of a public walk in the Lyceum where he would walk

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Aelian, *V.H.* iv. 9.

μέχρι μὲν ἀλείμματος<sup>1</sup> ἀνακάμπτοντα τοῖς μαθηταῖς  
συμφιλοσοφεῖν· ὅθεν περιπατητικὸν προσαγορευθῆ-  
ναι. οἱ δ' ὅτι ἐκ νόσου περιπατοῦντι Ἀλέξανδρῳ  
συμπαρῶν διελέγετο ἅττα.

<sup>3</sup> Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πλείους ἐγένοντο ἤδη, καὶ ἐκάθισεν  
εἰπών·

αἰσχρὸν σιωπᾶν, Ξενοκράτην δ' εἶν λέγειν.

καὶ πρὸς θέσιν συνεγύμναζε τοὺς μαθητάς, ἅμα καὶ  
ῥητορικῶς ἐπασκῶν. ἔπειτα μέντοι ἀπήρε πρὸς  
Ἑρμίαν τὸν εὐνοῦχον, Ἀταρνέως ὄντα τύραννον·  
ὃν οἱ μὲν φασὶ παιδικὰ γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ καὶ  
κηδεῦσαι αὐτῷ δόντα τὴν θυγατέρα ἢ ἀδελφιδὴν, ὡς  
φησὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς Περὶ ὁμωνύμων  
ποιητῶν τε καὶ συγγραφέων· ὃς καὶ δοῦλον Εὐβού-  
λου φησὶ γενέσθαι τὸν Ἑρμίαν, γένει Βιθυνὸν ὄντα  
καὶ τὸν δεσπότην ἀνελόντα. Ἀριστιππος δ' ἐν τῷ  
πρώτῳ<sup>2</sup> Περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς φησὶν ἐρασθῆναι τὸν  
<sup>4</sup> Ἀριστοτέλην παλλακίδος τοῦ Ἑρμίου. τοῦ δὲ  
συγχωρήσαντος ἑγῆμέ τ' αὐτὴν καὶ ἔθυσεν ὑπερ-  
χαίρων τῷ γυναικί, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι τῇ Ἐλευσινίᾳ  
Δήμητρι· τῷ τε Ἑρμίᾳ παιᾶνα ἔγραψεν, ὃς ἐνδον  
γέγραπται· ἐντεῦθεν τε γενέσθαι ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ  
παρὰ Φιλίππῳ καὶ λαβεῖν μαθητὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν  
υἱὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ αἰτῆσαι ἀναστῆσαι αὐτοῦ τὴν  
πατρίδα κατασκαφεῖσαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου καὶ τυχεῖν·

<sup>1</sup> ἀλείμματος. Bywater puts this between daggers.

<sup>2</sup> πρώτῳ] τετάρτῳ Wilamowitz.

<sup>a</sup> Eur. *Philoct.* Frag. 785 Dind., 796 Nauck<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Most authorities put Isocrates here in place of Xeno-  
crates.

<sup>c</sup> This story comes ultimately from Lyco the Pythagorean;  
cf. Aristocles. Cf. Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* xv. 2 § 5 φησὶ γὰρ  
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up and down discussing philosophy with his pupils  
until it was time to rub themselves with oil. Hence  
the name "Peripatetic." But others say that it was  
given to him because, when Alexander was recover-  
ing from an illness and taking daily walks, Aristotle  
joined him and talked with him on certain matters.

In time the circle about him grew larger; he then  
sat down to lecture, remarking<sup>a</sup>:

It were base to keep silence and let Xenocrates<sup>b</sup> speak.

He also taught his pupils to discourse upon a set  
theme, besides practising them in oratory. After-  
wards, however, he departed to Hermias the eunuch,  
who was tyrant of Atarneus, and there is one story  
that he was on very affectionate terms with Hermias;  
according to another, Hermias bound him by ties of  
kinship, giving him his daughter or his niece in  
marriage, and so Demetrius of Magnesia narrates in  
his work on *Poets and Writers of the Same Name*. The  
same author tells us that Hermias had been the slave  
of Eubulus, and that he was of Bithynian origin and  
had murdered his master. Aristippus in his first  
book *On the Luxury of the Ancients* says that Aristotle  
fell in love with a concubine of Hermias, and married  
her with his consent, and in an excess of delight  
sacrificed to a weak woman as the Athenians did to  
Demeter of Eleusis<sup>c</sup>; and that he composed a paeon  
in honour of Hermias, which is given below; next that  
he stayed in Macedonia at Philip's court and received  
from him his son Alexander as his pupil; that he  
petitioned Alexander to restore his native city which  
had been destroyed by Philip and obtained his

θεῖν Ἀριστοτέλην θύσαν τετελευτηκυῖα τῇ γυναικὶ ταιαύτην  
ὀποῖαν Ἀθηναῖοι τῇ Δήμητρι. This version is irreconcilable  
with ὑπερχαίρων in D. L.

οἷς καὶ νόμους θεῖναι. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ σχολῇ νομοθετεῖν μιμούμενον Ξενοκράτην, ὥστε κατὰ δέκα ἡμέρας ἀρχοντα ποιεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐδόκει ἐπιεικῶς αὐτῷ συγγενῆσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἀπῆρεν εἰς Ἀθήνας, συστήσας αὐτῷ τὸν συγγενῆ Καλλι-  
 σθένην τὸν Ὀλύνθιον· ὃν καὶ παρρησιαστικώτερον λαλοῦντα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ μὴ πειθόμενον αὐτῷ φασιν ἐπιπλήξαντα εἰπεῖν·

ὠκύμορος δὴ μοι, τέκος, ἔσσαι, οἴ' ἀγορεύεις.

καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο. δόξας γὰρ Ἑρμολάῳ συμ- μετεσχηκέναι τῆς εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρον ἐπιβουλῆς ἐν σιδηρᾷ περιήγετο γαλεάγρα, φθειριῶν καὶ ἀ- κόμιστος· καὶ τέλος λέοντι παραβληθείς, οὕτω κατ- ἔστρεψεν.

Ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐλθὼν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ τρία πρὸς τοῖς δέκα τῆς σχολῆς ἀφηγησάμενος ἔτη ὑπεξῆλθεν εἰς Χαλκίδα, Εὐρυμέδοντος αὐτὸν τοῦ ἱεροφάντου δίκην ἀσεβείας γραψαμένου, ἣ Δημοφίλου, ὡς φησι Φαβωρίνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ περ τὸν ὕμνον ἐποίησεν εἰς τὸν προειρημένον Ἑρμίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνδριάντος τοιοῦτον·

τόνδε ποτ' οὐχ οἰώως παραβὰς μακάρων θέμιν ἀγνὴν

ἔκτεινεν Περσῶν τοξοφόρων βασιλεὺς,  
 οὐ φανερῶς λόγῃ φονίους ἐν ἀγῶσι κρατήσας,  
 ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς πίστει χρησάμενος δολίου.

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ πῶν ἀκόνιτον ἐτελεύτησεν, ὡς

\* Hom. *Il.* xviii. 95.

<sup>b</sup> As in ii. 78, iii. 19 and v. 77, Favorinus is curious to state the names of the accusers of philosophers put upon trial.

request; and that he also drew up a code of laws for the inhabitants. We learn further that, following the example of Xenocrates, he made it a rule in his school that every ten days a new president should be appointed. When he thought that he had stayed long enough with Alexander, he departed to Athens, having first presented to Alexander his kinsman Callisthenes of Olynthus. But when Callisthenes talked with too much freedom to the king and dis- regarded his own advice, Aristotle is said to have rebuked him by citing the line <sup>a</sup>:

Short-lived, I ween, wilt thou be, my child, by what thou sayest.

And so indeed it fell out. For he, being suspected of complicity in the plot of Hermolaus against the life of Alexander, was confined in an iron cage and carried about until he became infested with vermin through lack of proper attention; and finally he was thrown to a lion and so met his end.

To return to Aristotle: he came to Athens, was head of his school for thirteen years, and then withdrew to Chalcis because he was indicted for impiety by Eurymedon the hierophant, or, according to Favorinus <sup>b</sup> in his *Miscellaneous History*, by Demophilus, the ground of the charge being the hymn he composed to the aforesaid Hermias, as well as the following inscription for his statue at Delphi <sup>c</sup>:

This man in violation of the hallowed law of the immortals was unrighteously slain by the king of the bow-bearing Persians, who overcame him, not openly with a spear in murderous combat, but by treachery with the aid of one in whom he trusted.

At Chalcis he died, according to Eumelus in the

<sup>c</sup> *Anth. Plan.* iii. 48.

φησιν Εὐμηλος ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν, βιοὺς ἔτῃ ἑβδομήκοντα. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς φησιν αὐτὸν καὶ Πλάτωνι τριακοντούτην συστήναι, διαπίπτων· βεβίωκε γὰρ τρία μὲν πρὸς τοῖς ἐξήκοντα, Πλάτωνι δὲ ἑπτακαιδεκέτης συνέστη.

Ὁ δὲ ὕμνος ἔχει τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον·

7 ἀρετά, πολὺμοχθε γένει βροτείῳ,  
θῆραμα κάλλιστον βίῳ,  
σᾶς πέρι, παρθένε, μορφᾶς  
καὶ θανεῖν ζαλωτὸς ἐν Ἑλλάδι πότμος  
καὶ πόνους τλήναι μαλεροὺς ἀκάμαντας·  
τοῖον ἐπὶ φρένα βάλλεις  
κάρτος ἀθάνατον χρυσοῦ τε κρεῖσσον  
καὶ γονέων μαλακανγήτοιό θ' ὕπνου.  
σεῦ δ' ἔνεχ' οὐκ Διὸς Ἡρακλῆς Λήδας τε κούροι  
πόλλ' ἀνέτλασαν ἔργοις  
σὺν ἀγρεύοντες δύναμιν.  
8 σοῖς δὲ πόθοις Ἀχιλεὺς  
Αἴας τ' Ἀἴδαο δόμους ἦλθον·  
σᾶς δ' ἔνεκεν φιλίου μορφᾶς καὶ Ἀταρνέος  
ἔντροφος ἀέλιου χήρῳσεν αὐγὰς.  
τοιγὰρ αἰδίδιμος ἔργοις, ἀθάνατόν τε μιν αὐξή-  
σουσι Μοῦσαι  
Μναμοσύνας θύγατρες, Διὸς ξενίου σέβας αὖ-  
ξουσai φιλίας τε γέρας βεβαίον.

Ἔστι δ' οὖν καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἡμῶν οὕτως ἔχον·

Εὐρυμέδων ποτ' ἔμελλεν Ἀριστοτέλην ἀσεβείας  
γράφασθαι Δηοῦς μύστιδος ὦν πρόπολος,  
ἀλλὰ πῶν ἀκόντιον ὑπέκφυγε· τοῦτ' ἀκοντι-  
τὴν ἄρα νικῆσαι συκοφάσεις ἀδίκους.

fifth book of his *Histories*, by drinking aconite, at the age of seventy. The same authority makes him thirty years old when he came to Plato; but here he is mistaken. For Aristotle lived to be sixty-three, and he was seventeen when he became Plato's pupil.

The hymn in question runs as follows :

O virtue, toilsome for the generation of mortals to achieve, the fairest prize that life can win, for thy beauty, O virgin, it were a doom glorious in Hellas even to die and to endure fierce, untiring labours. Such courage dost thou implant in the mind, imperishable, better than gold, dearer than parents or soft-eyed sleep. For thy sake Heracles, son of Zeus, and the sons of Leda endured much in the tasks whereby they pursued thy might. And yearning after thee came Achilles and Ajax to the house of Hades, and for the sake of thy dear form the nursling of Atarneus too was bereft of the light of the sun. Therefore shall his deeds be sung, and the Muses, the daughters of Memory, shall make him immortal, exalting the majesty of Zeus, guardian of strangers, and the grace of lasting friendship.

There is, too, something of my own upon the philosopher which I will quote<sup>a</sup> :

Eurymedon, the priest of Deo's mysteries, was once about to indict Aristotle for impiety, but he, by a draught of poison, escaped prosecution. This then was an easy way of vanquishing unjust calumnies.

<sup>a</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 107.



9 Τοῦτον πρῶτον Φαβωρίνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ λόγον δικανικὸν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ συγγράφει φησὶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ ταύτῃ τῇ δίκῃ καὶ λέγειν ὡς Ἀθήνησιν

ὄγχνη ἐπ' ὄγχνη γηράσκει, σῦκον δ' ἐπὶ σύκῳ.

Φησὶ δ' Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς γεννηθῆναι μὲν αὐτὸν τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ ἐνενηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, παραβαλεῖν δὲ Πλάτωνι καὶ διατρίβειν παρ' αὐτῷ εἴκοσιν ἔτη, ἑπτακαίδεκέτην συστάντα· καὶ εἰς τε Μυτιλήνην ἔλθειν ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Εὐβούλου τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος. Πλάτωνος δὲ τελευτήσαντος τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει ἐπὶ Θεοφίλου, πρὸς Ἑρμίαν ἀπᾶραι  
10 καὶ μέναι ἔτη τρία· ἐπὶ Πυθοδότου δ' ἔλθειν πρὸς Φίλιππον τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, Ἀλεξάνδρου πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτη ἤδη γεγονότος. εἰς δ' Ἀθήνας ἀφικέσθαι τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς ἐνδεκάτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ἐν Λυκείῳ σχολάσαι ἔτη τρία πρὸς τοῖς δέκα, εἰς ἁπᾶραι εἰς Χαλκίδα τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει τῆς τετάρτης καὶ δεκάτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, καὶ τελευτῆσαι ἐτῶν τριῶν πῶ καὶ ἐξήκοντα νόσῳ, ὅτε καὶ Δημοσθένην καταστρέφει ἐν Καλαυρείᾳ, ἐπὶ Φιλοκλέους. λέγεται δὲ διὰ τὴν Καλλισθένους πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον σύστασιν προσκρούσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ· κάκεινον ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦτον λυπῆσαι Ἀναξίμενην μὲν αὐξῆσαι, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ Ξενοκράτει δῶρα.

11 Ἀπέσκηψε δ' εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπίγραμμα καὶ Θεό-

<sup>a</sup> Hom. Od. vii. 120.

<sup>b</sup> There must have been a chapter in Favorinus dealing with "inventions."

<sup>c</sup> 384-383 B.C.

<sup>d</sup> 345-344 B.C.

<sup>e</sup> 347-346 B.C.

Favorinus in his *Miscellaneous History* affirms that Aristotle was the first to compose a forensic speech in his own defence written for this very suit; and he cites him as saying that at Athens<sup>a</sup>

Pear upon pear grows old and fig upon fig.<sup>b</sup>

According to Apollodorus in his *Chronology* he was born in the first year of the 99th Olympiad.<sup>c</sup> He attached himself to Plato and resided with him twenty years, having become his pupil at the age of seventeen. He went to Mitylene in the archonship of Eubulus in the fourth year of the 108th Olympiad.<sup>d</sup> When Plato died in the first year of that Olympiad,<sup>e</sup> during the archonship of Theophilus, he went to Hermias and stayed with him three years. In the archonship of Pythodotus, in the second year of the 109th Olympiad,<sup>f</sup> he went to the court of Philip, Alexander being then in his fifteenth year. His arrival at Athens was in the second year of the 111th Olympiad,<sup>g</sup> and he lectured in the Lyceum for thirteen years; then he retired to Chalcis in the third year of the 114th Olympiad<sup>h</sup> and died a natural death, at the age of about sixty-three, in the archonship of Philocles, in the same year in which Demosthenes died at Calauria. It is said that he incurred the king's displeasure because he had introduced Callisthenes to him, and that Alexander, in order to cause him annoyance, honoured Anaximenes<sup>i</sup> and sent presents to Xenocrates.

Theocritus of Chios, according to Ambryon in his

<sup>f</sup> 342-341 B.C.

<sup>g</sup> 335-334 B.C.

<sup>h</sup> 322-321 B.C.

<sup>i</sup> No doubt Anaximenes of Lampsacus (cf. *supra*, ii. § 3), to whom is attributed the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, which has come down to us in the Aristotelian Corpus.

κριτος ὁ Χίος, οὕτως αὖ ποιήσας, ὥς φησιν Ἀμβρύων  
ἐν τῷ Περὶ Θεοκρίτου·

Ἑρμίου εὐνούχου ἡδ' Εὐβούλου ἅμα δούλου  
σῆμα κενὸν κενόφρων τεύξεν Ἀριστοτέλης,  
ὅς διὰ τὴν ἀκρατὴ γαστρός φύσιν εἴλετο ναίειν,  
ἀντ' Ἀκαδημίας, Βορβόρου ἐν προχοαῖς<sup>1</sup>.

ἀλλὰ καὶ Τίμων αὐτοῦ καθήψατο εἰπὼν·

οὐδ' ἄρ' Ἀριστοτέλους εἰκαιουσύνῃς ἀλεγυνῆς.

Καὶ οὗτος μὲν ὁ βίος τοῦ φιλοσόφου. ἡμεῖς δὲ  
καὶ διαθήκαις αὐτοῦ περιετύχομεν, οὕτω πως  
ἐχούσαις·

“Ἔσται μὲν εἴ· ἐὰν δέ τι συμβαίῃ, τάδε διέθετο  
Ἀριστοτέλης· ἐπίτροπον μὲν εἶναι πάντων καὶ διὰ  
<sup>12</sup> παντὸς Ἀντίπατρον· ἕως δ' ἂν Νικάνωρ καταλάβῃ,  
ἐπιμελεῖσθαι Ἀριστομένην, Τίμαρχον, Ἰππαρχον,  
Διοτέλην, Θεόφραστον, ἐὰν βούληται καὶ ἐνδέχῃ-  
ται αὐτῷ, τῶν τε παιδίων καὶ Ἑρπυλλίδος καὶ  
τῶν καταλελειμμένων. καὶ ὅταν ὥρα ᾗ τῇ παιδί,  
ἐκδίδοσθαι αὐτὴν Νικάνωρι· ἐὰν δέ τῇ παιδί συμβῇ  
τι—ὁ μὴ γένοιτο οὐδὲ ἔσται—πρὸ τοῦ γήμασθαι ἢ  
ἐπειδὰν γήμηται, μήπω παιδίων ὄντων, Νικάνωρ  
κύριος ἔστω καὶ περὶ τοῦ παιδίου καὶ περὶ τῶν  
ἄλλων διοικεῖν ἀξίως καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡμῶν. ἐπιμε-  
λεῖσθω δὲ Νικάνωρ καὶ τῆς παιδὸς καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς  
Νικομάχου, ὅπως ἂν ἀξιοῖ τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν<sup>2</sup>, ὥς καὶ  
πατὴρ ὢν καὶ ἀδελφός. ἐὰν δέ τι πρότερον συμβῇ  
Νικάνωρι—ὁ μὴ γένοιτο—ἢ πρὸ τοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν

<sup>1</sup> addunt editores ex Plutarcho et Eusebio.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτῶν codd.: αὐτῷ Reiske.

book *On Theocritus*, ridiculed him in an epigram  
which runs as follows <sup>a</sup> :

To Hermias the eunuch, the slave withal of Eubulus, an  
empty monument was raised by empty-witted Aristotle, who  
by constraint of a lawless appetite chose to dwell at the  
mouth of the Borborus [muddy stream] rather than in the  
Academy.

Timon again attacked him in the line <sup>b</sup> :

No, nor yet Aristotle's painful futility.<sup>c</sup>

Such then was the life of the philosopher. I have  
also come across his will, which is worded thus :

“All will be well ; but, in case anything should  
happen, Aristotle has made these dispositions. Antipater  
is to be executor in all matters and in general ; but, until Nicanor shall arrive, Aristomenes,  
Timarchus, Hipparchus, Dioteles and (if he consent  
and if circumstances permit him) Theophrastus shall  
take charge as well of Herpyllis and the children as  
of the property. And when the girl shall be grown  
up she shall be given in marriage to Nicanor ; but  
if anything happen to the girl (which heaven forbid  
and no such thing will happen) before her marriage,  
or when she is married but before there are children,  
Nicanor shall have full powers, both with regard to  
the child and with regard to everything else, to  
administer in a manner worthy both of himself and  
of us. Nicanor shall take charge of the girl and of  
the boy Nicomachus as he shall think fit in all that  
concerns them as if he were father and brother.  
And if anything should happen to Nicanor (which  
heaven forbid !) either before he marries the girl, or

<sup>a</sup> *Anth. Plan.* ii. 46.

<sup>b</sup> *Frag.* 36 D.

<sup>c</sup> *Cf. Hom. Il.* xxiii. 701.

παῖδα ἢ ἐπειδὴν λάβῃ, μήπω παιδίων ὄντων, ἐὰν  
 13 μὲν τι ἐκείνος τάξῃ, ταῦτα κύρια ἔστω· ἐὰν δὲ  
 βούληται Θεόφραστος εἶναι μετὰ τῆς παιδός,  
 καθάπερ πρὸς Νικάνορα· εἰ δὲ μή, τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους  
 βουλευομένους μετ' Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ περὶ τῆς  
 παιδός καὶ περὶ τοῦ παιδίου διοικεῖν ὅπως ἂν  
 αὐτοῖς δοκῇ ἄριστα εἶναι. ἐπιμελίσθαι δὲ τοὺς  
 ἐπιτρόπους καὶ Νικάνορα μνησθέντας ἐμοῦ καὶ  
 Ἑρπυλίδος, ὅτι σπουδαία περὶ ἐμὲ ἐγένετο, τῶν  
 τε ἄλλων καὶ ἐὰν βούληται ἄνδρα λαμβάνειν, ὅπως  
 μὴ ἀναξίῳ ἡμῶν δοθῇ. δοῦναι δ' αὐτῇ πρὸς τοῖς  
 πρότερον δεδομένοις καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντον ἐκ τῶν  
 καταλελειμμένων καὶ θεραπαίνας τρεῖς, <ἃς> ἂν  
 βούληται, καὶ τὴν παιδίσκην ἣν ἔχει καὶ παῖδα τὸν  
 14 Πυρραῖον· καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἐν Χαλκίδι βούληται οἰκεῖν,  
 τὸν ξενῶνα τὸν πρὸς τῷ κήπῳ· ἐὰν δὲ ἐν Σταγείροις,  
 τὴν πατρῴαν οἰκίαν. ὁποτέραν δ' ἂν τούτων  
 βούληται, κατασκευάσαι τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους σκεύεσιν  
 οἷς ἂν δοκῇ κάκεινοις καλῶς ἔχειν καὶ Ἑρπυλίδι  
 ἱκανῶς. ἐπιμελίσθω δὲ Νικάνωρ καὶ Μύρμηκος  
 τοῦ παιδίου, ὅπως ἂν ἀξίως ἡμῶν τοῖς ἰδίοις  
 ἐπικομισθῇ σὺν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αἰ εἰλήφαμεν αὐτοῦ.  
 εἶναι δὲ καὶ Ἀμβρακίδα ἐλευθέραν καὶ δοῦναι  
 αὐτῇ, ὅταν ἡ παῖς ἐκδοθῇ, πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς  
 καὶ τὴν παιδίσκην ἣν ἔχει. δοῦναι δὲ καὶ Θαλῇ  
 πρὸς τῇ παιδίσκῃ ἣν ἔχει, τῇ ὠνηθείσῃ, χιλίας  
 15 δραχμὰς καὶ παιδίσκην· καὶ Σίμωνι χωρὶς τοῦ  
 πρότερον ἀργυρίου αὐτῷ <δοθέντος> εἰς παῖδ'  
 ἄλλον, ἢ παῖδα πρίασθαι ἢ ἀργύριον ἐπιδοῦναι.  
 Τύχωνα δ' ἐλευθέρον εἶναι, ὅταν ἡ παῖς ἐκδοθῇ,  
 καὶ Φίλωνα καὶ Ὀλύμπιον καὶ τὸ παιδίον αὐτοῦ.

when he has married her but before there are chil-  
 dren, any arrangements that he may make shall be  
 valid. And if Theophrastus is willing to live with her,  
 <he shall have> the same rights as Nicanor. Other-  
 wise the executors in consultation with Antipater  
 shall administer as regards the daughter and the boy  
 as seems to them to be best. The executors and  
 Nicanor, in memory of me and of the steady affection  
 which Herpyllis has borne towards me, shall take  
 care of her in every other respect and, if she desires  
 to be married, shall see that she be given to one  
 not unworthy; and besides what she has already  
 received they shall give her a talent of silver out of  
 the estate and three handmaids whomsoever she  
 shall choose besides the maid she has at present and  
 the man-servant Pyrrhaeus; and if she chooses to  
 remain at Chalcis, the lodge by the garden, if in  
 Stagira, my father's house. Whichever of these two  
 houses she chooses, the executors shall furnish with  
 such furniture as they think proper and as Herpyllis  
 herself may approve. Nicanor shall take charge of  
 the boy Myrmex, that he be taken to his own friends  
 in a manner worthy of me with the property of his  
 which we received. Ambracis shall be given her  
 freedom, and on my daughter's marriage shall  
 receive 500 drachmas and the maid whom she now  
 has. And to Thale shall be given, in addition  
 to the maid whom she has and who was bought,  
 a thousand drachmas and a maid. And Simon, in  
 addition to the money before paid to him towards  
 another servant, shall either have a servant purchased  
 for him or receive a further sum of money. And  
 Tycho, Philo, Olympius and his child shall have their  
 freedom when my daughter is married. None of

μὴ πωλεῖν δὲ τῶν παίδων μηδένα τῶν ἐμὲ θερα-  
 πεύοντων, ἀλλὰ χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς· ὅταν δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ  
 γένωνται, ἐλευθέρους ἀφείναι κατ' ἀξίαν. ἐπι-  
 μελεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκδεδομένων εἰκόνων παρὰ  
 Γρυλλίωνα, ὅπως ἐπιτελεσθεῖσαι ἀνατεθῶσιν, ἣ τε  
 Νικάνορος καὶ ἡ Προξένου, ἣν διενουσμένη ἐκδοῦναι,  
 καὶ ἡ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς Νικάνορος· καὶ τὴν Ἀρι-  
 μνήστου τὴν πεποιημένην ἀναθεῖναι, ὅπως μνημεῖον  
 16 αὐτοῦ ᾗ, ἐπειδὴ ἅπαις ἐτελεύτησε· καὶ <τὴν> τῆς  
 μητρὸς τῆς ἡμετέρας τῇ Δήμητρι ἀναθεῖναι εἰς  
 Νεμέαν ἢ ὅπου ἂν δοκῇ· ὅπου δ' ἂν ποιῶνται τὴν  
 ταφὴν, ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὰ Πυθιάδος ὅσα ἀνελόντας  
 θεῖναι, ὥσπερ αὐτὴ προσέταξεν· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ καὶ  
 Νικάνορα σωθέντα, ἣν εὐχὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἠψάμην,  
 ζῶα λίθινα τετραπύχην Διὶ σωτήρι καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ σω-  
 τεῖρα ἐν Σταγείροις.

Τοῦτον ἴσχουσιν αὐτῷ αἱ διαθήκαι τὸν τρόπον.  
 λέγεται δὲ καὶ λοπάδας αὐτοῦ πλείστας εὐρῆσθαι·  
 καὶ Λύκωνα λέγειν ὡς ἐν πυέλῳ θερμοῦ ἐλαίου  
 λούοιτο καὶ τοῦλαιον διαπωλοῖτο. ἐνιοὶ δὲ καὶ  
 ἄσκιον θερμοῦ ἐλαίου ἐπιτιθεῖναι αὐτὸν τῷ στο-  
 μάχῳ φασί· καὶ ὁπότε κοιμῶτο, σφαῖραν χαλκὴν  
 βάλλεσθαι αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν χεῖρα λεκάνης ὑποκειμένης,  
 ἵν' ἐκπεσοῦσης τῆς σφαίρας εἰς τὴν λεκάνην ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ ψόφου ἐξέγροιοτο.

\* The last clause was curiously misunderstood by three  
 eminent authorities on Aristotle, namely Grant, Grote and  
 Zeller, who took ζῶα τετραπύχην to mean "four animal  
 figures," instead of "figures four cubits high"; see *Journal*  
*of Phil.* vol. xxxii. 303. The article "Verify your quota-  
 tions," although modestly followed by two asterisks, was  
 written, I believe, by the late Ingram Bywater, then one of  
 the editors of the journal. This concession by Aristotle to  
 the popular faith (for the statues from their size seem those

the servants who waited upon me shall be sold but  
 they shall continue to be employed; and when  
 they arrive at the proper age they shall have their  
 freedom if they deserve it. My executors shall see to  
 it, when the images which Gryllion has been com-  
 missioned to execute are finished, that they be set  
 up, namely that of Nicanor, that of Proxenus, which  
 it was my intention to have executed, and that of  
 Nicanor's mother; also they shall set up the bust  
 which has been executed of Arimnestus, to be a  
 memorial of him seeing that he died childless, and  
 shall dedicate my mother's statue to Demeter at  
 Nemea or wherever they think best. And wherever  
 they bury me, there the bones of Pythias shall be  
 laid, in accordance with her own instructions. And  
 to commemorate Nicanor's safe return, as I vowed  
 on his behalf, they shall set up in Stagira stone  
 statues of life size to Zeus and Athena the Saviours."

Such is the tenor of Aristotle's will. It is said that  
 a very large number of dishes belonging to him were  
 found, and that Lyco mentioned his bathing in a  
 bath of warm oil and then selling the oil. Some  
 relate that he placed a skin of warm oil on his  
 stomach, and that, when he went to sleep, a bronze  
 ball was placed in his hand with a vessel under it,  
 in order that, when the ball dropped from his hand  
 into the vessel, he might be waked up by the sound.

of deities) some critics regard with suspicion, because they  
 see in it a resemblance to the last words of Socrates (Plato,  
*Phaedo*, 118). Accordingly they are disposed to doubt the  
 genuineness of the will. But see C. G. Bruns, *Kl. Schrift.*  
 ii. 192 sqq.; H. Diels, *Philos. Aufsätze*, 231 sqq.; B. Laum,  
*Stiftungen in der griech. u. röm. Antike*.

Next come (a) the sayings of Aristotle (§§ 17-21); (b) the  
 catalogue of his writings (§§ 21-27); (c) his tenets (§§ 28-34).

- 17 'Αναφέρεται δ' εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀποφθέγματα κάλλιστα ταυτί. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί περιγίνεται κέρδος τοῖς ψευδομένοις, "ὅταν," ἔφη, "λέγωσιν ἀληθῆ, μὴ πιστεύεσθαι." ὀνειδιζόμενός ποτε ὅτι πονηρῶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐλεημοσύνην ἔδωκεν, "οὐ τὸν τρόπον," εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἠλέησα." συνεχῆς εἰώθει λέγειν πρὸς τε τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς φοιτῶντας αὐτῷ, ἔνθα ἂν καὶ ὅπου διατρίβων ἔτυχεν, ὡς ἡ μὲν ὄρασις ἀπὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος [ἄερος] λαμβάνει τὸ φῶς, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἀποτεινόμενος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔφασκεν εὐρηκέναι πυροὺς καὶ νόμους· ἀλλὰ πυροῖς μὲν χρῆσθαι, νόμοις δὲ μή.
- 18 Τῆς παιδείας ἔφη τὰς μὲν ρίζας εἶναι πικράς, τὸν δὲ καρπὸν γλυκύν. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί γηράσκει ταχύ, "χάρις," ἔφη. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἐστὶν ἐλπίς, "ἐργηγορότος," εἶπεν, "ἐνύπνιον." Διογένης ἰσχάδ' αὐτῷ διδόντος νοήσας ὅτι, εἰ μὴ λάβοι, χρεῖαν εἶη μεμελετηκώς, λαβὼν ἔφη Διογένην μετὰ τῆς χρείας καὶ τὴν ἰσχάδα ἀπολωλεκέναι· πάλιν τε διδόντος λαβὼν καὶ μετεωρίσας ὡς τὰ παιδία εἰπὼν τε "μέγας Διογένης," ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῷ. τριὺν ἔφη δεῖν παιδεία, φύσεως, μαθήσεως, ἀσκήσεως. ἀκούσας ὑπὸ τίνος λοιδορεῖσθαι, "ἀπόντα με," ἔφη, "καὶ μαστιγοῦτόν." τὸ κάλλος παντὸς ἔλεγεν ἐπιστολίου συστατικώτερον.
- 19 οἱ δὲ οὕτω<sup>1</sup> μὲν Διογένην φασὶν ὀρίσασθαι, αὐτὸν δὲ θεοῦ<sup>2</sup> δῶρον εἰπεῖν εὐμορφίαν<sup>3</sup>. Σωκράτην

Some exceedingly happy sayings are attributed to him, which I proceed to quote. To the question, "What do people gain by telling lies?" his answer was, "Just this, that when they speak the truth they are not believed." Being once reproached for giving alms to a bad man, he rejoined, "It was the man and not his character that I pitied." <sup>a</sup> He used constantly to say to his friends and pupils, whenever or wherever he happened to be lecturing, "As sight takes in light from the surrounding air, so does the soul from mathematics." Frequently and at some length he would say that the Athenians were the discoverers of wheat and of laws; but, though they used wheat, they had no use for laws.

"The roots of education," he said, "are bitter, but the fruit is sweet." Being asked, "What is it that soon grows old?" he answered, "Gratitude." He was asked to define hope, and he replied, "It is a waking dream." When Diogenes offered him dried figs, he saw that he had prepared something caustic to say if he did not take them; so he took them and said Diogenes had lost his figs and his jest into the bargain. And on another occasion he took them when they were offered, lifted them up aloft, as you do babies, and returned them with the exclamation, "Great is Diogenes." Three things he declared to be indispensable for education: natural endowment, study, and constant practice. On hearing that some one abused him, he rejoined, "He may even scourge me so it be in my absence." Beauty he declared to be a greater recommendation than any letter of introduction. Others attribute this definition to Diogenes; Aristotle, they say, defined good looks as the gift of god, Socrates as a short-lived reign,

<sup>1</sup> οὕτω Byw.: τοῦτο codd.  
<sup>2</sup> θεοῦ Cobet: τοῦτο L: om. cett. codd.  
<sup>3</sup> εὐμορφίαν Casaub.: εὐμορφίας codd.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *infra*, § 21.

δὲ ὀλιγοχρόνιον τυραννίδα· Πλάτωνα προτέρημα φύσεως· Θεόφραστον σιωπῶσαν ἀπάτην· Θεόκριτον ἐλεφαντίνην ζημίαν· Καρνεάδην ἀδορυφόρητον βασιλείαν· ἐρωτηθεὶς τίνι διαφέρουσιν οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν, "ὅσω," εἶπεν, "οἱ ζῶντες τῶν τεθνεώτων." τὴν παιδείαν ἔλεγεν ἐν μὲν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις εἶναι κόσμον, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀτυχίαις καταφυγὴν· τῶν γονέων τοὺς παιδεύσαντας ἐντιμωτέρους εἶναι τῶν μόνον γεννησάντων· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τὸ ζῆν, τοὺς δὲ τὸ καλῶς ζῆν παρασχέσθαι· πρὸς τὸν καυχώμενον ὡς ἀπὸ μεγάλης πόλεως εἶη, "οὐ τοῦτο," ἔφη, "δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' 20 ὅστις μεγάλης πατρίδος ἄξιος ἐστίν." ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἐστὶ φίλος, ἔφη, "μία ψυχὴ δύο σώμασιν ἐν-οικοῦσα." τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔλεγε τοὺς μὲν οὕτως φείδεσθαι ὡς αἰεὶ ζήσομένους, τοὺς δὲ οὕτως ἀναλίσκειν ὡς αὐτίκα τεθνηξομένους· πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον διὰ τί τοῖς καλοῖς πολλὸν χρόνον ὀμιλοῦμεν, "τυφλοῦ," ἔφη, "τὸ ἐρώτημα." ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ποτ' αὐτῷ περιέγρονεν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας, ἔφη, "τὸ ἀνεπιτάκτως ποιεῖν ἃ τινες διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων φόβον ποιοῦσιν." ἐρωτηθεὶς πῶς ἂν προκόπτοιεν οἱ μαθηταί, ἔφη, "ἐὰν τοὺς προ-έχοντας διώκοντες τοὺς ὑστεροῦντας μὴ ἀναμένωσι." πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα ἀδολέσχην, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῦ πολλὰ κατήντησε, "μήτι σου κατεφλύάρησα;" "μὰ 21 Δι," εἶπεν· "οὐ γάρ σοι προσεῖχον." πρὸς τὸν αἰτιασάμενον ὡς εἶη μὴ ἀγαθῷ ἔρανον δεδωκώς—

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *supra*, i. § 69, ii. § 69.

<sup>b</sup> Cicero ascribed a similar reply to Xenocrates: "ut id sua sponte facerent, quod cogenter facere legibus" (Cic. *De rep.* i. § 3).

Plato as natural superiority, Theophrastus as a mute deception, Theocritus as an evil in an ivory setting, Carneades as a monarchy that needs no bodyguard. Being asked how the educated differ from the uneducated, "As much," he said, "as the living from the dead."<sup>a</sup> He used to declare education to be an ornament in prosperity and a refuge in adversity. Teachers who educated children deserved, he said, more honour than parents who merely gave them birth; for bare life is furnished by the one, the other ensures a good life. To one who boasted that he belonged to a great city his reply was, "That is not the point to consider, but who it is that is worthy of a great country." To the query, "What is a friend?" his reply was, "A single soul dwelling in two bodies." Mankind, he used to say, were divided into those who were as thrifty as if they would live for ever, and those who were as extravagant as if they were going to die the next day. When some one inquired why we spend much time with the beautiful, "That," he said, "is a blind man's question." When asked what advantage he had ever gained from philosophy, he replied, "This, that I do without being ordered what some are constrained to do by their fear of the law."<sup>b</sup> The question being put, how can students make progress, he replied, "By pressing hard on those in front and not waiting for those behind." To the chatterbox who poured out a flood of talk upon him and then inquired, "Have I bored you to death with my chatter?" he replied, "No, indeed; for I was not attending to you." When some one accused him of having given a subscription to a dishonest man—for the story is also

φέρεται γὰρ καὶ οὕτως—"οὐ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ," φησὶν, "ἔδωκα, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ." ἐρωτηθεὶς πῶς ἂν τοῖς φίλοις προσφεροίμεθα, ἔφη, "ὥς ἂν εὐξαίμεθα αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν προσφέρεισθαι." τὴν δίκαιον ἐφη ἀρετὴν ψυχῆς διανεμητικὴν τοῦ κατ' ἀξίαν. κάλλιστον ἐφόδιον τῷ γῆρα τὴν παιδείαν ἔλεγε. φησὶ δὲ Φαβρινός ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων ὡς ἐκάστοτε λέγοι, "ὦ φίλοι, οὐδεὶς φίλος"· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ τῶν Ἠθικῶν ἐστι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφέρεται.

Συνέγραψε δὲ πᾶμπλειστα βιβλία, ἅπερ ἀκόλουθον ἡγησάμην υπογράψαι διὰ τὴν περὶ πάντας λόγους ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν.

- 22 Περὶ δικαιοσύνης α' β' γ' δ'.  
 Περὶ ποιητῶν α' β' γ'.  
 Περὶ φιλοσοφίας α' β' γ'.  
 Περὶ πολιτικοῦ α' β'.  
 Περὶ ῥητορικῆς ἢ Γρύλου α'.  
 Νήρινθος α'.  
 Σοφιστῆς α'.  
 Μενέξενος α'.  
 Ἑρωτικός α'.  
 Συμπόσιον α'.  
 Περὶ πλούτου α'.  
 Προτρεπτικός α'.  
 Περὶ ψυχῆς α'.  
 Περὶ εὐχῆς α'.  
 Περὶ εὐγενείας α'.

\* Cf. *supra*, § 17.

\* E.E. vii. 12, 1945 b 20; N.E. ix. 10. 6, 1171 a 15-17.

\* This is one of three catalogues which we have of the Aristotelian writings. Hesychius furnishes one, appended

told in this form<sup>a</sup>—"It was not the man," said he, "that I assisted, but humanity." To the question how we should behave to friends, he answered, "As we should wish them to behave to us." Justice he defined as a virtue of soul which distributes according to merit. Education he declared to be the best provision for old age. Favorinus in the second book of his *Memorabilia* mentions as one of his habitual sayings that "He who has friends can have no true friend." Further, this is found in the seventh book of the *Ethics*.<sup>b</sup> These then are the sayings attributed to him.

His writings are very numerous and, considering the man's all-round excellence, I deemed it incumbent on me to catalogue them<sup>c</sup>:

- Of Justice, four books.  
 On Poets, three books.  
 On Philosophy, three books.  
 Of the Statesman, two books.  
 On Rhetoric, or Grylus, one book.  
 Nerinthus, one book.  
 The Sophist, one book.  
 Menexenus, one book.  
 Concerning Love, one book.  
 Symposium, one book.  
 Of Wealth, one book.  
 Exhortation to Philosophy, one book.  
 Of the Soul, one book.  
 Of Prayer, one book.  
 On Noble Birth, one book.

to his Life of Aristotle; see V. Rose's edition of the *Fragments*, p. 9 *seq.* Another by Ptolemy the philosopher, of which the Greek original has perished, is preserved in Arabic; see V. Rose, *Frag.* p. 18 *seq.*

- Περὶ ἡδονῆς α'.  
 Ἀλέξανδρος ἢ ὑπὲρ ἀποίκων α'.  
 Περὶ βασιλείας α'.  
 Περὶ παιδείας α'.  
 Περὶ τάγαθου α' β' γ'.  
 Τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων Πλάτωνος α' β' γ'.  
 Τὰ ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας α' β'.  
 Περὶ οἰκονομίας α'.  
 Περὶ φιλίας α'.  
 Περὶ τοῦ πάσχειν ἢ πεπονθέναι α'.  
 Περὶ ἐπιστημῶν α'.  
 Περὶ ἐριστικῶν α' β'.  
 Δύσεις ἐριστικά δ'.  
 Διαιρέσεις σοφιστικά δ'.  
 Περὶ ἐναντιῶν α'.  
 Περὶ εἰδῶν καὶ γενῶν α'.  
 Περὶ ἰδίων α'.  
 23 Ὑπομνήματα ἐπιχειρηματικά γ'.  
 Προτάσεις περὶ ἀρετῆς α' β'.  
 Ἐνστάσεις α'.  
 Περὶ τῶν ποσαυχῶς λεγομένων ἢ κατὰ πρόσθεσιν α'.  
 Περὶ παθῶν <ἢ περὶ> ὀργῆς α'.  
 Ἠθικῶν α' β' γ' δ' ε'.  
 Περὶ στοιχειῶν α' β' γ'.  
 Περὶ ἐπιστήμης α'.  
 Περὶ ἀρχῆς α'.  
 Διαιρέσεις ιζ'.  
 Διαιρητικὸν<sup>1</sup> α'.  
 <Περὶ> ἐρωτήσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως α' β'.  
 Περὶ κινήσεως α'.  
 Προτάσεις α'.  
 Προτάσεις ἐριστικά α'.

<sup>1</sup> διαιρητικὸν Rose: -ῶν codd.

- On Pleasure, one book.  
 Alexander, or a Plea for Colonies, one book.  
 On Kingship, one book.  
 On Education, one book.  
 Of the Good, three books.  
 Extracts from Plato's Laws, three books.  
 Extracts from the Republic, two books.  
 Of Household Management, one book.  
 Of Friendship, one book.  
 On being or having been affected, one book.  
 Of Sciences, one book.  
 On Controversial Questions, two books.  
 Solutions of Controversial Questions, four books.  
 Sophistical Divisions, four books.  
 On Contraries, one book.  
 On Genera and Species, one book.  
 On Essential Attributes, one book.  
 Three note-books on Arguments for Purposes of Refutation.  
 Propositions concerning Virtue, two books.  
 Objections, one book.  
 On the Various Meanings of Terms or Expressions where a Determinant is added, one book.  
 Of Passions or of Anger, one book.  
 Five books of Ethics.  
 On Elements, three books.  
 Of Science, one book.  
 Of Logical Principle, one book.  
 Logical Divisions, seventeen books.  
 Concerning Division, one book.  
 On Dialectical Questioning and Answering, two books.  
 Of Motion, one book.  
 Propositions, one book.  
 Controversial Propositions, one book.



- Συλλογισμοὶ α'.
- Προτέρων ἀναλυτικῶν α' β' γ' δ' ε' ζ' η'.
- Ἀναλυτικῶν ὑστέρων μεγάλων α' β'.
- Περὶ προβλημάτων α'.
- Μεθοδικὰ α' β' γ' δ' ε' ζ' η'.
- Περὶ τοῦ βελτίονος α'.
- Περὶ τῆς ἰδέας α'.
- Ὅροι πρὸ τῶν τοπικῶν α' β' γ' δ' ε' ζ'.
- Συλλογισμῶν α' β'.
- 24 Συλλογιστικὸν καὶ ὅροι α'.
- Περὶ τοῦ αἰρετοῦ καὶ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος α'.
- Τὰ πρὸ τῶν τόπων α'.
- Τοπικῶν πρὸς τοὺς ὅρους α' β'.
- Πάθη α'.
- Διαιρετικὸν α'.
- Μαθηματικὸν α'.
- Ὅρισμοι γ'.
- Ἐπιχειρημάτων α' β'.
- Περὶ ἡδονῆς α'.
- Προτάσεις α'.
- Περὶ ἐκουσίου α'.
- Περὶ καλοῦ α'.
- Θέσεις ἐπιχειρηματικαὶ κε'.
- Θέσεις ἐρωτικαὶ δ'.
- Θέσεις φιλικαὶ β'.
- Θέσεις περὶ ψυχῆς α'.
- Πολιτικά β'.
- Πολιτικῆς ἀκροάσεως ὡς ἡ Θεοφράστου α' β' γ' δ' ε' ζ' η'.
- Περὶ δικαίων α' β'.
- Τεχνῶν συναγωγή α' β'.
- Τέχνης ῥητορικῆς α' β'.
- Τέχνη α'.

<sup>1</sup> <Θέσεις> πολιτικά<> Rose: Πολιτικά codd.

- Syllogisms, one book.
- Eight books of Prior Analytics.
- Two books of Greater Posterior Analytics.
- Of Problems, one book.
- Eight books of Methodics.
- Of the Greater Good, one book.
- On the Idea, one book.
- Definitions prefixed to the Topics, seven books.
- Two books of Syllogisms.
- Concerning Syllogism with Definitions, one book.
- Of the Desirable and the Contingent, one book.
- Preface to Commonplaces, one book.
- Two books of Topics criticizing the Definitions.
- Affections or Qualities, one book.
- Concerning Logical Division, one book.
- Concerning Mathematics, one book.
- Definitions, thirteen books.
- Two books of Refutations.
- Of Pleasure, one book.
- Propositions, one book.
- On the Voluntary, one book.
- On the Beautiful, one book.
- Theses for Refutation, twenty-five books.
- Theses concerning Love, four books.
- Theses concerning Friendship, two books.
- Theses concerning the Soul, one book.
- Politics, two books.
- Eight books of a course of lectures on Politics like that of Theophrastus.
- Of Just Actions, two books.
- A Collection of Arts [that is, Handbooks], two books.
- Two books of the Art of Rhetoric.
- Art, a Handbook, one book.

- Ἀλλης τεχνῶν συναγωγῆς α' β'.  
 Μεθοδικὸν α'.  
 Τέχνης τῆς Θεοδέκτου συναγωγῇ α'.  
 Πραγματεία τέχνης ποιητικῆς α' β'.  
 Ἐνθυμήματα ῥητορικὰ α'.  
 Περὶ μεγέθους α'.  
 Ἐνθυμημάτων διαιρέσεις α'.  
 Περὶ λέξεως α' β'.  
 Περὶ συμβουλίας α'.  
 25 Συναγωγῆς α' β'.  
 Περὶ φύσεως α' β' γ'.  
 Φυσικὸν α'.  
 Περὶ τῆς Ἀρχυτείου φιλοσοφίας α' β' γ'.  
 Περὶ τῆς Σπενσιππου καὶ Ξενοκράτους α'.  
 Τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Τιμαίου καὶ τῶν Ἀρχυτείων α'.  
 Πρὸς τὰ Μελίσσου α'.  
 Πρὸς τὰ Ἀλκμαίωνος α'.  
 Πρὸς τοὺς Πυθαγορείους α'.  
 Πρὸς τὰ Γοργίου α'.  
 Πρὸς τὰ Ξενοφάνους α'.  
 Πρὸς τὰ Ζήνωνος α'.  
 Περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων α'.  
 Περὶ ζώων α' β' γ' δ' ε' ζ' η' θ'.  
 Ἀνατομῶν α' β' γ' δ' ε' ζ' η'.  
 Ἐκλογὴ ἀνατομῶν α'.  
 Ὑπὲρ τῶν συνθέτων ζώων α'.  
 Ὑπὲρ τῶν μυθολογοιμένων ζώων α'.  
 Ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γεννᾶν α'.  
 Περὶ φυτῶν α' β'.  
 Φυσιογνῶμονικὸν α'.

\* Περὶ μεγέθους, between two books on Enthymemes, must be on Degree, the topic of μάλλον καὶ ἥττον (§ 60). "Degree" is Cope's term (see his *Introduction to Aristotle's Rhetoric*, p. 129, where he cites Aristotle's own distinctions in *Rhetoric*, ii. cc. 18, 19).

- Another Collection of Handbooks, two books.  
 Concerning Method, one book.  
 Compendium of the "Art" of Theodectes, one book.  
 A Treatise on the Art of Poetry, two books.  
 Rhetorical Enthymemes, one book.  
 Of Degree,<sup>a</sup> one book.  
 Divisions of Enthymemes, one book.  
 On Diction, two books.  
 Of Taking Counsel, one book.  
 A Collection or Compendium, two books.  
 On Nature, three books.  
 Concerning Nature, one book.  
 On the Philosophy of Archytas, three books.  
 On the Philosophy of Speusippus and Xenocrates, one book.  
 Extracts from the *Timaeus* and from the Works of Archytas, one book.  
 A Reply to the Writings of Melissus, one book.  
 A Reply to the Writings of Alcmaeon, one book.  
 A Reply to the Pythagoreans, one book.  
 A Reply to the Writings of Gorgias, one book.  
 A Reply to the Writings of Xenophanes, one book.  
 A Reply to the Writings of Zeno, one book.  
 On the Pythagoreans, one book.  
 On Animals, nine books.  
 Eight books of Dissections.  
 A selection of Dissections, one book.  
 On Composite Animals, one book.  
 On the Animals of Fable, one book.  
 On Sterility, one book.  
 On Plants, two books.  
 Concerning Physiognomy, one book.

- Ἰατρικὰ β'.  
 Περὶ μονάδος α'.  
 26 Σημεῖα χειμῶνων α'.  
 Ἀστρονομικὸν α'.  
 Ὀπτικὸν α'.  
 Περὶ κινήσεως α'.  
 Περὶ μουσικῆς α'.  
 Μνημονικὸν α'.  
 Ἀπορημάτων Ὀμηρικῶν α' β' γ' δ' ε' ζ'.  
 Ποιητικὰ α'.  
 Φυσικῶν κατὰ στοιχεῖον λη'.  
 Ἐπιτεθεαμένων προβλημάτων α' β'.  
 Ἐγκυκλίων α' β'.  
 Μηχανικὸν α'.  
 Προβλήματα ἐκ τῶν Δημοκρίτου β'.  
 Περὶ τῆς λίθου α'.  
 Παραβολαὶ α'.  
 Ἀτακτα ιβ'.  
 Ἐξηγημένα κατὰ γένος ιδ'.  
 Δικαιώματα α'.  
 Ὀλυμπιονίκαι α'.  
 Πυθιονίκαι <α'.  
 Περὶ μουσικῆς α'.  
 Πυθικὸς α'.  
 Πυθιονικῶν ἔλεγχος α'.  
 Νίκαι Διονυσιακαὶ α'.  
 Περὶ τραγωδιῶν α'.  
 Διδασκαλίαι α'.  
 Παροιμίαι α'.  
 Νόμοι συσσιτικοὶ α'.  
 Νόμων α' β' γ' δ'.  
 Κατηγοριῶν α'.

<sup>1</sup> νόμος συστατικὸς codd.: corr. Rose.

- Two books concerning Medicine.  
 On the Unit, one book.  
 Prognostics of Storms, one book.  
 Concerning Astronomy, one book.  
 Concerning Optics, one book.  
 On Motion, one book.  
 On Music, one book.  
 Concerning Memory, one book.  
 Six books of Homeric Problems.  
 Poetics, one book.  
 Thirty-eight books of Physics according to the  
 lettering.  
 Two books of Problems which have been examined.  
 Two books of Routine Instruction.  
 Mechanics, one book.  
 Problems taken from the works of Democritus, two  
 books.  
 On the Magnet, one book.  
 Analogies, one book.  
 Miscellaneous Notes, twelve books.  
 Descriptions of Genera, fourteen books.  
 Claims advanced, one book.  
 Victors at Olympia, one book.  
 Victors at the Pythian Games, one book.  
 On Music, one book.  
 Concerning Delphi, one book.  
 Criticism of the List of Pythian Victors, one book.  
 Dramatic Victories at the Dionysia, one book.  
 Of Tragedies, one book.  
 Dramatic Records, one book.  
 Proverbs, one book.  
 Laws of the Mess-table, one book.  
 Four books of Laws.  
 Categories, one book.

Περὶ ἑρμηνείας α'.

27 Πολιτεῖαι πόλεων δυοῖν δεύσαι ρε' <κοιναι> καὶ ἴδιαι, δημοκρατικαί, ὀλιγαρχικαί, ἀριστοκρατικαί καὶ τυραννικαί.

Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς Φίλιππον.

Σηλυμβρίων ἐπιστολαί.

Πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιστολαὶ δ'.

Πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον θ'.

Πρὸς Μέντορα α'.

Πρὸς Ἀρίστων α'.

Πρὸς Ὀλυμπιάδα α'.

Πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνα α'.

Πρὸς Θεμισταγόραν α'.

Πρὸς Φιλόξενον α'.

Πρὸς Δημόκριτον α'.

Ἐπὶ ὧν ἀρχή, Ἄγνὲ θεῶν πρέσβισθ' ἑκατηβόλε.

Ἐλεγεία ὧν ἀρχή, Καλλιτέκνον μητρὸς θύγατερ.

Γίνονται αἱ πᾶσαι μυριάδες στίχων τέτταρες καὶ τετταράκοντα πρὸς τοῖς πεντακισχιλίοις καὶ διακοσίοις ἑβδομήκοντα.

28 Καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν αὐτῷ πεπραγμάτευται βιβλία. βούλεται δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς τάδε· διττόν εἶναι τὸν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λόγον, τὸν μὲν πρακτικόν, τὸν δὲ θεωρητικόν· καὶ τοῦ πρακτικοῦ τὸν τε ἡθικὸν καὶ πολιτικόν, οὗ τὰ τε περὶ πόλιν καὶ τὰ περὶ οἶκον ὑπογεγράφθαι· τοῦ δὲ θεωρητικοῦ τὸν τε φυσικὸν καὶ λογικόν, οὗ τὸ λογικὸν οὐχ ὀλομερῶς, ἀλλ' ὥς ὄργανον προσηκριβωμένον. καὶ τούτου διττοὺς ὑποθέμενος σκοποὺς τό τε πιθανόν καὶ τὸ ἀληθές διεσάφησε. δύο δὲ πρὸς ἑκάτερον δυνάμεσιν ἐχρήσατο, διαλεκτικῇ μὲν καὶ ῥητορικῇ πρὸς τὸ πιθα-

De Interpretatione, one book.

Constitutions of 158 Cities, in general and in particular, democratic, oligarchic, aristocratic, tyrannical.

Letters to Philip.

Letters of Selymbrians.

Letters to Alexander, four books.

Letters to Antipater, nine books.

To Mentor, one book.

To Ariston, one book.

To Olympias, one book.

To Hephaestion, one book.

To Themistagoras, one book.

To Philoxenus, one book.

In reply to Democritus, one book.

Verses beginning Ἄγνὲ θεῶν πρέσβισθ' ἑκατηβόλε ("Holy One and Chiefest of Gods, far-darting").

Elegiac verses beginning Καλλιτέκνον μητρὸς θύγατερ ("Daughter of a Mother blessed with fair offspring").

In all 445,270 lines.

Such is the number of the works written by him. And in them he puts forward the following views. There are two divisions of philosophy, the practical and the theoretical. The practical part includes ethics and politics, and in the latter not only the doctrine of the state but also that of the household is sketched. The theoretical part includes physics and logic, although logic is not an independent science, but is elaborated as an instrument to the rest of science. And he clearly laid down that it has a twofold aim, probability and truth. For each of these he employed two faculties, dialectic and rhetoric where probability is aimed at, analytic and

νόν, ἀναλυτικὴ δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφία πρὸς τὸ ἀληθές· οὐδὲν ὑπολειπόμενος οὔτε τῶν πρὸς εὔρεσιν, οὔτε  
 29 τῶν πρὸς κρίσιν, οὔτε μὴν τῶν πρὸς χρῆσιν. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὴν εὔρεσιν τὰ τε Τοπικὰ καὶ Μεθοδικὰ παρέδωκε προτάσεων πλήθος, ἐξ ὧν πρὸς τὰ προβλήματα πιθανῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων οἷόν τε εὐπορεῖν· πρὸς δὲ τὴν κρίσιν τὰ Ἀναλυτικὰ πρότερα καὶ ὕστερα. διὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν προτέρων τὰ λήμματα κρίνεται, διὰ δὲ τῶν ὑστέρων ἡ συναγωγὴ ἐξετάζεται. πρὸς δὲ τὴν χρῆσιν τὰ τε ἀγωνιστικά καὶ τὰ περὶ ἐρωτήσεως [ἐριστικά τε] καὶ σοφιστικῶν ἐλέγχων τε καὶ συλλογισμῶν καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων τούτοις. κριτήριον δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας τῶν μὲν κατὰ φαντασίαν ἐνεργημάτων τὴν αἰσθησιν ἀπεφάνετο· τῶν δὲ ἠθικῶν, τῶν περὶ πόλιν καὶ περὶ οἶκον καὶ περὶ νόμους τὸν νοῦν.

30 Τέλος δὲ ἐν ἐξέθετο χρῆσιν ἀρετῆς ἐν βίῳ τελείῳ. ἔφη δὲ καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν συμπλήρωμα ἐκ τριῶν ἀγαθῶν εἶναι· τῶν περὶ ψυχὴν, ἃ δὴ καὶ πρῶτα τῇ δυνάμει καλεῖ· ἐκ δευτέρων δὲ τῶν περὶ σῶμα, ὑγείας καὶ ἰσχύος καὶ κάλλους καὶ τῶν παραπλησιῶν· ἐκ τρίτων δὲ τῶν ἐκτός, πλούτου καὶ εὐγενείας καὶ δόξης καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων. τὴν τε ἀρετὴν μὴ εἶναι αὐτάρκη πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν· προσδεῖσθαι γὰρ τῶν τε περὶ σῶμα καὶ τῶν ἐκτός ἀγαθῶν, ὥς κακοδαιμονήσοντος τοῦ σοφοῦ, κἂν ἐν πόνοις ἢ κἂν ἐν πενίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις. τὴν μέντοι κακίαν αὐτάρκη πρὸς κακοδαιμονίαν, κἂν ὅτι μάλιστα παρῇ αὐτῇ τὰ ἐκτός ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ  
 31 περὶ σῶμα. τὰς τ' ἀρετὰς ἔφη μὴ ἀντακολουθεῖν ἐνδέχεσθαι γὰρ φρόνιμόν τινα καὶ ὁμοίως δίκαιον

philosophy where the end is truth; he neglects nothing which makes either for discovery or for judgement or for utility. As making for discovery he left in the *Topics* and *Methodics* a number of propositions, whereby the student can be well supplied with probable arguments for the solution of problems. As an aid to judgement he left the *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*. By the *Prior Analytics* the premisses are judged, by the *Posterior* the process of inference is tested. For practical use there are the precepts on controversy and the works dealing with question and answer, with sophistical fallacies, syllogisms and the like. The test of truth which he put forward was sensation in the sphere of objects actually presented, but in the sphere of morals dealing with the state, the household and the laws, it was reason.

The one ethical end he held to be the exercise of virtue in a completed life. And happiness he maintained to be made up of goods of three sorts: goods of the soul, which indeed he designates as of the highest value; in the second place bodily goods, health and strength, beauty and the like; and thirdly external goods, such as wealth, good birth, reputation and the like. And he regarded virtue as not of itself sufficient to ensure happiness; bodily goods and external goods were also necessary, for the wise man would be miserable if he lived in the midst of pains, poverty, and similar circumstances. Vice, however, is sufficient in itself to secure misery, even if it be ever so abundantly furnished with corporeal and external goods. He held that the virtues are not mutually interdependent. For a man might be prudent, or again just, and at the same

ὄντα ἀκόλαστον καὶ ἀκρατῇ εἶναι. ἔφη δὲ τὸν σοφὸν ἀπαθῆ μὲν μὴ εἶναι, μετριοπαθῇ δέ.

Τὴν τε φιλίαν ὠρίζετο ἰσότητα εὐνοίας ἀντιστρόφου· ταύτης δὲ τὴν μὲν εἶναι συγγενικὴν, τὴν δὲ ἐρωτικὴν, τὴν δὲ ξενικὴν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα μὴ μόνον συνουσίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοσοφίας. καὶ ἐρασθήσεσθαι δὲ τὸν σοφὸν καὶ πολιτεύσεσθαι, γαμήσειν τε μὴν καὶ βασιλεῖ συμβιώσεσθαι. βίων τε τριῶν ὄντων, θεωρητικοῦ, πρακτικοῦ, ἡδονικοῦ, τὸν θεωρητικὸν προέκρινεν. εὐχρηστα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα πρὸς ἀρετῆς ἀνάληψιν.

- 82 Ἐν τε τοῖς φυσικοῖς αἰτιολογικώτατος πάντων ἐγένετο μάλιστα, ὥστε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐλαχίστων τὰς αἰτίας ἀποδιδόναι· διόπερ καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγα βιβλία συνέγραψε φυσικῶν ὑπομνημάτων. τὸν δὲ θεὸν ἀσώματον ἀπέφαινε, καθὰ καὶ ὁ Πλάτων. διατείνειν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν πρόνοιαν μέχρι τῶν οὐρανίων καὶ εἶναι ἀκίνητον αὐτόν· τὰ δ' ἐπίγεια κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ταῦτα συμπάθειαν οἰκονομεῖσθαι. εἶναι δὲ παρὰ τὰ τέτταρα στοιχεῖα καὶ ἄλλο πέμπτον, ἐξ οὗ τὰ αἰθέρια συνεστάναι. ἄλλοιαν δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν κίνησιν εἶναι κυκλοφορητικὴν γάρ. καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν δὲ ἀσώματον, ἐντελέχειαν οὖσαν τὴν πρώτην σώματος [γὰρ] φυσικοῦ καὶ ὀργανικοῦ δυνάμει
- 83 ζῶν ἔχοντος. λέγει δ' ἐντελέχειαν, ἥς ἐστὶν εἶδος τι ἀσώματον· διττῇ δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη κατ' αὐτόν.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> διττῇ . . . αὐτόν ante λέγει δ' vulg.

\* Cf. *supra*, iii. 81. and Aristotle, *Rhet.* ii. 4 § 28, 1381 b 33

<sup>b</sup> *De anima*, ii. 1, 412 a 27.

time profligate and unable to control his passions. He said too that the wise man was not exempt from all passions, but indulged them in moderation.

He defined friendship as an equality of reciprocal good-will, including under the term as one species the friendship of kinsmen, as another that of lovers, and as a third that of host and guest.<sup>a</sup> The end of love was not merely intercourse but also philosophy. According to him the wise man would fall in love and take part in politics; furthermore he would marry and reside at a king's court. Of three kinds of life, the contemplative, the practical, and the pleasure-loving life, he gave the preference to the contemplative. He held that the studies which make up the ordinary education are of service for the attainment of virtue.

In the sphere of natural science he surpassed all other philosophers in the investigation of causes, so that even the most insignificant phenomena were explained by him. Hence the unusual number of scientific notebooks which he compiled. Like Plato he held that God was incorporeal; that his providence extended to the heavenly bodies, that he is unmoved, and that earthly events are regulated by their affinity with them (the heavenly bodies). Besides the four elements he held that there is a fifth, of which the celestial bodies are composed. Its motion is of a different kind from that of the other elements, being circular. Further, he maintained the soul to be incorporeal, defining it as the first entelechy [i.e. realization] of a natural organic body potentially possessed of life.<sup>b</sup> By the term realization he means that which has an incorporeal form. This realization, according to him, is twofold.

ἡ μὲν κατὰ δύναμιν, ὡς ἐν τῷ κηρῷ ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐπιτηδεύοντα ἔχοντι ἐπιδέξασθαι τοὺς χαρακτῆρας, καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ χαλκῷ ἀνδριάς· καθ' ἕξιν δὲ λέγεται ἐντελέχεια ἡ τοῦ συντετελεσμένου Ἑρμοῦ ἢ ἀνδριάντος. σώματος δὲ φυσικοῦ, ἐπεὶ τῶν σωμάτων τὰ μὲν ἐστί χειρόκμητα, ὡς τὰ ὑπὸ τεχνιτῶν γινόμενα, οἷον πύργος, πλοῖον· τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ φύσεως, ὡς φυτὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν ζώων. ὀργανικοῦ δὲ εἶπε, τουτέστι πρὸς τι κατεσκευασμένου, ὡς ἡ ὄρασις πρὸς τὸ ὄραν καὶ ἡ ἀκοή πρὸς τὸ ἀκοῦν· δυνάμει δὲ ζῶν ἔχοντος, οἷον ἐν ἑαυτῷ.

34 Τὸ δυνάμει δὲ διττόν, ἢ καθ' ἕξιν ἢ κατ' ἐνέργειαν· κατ' ἐνέργειαν μὲν, ὡς ὁ ἐργηγορῶς λέγεται ψυχὴν ἔχειν· καθ' ἕξιν δ', ὡς ὁ καθεύδων. ἔν' οὖν καὶ οὗτος ὑποπίπτει, τὸ δυνάμει προσέθηκε.

Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα περὶ πολλῶν ἀπεφάνητο, ἅπερ μακρὸν ἂν εἴη καταριθμεῖσθαι. τοῖς γὰρ ὅλοις φιλοπονώτατος ἐγένετο καὶ εὐρετικώτατος, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῶν προγεγραμμένων συγγραμμάτων, ἃ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐγγὺς ἤκει τῶν τετρακοσίων, τὰ ὅσα γε ἀναμφίλεκτα· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφέρεται συγγράμματ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποφθέγματα, ἀγράφου φωνῆς εὐστοχήματα.

35 Γεγόνασι δὲ Ἀριστοτέλεις ὀκτώ· πρῶτος αὐτὸς οὗτος· δεύτερος ὁ πολιτευσάμενος Ἀθήνησιν· οὗ καὶ δικανικοὶ φέρονται λόγοι χαριέντες· τρίτος περὶ Ἰλιάδος πεπραγματευμένος· τέταρτος Σικελιώτης ῥήτωρ, πρὸς τὸν Ἰσοκράτους Πανηγυρικὸν ἀντιγεγραφώς· πέμπτος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Μῦθος, Αἰσχίνου τοῦ Σωκρατικοῦ γνώριμος· ἕκτος

\* Probably this is the Aristotle who appears in Plato's dialogue *Parmenides*.

Either it is potential, as that of Hermes in the wax, provided the wax be adapted to receive the proper mouldings, or as that of the statue implicit in the bronze; or again it is determinate, which is the case with the completed figure of Hermes or the finished statue. The soul is the realization "of a natural body," since bodies may be divided into (a) artificial bodies made by the hands of craftsmen, as a tower or a ship, and (b) natural bodies which are the work of nature, such as plants and the bodies of animals. And when he said "organic" he meant constructed as means to an end, as sight is adapted for seeing and the ear for hearing. Of a body "potentially possessed of life," that is, in itself.

There are two senses of "potential," one answering to a formed state and the other to its exercise in act. In the latter sense of the term he who is awake is said to have soul, in the former he who is asleep. It was then in order to include the sleeper that Aristotle added the word "potential."

He held many other opinions on a variety of subjects which it would be tedious to enumerate. For altogether his industry and invention were remarkable, as is shown by the catalogue of his writings given above, which come to nearly 400 in number, i.e. counting those only the genuineness of which is not disputed. For many other written works and pointed oral sayings are attributed to him.

There were in all eight Aristotles: (1) our philosopher himself; (2) an Athenian statesman,\* the author of graceful forensic speeches; (3) a scholar who commented on the *Iliad*; (4) a Sicilian rhetorician, who wrote a reply to the Panegyric of Isocrates; (5) a disciple of Aeschines the Socratic philosopher,

ἡ μὲν κατὰ δύναμιν, ὡς ἐν τῷ κηρῷ ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐπιτηδεύοντα ἔχοντι ἐπιδέξασθαι τοὺς χαρακτῆρας, καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ χαλκῷ ἀνδριάς· καθ' ἕξιν δὲ λέγεται ἐντελέχεια ἡ τοῦ συντετελεσμένου Ἑρμοῦ ἢ ἀνδριάντος. σώματος δὲ φυσικοῦ, ἐπεὶ τῶν σωμάτων τὰ μὲν ἐστί χειρόκμητα, ὡς τὰ ὑπὸ τεχνιτῶν γινόμενα, οἷον πύργος, πλοῖον· τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ φύσεως, ὡς φυτὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν ζώων. ὀργανικοῦ δὲ εἶπε, τουτέστι πρὸς τι κατεσκευασμένου, ὡς ἡ ὄρασις πρὸς τὸ ὁρᾶν καὶ ἡ ἀκοή πρὸς τὸ ἀκούειν· δυνάμει δὲ ζῶν ἔχοντος, οἷον ἐν ἑαυτῷ.

34 Τὸ δυνάμει δὲ διττόν, ἢ καθ' ἕξιν ἢ κατ' ἐνέργειαν· κατ' ἐνέργειαν μὲν, ὡς ὁ ἐργηγορῶς λέγεται ψυχὴν ἔχειν· καθ' ἕξιν δ', ὡς ὁ καθεύδων. ἔν' οὖν καὶ οὗτος ὑποπίπτει, τὸ δυνάμει προσέθηκε.

Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα περὶ πολλῶν ἀπεφάνητο, ἅπερ μακρὸν ἂν εἴη καταριθμεῖσθαι. τοῖς γὰρ ὅλοις φιλοπονώτατος ἐγένετο καὶ εὐρετικώτατος, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῶν προγεγραμμένων συγγραμμάτων, ἃ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐγγὺς ἤκει τῶν τετρακοσίων, τὰ ὅσα γε ἀναμφίλεκτα· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφέρεται συγγράμματα· αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποφθέγματα, ἀγράφου φωνῆς εὐστοχήματα.

35 Γεγόνασι δὲ Ἀριστοτέλεις ὀκτώ· πρῶτος αὐτὸς οὗτος· δεύτερος ὁ πολιτευσάμενος Ἀθήνησιν· οὗ καὶ δικανικοὶ φέρονται λόγοι χαρίεντες· τρίτος περὶ Ἰλιάδος πεπραγματευμένος· τέταρτος Σικελιώτης ῥήτωρ, πρὸς τὸν Ἰσοκράτους Πανηγυρικὸν ἀντιγεγραφώς· πέμπτος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Μῦθος, Αἰσχίνου τοῦ Σωκρατικοῦ γνώριμος· ἕκτος

Either it is potential, as that of Hermes in the wax, provided the wax be adapted to receive the proper mouldings, or as that of the statue implicit in the bronze; or again it is determinate, which is the case with the completed figure of Hermes or the finished statue. The soul is the realization "of a natural body," since bodies may be divided into (a) artificial bodies made by the hands of craftsmen, as a tower or a ship, and (b) natural bodies which are the work of nature, such as plants and the bodies of animals. And when he said "organic" he meant constructed as means to an end, as sight is adapted for seeing and the ear for hearing. Of a body "potentially possessed of life," that is, in itself.

There are two senses of "potential," one answering to a formed state and the other to its exercise in act. In the latter sense of the term he who is awake is said to have soul, in the former he who is asleep. It was then in order to include the sleeper that Aristotle added the word "potential."

He held many other opinions on a variety of subjects which it would be tedious to enumerate. For altogether his industry and invention were remarkable, as is shown by the catalogue of his writings given above, which come to nearly 400 in number, i.e. counting those only the genuineness of which is not disputed. For many other written works and pointed oral sayings are attributed to him.

There were in all eight Aristotles: (1) our philosopher himself; (2) an Athenian statesman,\* the author of graceful forensic speeches; (3) a scholar who commented on the *Iliad*; (4) a Sicilian rhetorician, who wrote a reply to the Panegyric of Isocrates; (5) a disciple of Aeschines the Socratic philosopher,

\* Probably this is the Aristotle who appears in Plato's dialogue *Parmenides*.



Κυρηναῖος, γεγραφὼς περὶ ποιητικῆς· ἔβδομος παιδοτρίβης, οὗ μέμνηται Ἀριστόξενος ἐν τῷ Πλάτωνος βίῳ· ὀγδοος, γραμματικὸς ἄσκημος, οὗ φέρεται τέχνη περὶ πλεονασμοῦ.

Τοῦ δὲ Σταγειρίτου γεγόνاسι μὲν πολλοὶ γνώριμοι, διαφέρων δὲ μάλιστα Θεόφραστος, περὶ οὗ λεκτέον.

Κεφ. β'. ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΣ

- 36 Θεόφραστος Μελάντα Ἐρέσιος κναφέως υἱός, ὡς φησιν Ἀθηνόδωρος ἐν ὀγδῷ Περιπάτων. οὗτος πρῶτον μὲν ἤκουσεν Ἀλκίππου τοῦ πολίτου ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, εἰτ' ἀκούσας Πλάτωνος μετέστη πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην· κάκεινον εἰς Χαλκίδα ὑποχώρησαντος αὐτὸς διεδέξατο τὴν σχολὴν Ὀλυμπιάδι τετάρτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ καὶ ἑκατοστῇ. φέρεται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δοῦλος φιλόσοφος ὄνομα Πομπύλος, καθά φησι Μυρωνιανὸς Ἀμαστριανὸς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ὁμοίων ἱστορικῶν κεφαλαίων. ὁ δὲ Θεόφραστος γέγονεν ἀνὴρ συνετώτατος καὶ φιλοπονύτατος καί, καθά φησι Παμφίλη ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Ὑπομνημάτων, διδάσκαλος
- 37 Μενάνδρου τοῦ κωμικοῦ· ἄλλως τε καὶ εὐεργητικὸς<sup>1</sup> καὶ φιλόλογος. Κάσανδρος γοῦν αὐτὸν ἀπεδέχετο καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ἔπεμψεν ἐπ' αὐτόν· τοσοῦτον δ' ἀποδοχῆς ἡξιούτο παρ' Ἀθηναίοις, ὥστ' Ἀγνωνίδης τολμήσας ἀσεβείας αὐτὸν γράψασθαι, μικροῦ καὶ προσώφην. ἀπήντων τ' εἰς τὴν διατριβὴν αὐτοῦ μαθηταὶ πρὸς δισχιλίους. οὗτος τὰ τ'

<sup>1</sup> εὐεργητικός R.

surnamed Myth ; (6) a native of Cyrene, who wrote upon the art of poetry ; (7) a trainer of boys, mentioned by Aristoxenus in his Life of Plato ; (8) an obscure grammarian, whose handbook *On Redundancy* is still extant.

Aristotle of Stagira had many disciples ; the most distinguished was Theophrastus, of whom we have next to speak.

CHAPTER 2. THEOPHRASTUS (c. 370-286 B.C.)  
(Head of the School from 323 B.C.)

Theophrastus was a native of Eresus, the son of Melantes, a fuller, as stated by Athenodorus in the eighth book of his *Walks*. He first heard his countryman Alcippus lecture in his native town and afterwards he heard Plato, whom he left for Aristotle. And when the latter withdrew to Chalcis he took over the school himself in the 114th Olympiad.<sup>a</sup> A slave of his named Pompylus is also said to have been a philosopher, according to Myronianus of Amastris in the first book of his *Historical Parallels*. Theophrastus was a man of remarkable intelligence and industry and, as Pamphila says in the thirty-second book of her *Memorabilia*, he taught Menander the comic poet. Furthermore, he was ever ready to do a kindness and fond of discussion. Casander certainly granted him audience and Ptolemy made overtures to him. And so highly was he valued at Athens that, when Agnonides ventured to prosecute him for impiety, the prosecutor himself narrowly escaped punishment. About 2000 pupils used to attend his lectures. In a letter to Phanius the

<sup>a</sup> 323 B.C.

ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ δικαστηρίου<sup>1</sup> τοιαῦτα διείλεκται ἐν τῇ πρὸς Φανίαν τὸν περιπατητικὸν ἐπιστολῇ. “οὐ γὰρ ὅτι πανήγυριν, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ συνέδριον ῥάδιον, οἷόν τις βούλεται, λαβεῖν· αἱ δ’ ἀναγνώσεις ποιοῦσιν ἐπανορθώσεις· τὸ δ’ ἀναβάλλεσθαι πάντα καὶ ἀμελεῖν οὐκέτι φέρουσιν αἱ ἡλικίαι.” ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ σχολαστικὸν ὠνόμακε.

38 Τοιοῦτος δ’ ὢν, ὅμως ἀπεδήμησε πρὸς ὀλίγον καὶ οὗτος καὶ πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ φιλόσοφοι, Σοφοκλέους τοῦ Ἀμφικλείδου νόμον εἰσενεγκόντος, μηδένα τῶν φιλοσόφων σχολῆς ἀφηγεῖσθαι, ἂν μὴ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δόξῃ· εἰ δὲ μὴ, θάνατον εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν. ἀλλ’ αὖθις ἐπανήλθον εἰς νέωτα, Φίλωνος τὸν Σοφοκλέα γραψαμένου παρὰ νόμον. ὅτε καὶ τὸν νόμον μὲν ἄκυρον ἐποίησαν Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν δὲ Σοφοκλέα πέντε ταλάντοις ἐζημίωσαν καθόδον τε τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἐψηφίσαντο, ἵνα καὶ Θεόφραστος κατέλθοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις εἴη. τοῦτον Τύρταμον λεγόμενον Θεόφραστον διὰ τὴν φράσεως θεσπέσιον Ἀριστοτέλης μετωνόμα-  
39 σεν· οὐ καὶ τοῦ υἱέος Νικομάχου φησὶν ἑρωτικῶς διατεθῆναι, καίπερ ὄντα διδάσκαλον, Ἀριστιππος ἐν τετάρτῳ Περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς. λέγεται δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Καλλισθένους τὸ ὅμοιον εἰπεῖν Ἀριστοτέλῃ, ὅπερ Πλάτωνα, καθὰ προεῖρηται, φασὶν εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τε Ξενοκράτους καὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου· φάναι γάρ, τοῦ μὲν Θεοφράστου καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν

<sup>1</sup> δικαστηρίου] διδασκαλίου Wyse; cf. Plut. Mor. 1108E: διδακτηρίου Apelt.

\* In the extract from the letter Theophrastus seems to be considering the best means of preparing for publication what he has to say, possibly in lecture, before the large class which, as we have just been informed, sometimes numbered

Peripatetic, among other topics, he speaks of a tribunal as follows: “To get a public or even a select circle such as one desires is not easy. If an author reads his work, he must re-write it. Always to shirk revision and ignore criticism is a course which the present generation of pupils will no longer tolerate.” And in this letter he has called some one “pedant.”

Although his reputation stood so high, nevertheless for a short time he had to leave the country with all the other philosophers, when Sophocles the son of Amphiclides proposed a law that no philosopher should preside over a school except by permission of the Senate and the people, under penalty of death. The next year, however, the philosophers returned, as Philo had prosecuted Sophocles for making an illegal proposal. Whereupon the Athenians repealed the law, fined Sophocles five talents, and voted the recall of the philosophers, in order that Theophrastus also might return and live there as before. He bore the name of Tyrtamus, and it was Aristotle who re-named him Theophrastus on account of his graceful style. And Aristippus, in his fourth book *On the Luxury of the Ancients*, asserts that he was enamoured of Aristotle's son Nicomachus, although he was his teacher. It is said that Aristotle applied to him and Callisthenes what Plato had said of Xenocrates and himself (as already related), namely, that the one needed a bridle and the other a goad; for Theophrastus interpreted all his meaning with 2000. It is difficult to see how this topic can have been worked into a letter on the law courts as such, and there is much to be said for Mr. Wyse's emendation διδασκαλίου. If this be accepted, the whole letter would be about means or subjects of instruction in lecture.

ὀξύτητος πᾶν τὸ νοηθὲν ἐξερμηνεύοντος, τοῦ δὲ  
 νωθροῦ τὴν φύσιν ὑπάρχοντος, ὡς τῷ μὲν χαλινοῦ  
 δέοι, τῷ δὲ κέντρον. λέγεται δ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἴδιον  
 κῆπον σχεῖν μετὰ τὴν Ἀριστοτέλους τελευτὴν,  
 Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως, ὃς ἦν καὶ γνώριμος  
 αὐτῷ, τοῦτο συμπράξαντος. φέρεται δ' αὐτοῦ  
 ἀποφθέγματα ταυτὶ χρεῖώδη· θάπτον ἔφη πιστεῦειν  
 40 δεῖν ἵππῳ ἀχαλίνῳ ἢ λόγῳ ἀσυντάκτῳ. πρὸς δὲ  
 τὸν ἐν τῷ συμπόσιῳ σιωπῶντα τὸ ὅλον ἔφη, "εἰ  
 μὲν ἀμαθὴς εἶ, φρονίμως ποιεῖς, εἰ δὲ πεπαιδευσαι,  
 ἀφρόνως." συνεχὲς τε ἔλεγε πολυτελὲς ἀνάλωμα  
 εἶναι τὸν χρόνον.

Ἐτελεύτα δὴ γηραιός, βιούς ἔτη πέντε καὶ  
 ὀγδοήκοντα, ἐπειδὴ περ ὀλίγον ἀνῆκε τῶν πόνων.  
 καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτόν·

οὐκ ἄρα τοῦτο μάταιον ἔπος μερόπων τινὶ λέχθη,  
 ῥήγνυσθαι σοφίης τόξον ἀνέμενον.  
 δὴ γὰρ καὶ Θεόφραστος ἕως ἐπὶ μὲν ἄπηρος  
 ἦν δέμας, εἰτ' ἀνεθεῖς κάθανε πηρομελής.

Φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν ἐρωτηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν μαθητῶν εἶ  
 τι ἐπισκῆπτει, εἰπεῖν, "ἐπισκῆπτειν μὲν ἔχειν  
 οὐδέν, πλὴν ὅτι πολλὰ τῶν ἡδῶν ὁ βίος διὰ τὴν  
 41 δόξαν καταλαζονεύεται. ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὁπότε ἄρχο-  
 μεθα ζῆν, τότε ἀποθνήσκομεν. οὐδέν οὖν ἀλυσι-  
 τελέστερόν ἐστι φιλοδοξίας. ἀλλ' εὐτυχεῖτε καὶ  
 ἤτοι τὸν λόγον ἀφετε—πολὺς γὰρ ὁ πόνος—ἢ  
 καλῶς αὐτοῦ πρόστητε· μεγάλη γὰρ ἡ δόξα. τὸ  
 δὲ κενὸν τοῦ βίου πλεόν τοῦ συμφέροντος. ἀλλ'  
 ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκέτ' ἐκποιεῖ βουλευέσθαι τί πρακτέον,  
 ὑμεῖς δ' ἐπισκέψασθε τί ποιητέον." ταῦτα, φασίν,

an excess of cleverness, whereas the other was  
 naturally backward. He is said to have become  
 the owner of a garden of his own after Aristotle's  
 death, through the intervention of his friend  
 Demetrius of Phalerum. There are pithy sayings of  
 his in circulation as follows: "An unbridled horse,"  
 he said, "ought to be trusted sooner than a  
 badly-arranged discourse." To some one who never  
 opened his lips at a banquet he remarked: "Yours  
 is a wise course for an ignoramus, but in an educated  
 man it is sheer folly." He used constantly to say  
 that in our expenditure the item that costs most is  
 time.

He died at the age of eighty-five, not long after  
 he had relinquished his labours. My verses upon  
 him are these <sup>a</sup>:

Not in vain was the word spoken to one of human kind,  
 "Slacken the bow of wisdom and it breaks." Of a truth, so  
 long as Theophrastus laboured he was sound of limb, but  
 when released from toil his limbs failed him and he died.

It is said that his disciples asked him if he had  
 any last message for them, to which he replied:  
 "Nothing else but this, that many of the pleasures  
 which life boasts are but in the seeming. For when  
 we are just beginning to live, lo! we die. Nothing  
 then is so unprofitable as the love of glory. Farewell,  
 and may you be happy. Either drop my doctrine,  
 which involves a world of labour, or stand forth its  
 worthy champions, for you will win great glory.  
 Life holds more disappointment than advantage.  
 But, as I can no longer discuss what we ought to do,  
 do you go on with the inquiry into right conduct."

<sup>a</sup> Anth. Pal. vii. 110.

εἰπὼν ἀπέπνευσε· καὶ αὐτόν, ὡς ὁ λόγος, Ἀθηναῖοι πανδημεὶ παρέπεμψαν ποσὶ, τὸν ἄνδρα τιμήσαντες. Φαβωρίνος δέ φησι γηράσαντα αὐτόν ἐν φορείῳ περιφέρεισθαι· καὶ τοῦτο λέγειν Ἑρμιππον, παρατιθέμενον ἱστορεῖν Ἀρκεσίλαον τὸν Πιταναῖον ἐν οἷς ἐφάσκε πρὸς Λακύνδην τὸν Κυρηναῖον.

42 Καταλέλοιπε δὲ βιβλία καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι μάλιστα ἀμπλειστα, ἃ καὶ αὐτὰ ἄξιον ἡγησάμην ὑπογράψαι διὰ τὸ πάσης ἀρετῆς πεπληρώσθαι. ἔστι δὲ τὰδε·

Ἀναλυτικῶν προτέρων α' β' γ'.

Ἀναλυτικῶν ὑστέρων α' β' γ' δ' ε' ς' ζ'.

Περὶ ἀναλύσεως συλλογισμῶν α'.

Ἀναλυτικῶν ἐπιτομὴ α'.

Ἀνηγμένων τόπων α' β'.

Ἀγωνιστικὸν τῆς περὶ τοὺς ἐριστικούς λόγους θεωρίας.

Περὶ αἰσθήσεων α'.

Πρὸς Ἀναξαγόραν α'.

Περὶ τῶν Ἀναξαγόρου α'.

Περὶ τῶν Ἀναξιμένης α'.

Περὶ τῶν Ἀρχελαοῦ α'.

Περὶ ἄλων, νίτρου, στυπτηρίας α'.

Περὶ τῶν λιθουμένων α' β'.

Περὶ τῶν ἀτόμων γραμμῶν α'.

Ἀκροάσεως α' β'.

Περὶ ἀνέμων α'.

Ἀρετῶν διαφοραὶ α'.

Περὶ βασιλείας α'.

Περὶ παιδείας βασιλέως α'.

Περὶ βίων α' β' γ'.

43 Περὶ γήρως α'.

Περὶ τῆς Δημοκρίτου ἀστρολογίας α'.

\* Cf. a similar statement about Bion, also attributed to Favorinus.

With these words, they say, he breathed his last. And according to the story all the Athenians, out of respect for the man, escorted his bier on foot. And Favorinus tells that he had in his old age to be carried about in a litter<sup>a</sup>; and this he says on the authority of Hermippus, whose account is taken from a remark of Arcesilaus of Pitane to Lacydes of Cyrene.

He too has left a very large number of writings. I think it right to catalogue them also because they abound in excellence of every kind. They are as follows:

Three books of Prior Analytics.

Seven books of Posterior Analytics.

On the Analysis of Syllogisms, one book.

Epitome of Analytics, one book.

Two books of Classified Topics.

Polemical discussion on the Theory of Eristic Argument.

Of the Senses, one book.

A Reply to Anaxagoras, one book.

On the Writings of Anaxagoras, one book.

On the Writings of Anaximenes, one book.

On the Writings of Archelaus, one book.

Of Salt, Nitre and Alum, one book.

Of Petrifications, two books.

On Indivisible Lines, one book.

Two books of Lectures.

Of the Winds, one book.

Characteristics of Virtues, one book.

Of Kingship, one book.

Of the Education of Kings, one book.

Of Various Schemes of Life, three books.

Of Old Age, one book.

On the Astronomy of Democritus, one book.

Τῆς μεταρσιολοσχίας α'.  
 Περὶ τῶν εἰδώλων α'.  
 Περὶ χυμῶν, χροῶν, σαρκῶν α'.  
 Περὶ τοῦ διακόσμου α'.  
 Περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων α'.  
 Τῶν Διογένους συναγωγῇ α'.  
 Διορισμῶν α' β' γ'.  
 Ἑρωτικὸς α'.  
 Ἄλλο περὶ ἔρωτος α'.  
 Περὶ εὐδαιμονίας α'.  
 Περὶ εἰδῶν α' β'.  
 Περὶ ἐπιλήψεως α'.  
 Περὶ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ α'.  
 Περὶ Ἑμπεδοκλέους α'.  
 Ἐπιχειρημάτων α' β' γ' δ' ε' ζ' η' θ' ι' ια' ιβ'  
 ιγ' ιδ' ιε' ις' ιζ' ιη'.  
 Ἐνοτάσεων α' β' γ'.  
 Περὶ ἐκουσίου α'.  
 Ἐπιτομὴ τῆς Πλάτωνος Πολιτείας α' β'.  
 Περὶ ἑτεροφωνίας ζῶν τῶν ὁμογενῶν α'.  
 Περὶ τῶν ἀθρόων φαινομένων α'.  
 Περὶ δακτύων καὶ βλητικῶν α'.  
 Περὶ τῶν ζῶν ὅσα λέγεται φθονεῖν α'.  
 Περὶ τῶν ἐν ξηρῷ διαμενόντων α'.  
 44 Περὶ τῶν τὰς χροῶς μεταβαλλόντων α'.  
 Περὶ τῶν φωλευόντων α'.  
 Περὶ ζῶν α' β' γ' δ' ε' ζ'.  
 Περὶ ἡδονῆς ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης α'.  
 Περὶ ἡδονῆς ἄλλο α'.  
 Θέσεις κδ'.  
 Περὶ θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ α'.  
 Περὶ ἰλίγγων καὶ σκοτισσεων α'.  
 Περὶ ἰδρώτων α'.

On Meteorology, one book.  
 On Visual Images or Emanations, one book.  
 On Flavours, Colours and Flesh, one book.  
 Of the Order of the World, one book.  
 Of Mankind, one book.  
 Compendium of the Writings of Diogenes, one book.  
 Three books of Definitions.  
 Concerning Love, one book.  
 Another Treatise on Love, one book.  
 Of Happiness, one book.  
 On Species or Forms, two books.  
 On Epilepsy, one book.  
 On Frenzy, one book.  
 Concerning Empedocles, one book.  
 Eighteen books of Refutative Arguments.  
 Three books of Polemical Objections.  
 Of the Voluntary, one book.  
 Epitome of Plato's Republic, two books.  
 On the Diversity of Sounds uttered by Animals of  
 the same Species, one book.  
 Of Sudden Appearances, one book.  
 Of Animals which bite or gore, one book.  
 Of Animals reputed to be spiteful, one book.  
 Of the Animals which are confined to Dry Land, one  
 book.  
 Of those which change their Colours, one book.  
 Of Animals that burrow, one book.  
 Of Animals, seven books.  
 Of Pleasure according to Aristotle, one book.  
 Another treatise on Pleasure, one book.  
 Theses, twenty-four books.  
 On Hot and Cold, one book.  
 On Vertigo and Dizziness, one book.  
 On Sweating Sickness, one book.

- Περὶ καταφάσεως καὶ ἀποφάσεως α'.
- Καλλισθένης ἢ περὶ πένθους α'.
- Περὶ κόπων α'.
- Περὶ κινήσεως α' β' γ'.
- Περὶ λίθων α'.
- Περὶ λοιμῶν α'.
- Περὶ λιποψυχίας α'.
- Μεγαρικὸς α'.
- Περὶ μελαγχολίας α'.
- Περὶ μετάλλων α' β'.
- Περὶ μέλιτος α'.
- Περὶ τῶν Μητροδῶρου συναγωγῆς α'.
- Μεταρσιολογικῶν α' β'.
- Περὶ μέθης α'.
- Νόμων κατὰ στοιχείον κδ'.
- Νόμων ἐπιτομῆς α' β' γ' δ' ε' ς' ζ' η' θ' ι'.
- 45 Πρὸς τοὺς ὀρισμοὺς α'.
- Περὶ ὁδμῶν α'.
- Περὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου.
- Πρῶτων προτάσεων α' β' γ' δ' ε' ς' ζ' η' θ' ι' ια' ιβ' ιγ' ιδ' ιε' ις' ιζ' ιη'.
- Νομοθετῶν α' β' γ'.
- Πολιτικῶν α' β' γ' δ' ε' ς'.
- Πολιτικὸν πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς α' β' γ' δ'.
- Πολιτικῶν ἐθῶν α' β' γ' δ'.
- Περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας α'.
- Προβλημάτων συναγωγῆς α' β' γ' δ' ε'.
- Περὶ παροιμιῶν α'.
- Περὶ πῆξεων καὶ τήξεων α'.
- Περὶ πυρὸς α' β'.
- Περὶ πνευμάτων α'.
- Περὶ παραλύσεως α'.

- On Affirmation and Negation, one book.
- Callisthenes, or On Bereavement, one book.
- On Fatigues, one book.
- On Motion, three books.
- On Precious Stones, one book.
- On Pestilences, one book.
- On Fainting, one book.
- Megarian Treatise, one book.
- Of Melancholy, one book.
- On Mines, two books.
- On Honey, one book.
- Compendium on the Doctrines of Metrodorus, one book.
- Two books of Meteorology.
- On Intoxication, one book.
- Twenty-four books of Laws distinguished by the letters of the alphabet.
- Ten books of an Epitome of Laws.
- Remarks upon Definitions, one book.
- On Smells, one book.
- On Wine and Oil.
- Introduction to Propositions, eighteen books.
- Of Legislators, three books.
- Of Politics, six books.
- A Political Treatise dealing with important Crises, four books.
- Of Social Customs, four books.
- Of the Best Constitution, one book.
- A Collection of Problems, five books.
- On Proverbs, one book.
- On Coagulation and Liquefaction, one book.
- On Fire, two books.
- On Winds, one book.
- Of Paralysis, one book.

Περὶ πνιγμοῦ α'.  
 Περὶ παραφροσύνης α'.  
 Περὶ παθῶν α'.  
 Περὶ σημείων α'.  
 Σοφισμάτων α' β'.  
 Περὶ συλλογισμῶν λίσσεως α'.  
 Τοπικῶν α' β'.  
 Περὶ τιμωρίας α' β'.  
 Περὶ τριχῶν α'.  
 Περὶ τυραννίδος α'.  
 Περὶ ὕδατος α' β' γ'.  
 Περὶ ὕπνου καὶ ἐνυπνίων α'.  
 Περὶ φιλίας α' β' γ'.  
 Περὶ φιλοτιμίας α' β'.  
 48 Περὶ φύσεως α' β' γ' δ' ε' ς' ζ' η' θ' ι' ια' ιβ' ιγ' ιδ' ιε' ις' ιζ' ιη'.  
 Περὶ φυσικῶν ἐπιτομῆς α' β'.  
 Φυσικῶν α' β' γ' δ' ε' ς' ζ' η'.  
 Πρὸς τοὺς φυσικοὺς α'.  
 Περὶ φυτικῶν ἱστοριῶν α' β' γ' δ' ε' ς' ζ' η' θ' ι'.  
 Φυτικῶν αἰτιῶν α' β' γ' δ' ε' ς' ζ' η'.  
 Περὶ χυλῶν α' β' γ' δ' ε'.  
 Περὶ ψεύδους ἡδονῆς α'.  
 Περὶ ψυχῆς θέσεις μία.  
 Περὶ τῶν ἀτέχνων πίστειν α'.  
 Περὶ τῶν ἀπλῶν διαπορημάτων α'.  
 Ἀρμονικῶν α'.  
 Περὶ ἀρετῆς α'.  
 Ἀφορμαὶ ἢ ἐναντιώσεις α'.  
 Περὶ ἀποφάσεων α'.  
 Περὶ γνώμης α'.  
 Περὶ γελοίου α'.  
 Δειλινῶν α' β'.

Of Suffocation, one book.  
 Of Mental Derangement, one book.  
 On the Passions, one book.  
 On Symptoms, one book.  
 Two books of Sophisms.  
 On the solution of Syllogisms, one book.  
 Two books of Topics.  
 Of Punishment, two books.  
 On Hair, one book.  
 Of Tyranny, one book.  
 On Water, three books.  
 On Sleep and Dreams, one book.  
 Of Friendship, three books.  
 Of Ambition, two books.  
 On Nature, three books.  
 On Physics, eighteen books.  
 An Epitome of Physics, two books.  
 Eight books of Physics.  
 A Reply to the Physical Philosophers, one book.  
 Of Botanical Researches, ten books.  
 Of Botanical Causes, eight books.  
 On Juices, five books.  
 Of False Pleasure, one book.  
 One Dissertation on the Soul.  
 On Unscientific Proofs, one book.  
 On Simple Problems, one book.  
 Harmonics, one book.  
 Of Virtue, one book.  
 Materials for Argument, or Contrarieties, one book.  
 On Negation, one book.  
 On Judgement, one book.  
 Of the Ludicrous, one book.  
 Afternoon Essays, two books.

Διαιρέσεις α' β'.  
 Περὶ τῶν διαφορῶν α'.  
 Περὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων α'.  
 Περὶ διαβολῆς α'.  
 Περὶ ἐπαίνου α'.  
 Περὶ ἐμπειρίας α'.  
 Ἐπιστολῶν α' β' γ'.  
 Περὶ τῶν αὐτομάτων ζῴων α'.  
 Περὶ ἐκκρίσεως α'.  
 47 Ἐγκώμια θεῶν α'.  
 Περὶ ἐορτῶν α'.  
 Περὶ εὐτυχίας α'.  
 Περὶ ἐνθυμημάτων α'.  
 Περὶ εὐρημάτων α' β'.  
 Ἠθικῶν σχολῶν α'.  
 Ἠθικοὶ χαρακτήρες α'.  
 Περὶ θορύβου α'.  
 Περὶ ἱστορίας α'.  
 Περὶ κρίσεως συλλογισμῶν α'.  
 Περὶ κολακείας α'.  
 Περὶ θαλάττης α'.  
 Πρὸς Κάσανδρον περὶ βασιλείας α'.  
 Περὶ κωμῳδίας α'.  
 [Περὶ μέτρων α']  
 Περὶ λέξεως α'.  
 Λόγων συναγωγὴ α'.  
 Λύσεις α'.  
 Περὶ μουσικῆς α' β' γ'.  
 Περὶ μέτρων α'.  
 Μεγακλῆς α'.  
 Περὶ νόμων α'.  
 Περὶ παρανόμων α'.  
 Τῶν Ξενοκράτους συναγωγῆς α'.

Divisions, two books.  
 On Differences, one book.  
 On Crimes, one book.  
 On Calumny, one book.  
 Of Praise, one book.  
 Of Experience, one book.  
 Three books of Letters.  
 On Animals produced spontaneously, one book.  
 Of Secretion, one book.  
 Panegyrics on the Gods, one book.  
 On Festivals, one book.  
 Of Good Fortune, one book.  
 On Enthymemes, one book.  
 Of Discoveries, two books.  
 Lectures on Ethics, one book.  
 Character Sketches, one book.  
 On Tumult or Riot, one book.  
 On Research, one book.  
 On Judging of Syllogisms, one book.  
 Of Flattery, one book.  
 Of the Sea, one book.  
 To Casander on Kingship, one book.  
 Of Comedy, one book.  
 [Of Metres, one book.]  
 Of Diction, one book.  
 A Compendium of Arguments, one book.  
 Solutions, one book.  
 On Music, three books.  
 On Measures, one book.  
 Megacles, one book.  
 On Laws, one book.  
 On Illegalities, one book.  
 A Compendium of the Writings of Xenocrates, one book.



- Ὀμιλητικὸς α'.
- Περὶ ὅρκου α'.
- Παραγγέλματα ῥητορικῆς α'.
- Περὶ πλούτου α'.
- Περὶ ποιητικῆς α'.
- Προβλήματα πολιτικά, ἠθικά, φυσικά, ἐρωτικά α'.
- 48 Προουμιῶν α'.
- Προβλημάτων συναγωγῆς α'.
- Περὶ τῶν προβλημάτων φυσικῶν α'.
- Περὶ παραδείγματος α'.
- Περὶ προθέσεως καὶ διηγήματος α'.
- Περὶ ποιητικῆς ἄλλο α'.
- Περὶ τῶν σοφῶν α'.
- Περὶ συμβουλῆς α'.
- Περὶ σολοικισμῶν α'.
- Περὶ τέχνης ῥητορικῆς α'.
- Περὶ τεχνῶν ῥητορικῶν εἶδη ιζ'.
- Περὶ ὑποκρίσεως α'.
- Ὑπομνημάτων Ἀριστοτελικῶν ἢ Θεοφραστείων α' β' γ' δ' ε' ζ'.
- Φυσικῶν δοξῶν α' β' γ' δ' ε' ζ' η' θ' ι' ια' ιβ' ιγ' ιδ' ιε' ις'.
- Φυσικῶν [δοξῶν] ἐπιτομῆς α'.
- Περὶ χάριτος α'.
- [Χαρακτήρες ἠθικοί.]
- Περὶ ψεύδους καὶ ἀληθοῦς α'.
- Τῶν περὶ τὰ θεῶν ἱστορίας α' β' γ' δ' ε' ζ'.
- Περὶ θεῶν α' β' γ'.
- Ἱστορικῶν γεωμετρικῶν α' β' γ' δ'.
- 49 Ἐπιτομῶν Ἀριστοτέλους περὶ ζῶων α' β' γ' δ' ε' ζ'.
- Ἐπιχειρημάτων α' β'.
- Θέσεις γ'.
- Περὶ βασιλείας α' β'.
- Περὶ αἰτιῶν α'.

- Concerning Conversation, one book.
- On Taking an Oath, one book.
- Rhetorical Precepts, one book.
- Of Wealth, one book.
- On the Art of Poetry, one book.
- Problems in Politics, Ethics, Physics, and in the Art of Love, one book.
- Preludes, one book.
- A Collection of Problems, one book.
- On Physical Problems, one book.
- On Example, one book.
- On Introduction and Narrative, one book.
- Another tract on the Art of Poetry, one book.
- Of the Wise, one book.
- On Consultation, one book.
- On Solecisms, one book.
- On the Art of Rhetoric, one book.
- The Special Commonplaces of the Treatises on Rhetoric, seventeen books.
- On Acting, one book.
- Lecture Notes of Aristotle or Theophrastus, six books.
- Sixteen books of Physical Opinions.
- Epitome of Physical Opinions, one book.
- On Gratitude, one book.
- [Character Sketches, one book.]
- On Truth and Falsehood, one book.
- The History of Theological Inquiry, six books.
- Of the Gods, three books.
- Geometrical Researches, four books.
- Epitomes of Aristotle's work on Animals, six books.
- Two books of Refutative Arguments.
- Theses, three books.
- Of Kingship, two books.
- Of Causes, one book.

- Περὶ Δημοκρίτου α'.  
 [Περὶ διαβολῆς α'.]  
 Περὶ γενέσεως α'.  
 Περὶ ζώων φρονήσεως καὶ ἠθους α'.  
 Περὶ κινήσεως α' β'.  
 Περὶ ὄψεως α' β' γ' δ'.  
 Πρὸς ὄρους α' β'.  
 Περὶ τοῦ δεδοσθαι α'.  
 Περὶ μείζονος καὶ ἐλάττονος α'.  
 Περὶ τῶν μουσικῶν α'.  
 Περὶ τῆς θείας εὐδαιμονίας α'.  
 Πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ Ἀκαδημείας α'.  
 Προτρεπτικὸς α'.  
 Πῶς ἂν ἀριστα πόλεις οἰκοῖντο α'.  
 Τὰ ὑπομνήματα α'.  
 Περὶ ῥύακος τοῦ ἐν Σικελίᾳ α'.  
 Περὶ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων α'.  
 [Περὶ τῶν προβλημάτων φυσικῶν α'.  
 Τίνες οἱ τρόποι τοῦ ἐπίστασθαι α'.  
 Περὶ τοῦ ψευδομένου α' β' γ'.  
 50 Τὰ πρὸ τῶν τόπων α'.  
 Πρὸς Αἰσχύλον α'.  
 Ἀστρολογικῆς ἱστορίας α' β' γ' δ' ε' ζ'.  
 Ἀριθμητικῶν ἱστοριῶν περὶ αὐξήσεως α'.  
 Ἀκίχαρος α'.  
 Περὶ δικανικῶν λόγων α'.  
 [Περὶ διαβολῆς α'.]  
 Ἐπιστολαὶ αἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀστυκρέοντι, Φανίᾳ, Νικάνορι.  
 Περὶ εὐσεβείας α'.  
 Εὐιάδος α'.  
 Περὶ καιρῶν α' β'.  
 Περὶ οἰκείων λόγων α'.

- On Democritus, one book.  
 [Of Calumny, one book.]  
 Of Becoming, one book.  
 Of the Intelligence and Character of Animals, one book.  
 On Motion, two books.  
 On Vision, four books.  
 Relating to Definitions, two books.  
 On Data, one book.  
 On Greater and Less, one book.  
 On the Musicians, one book.  
 Of the Happiness of the Gods, one book.  
 A Reply to the Academics, one book.  
 Exhortation to Philosophy, one book.  
 How States can best be governed, one book.  
 Lecture-Notes, one book.  
 On the Eruption in Sicily, one book.  
 On Things generally admitted, one book.  
 [On Problems in Physics, one book.]  
 What are the methods of attaining Knowledge, one book.  
 On the Fallacy known as the Liar, three books.  
 Prolegomena to Topics, one book.  
 Relating to Aeschylus, one book.  
 Astronomical Research, six books.  
 Arithmetical Researches on Growth, one book.  
 Acicharus, one book.  
 On Forensic Speeches, one book.  
 [Of Calumny, one book.]  
 Correspondence with Astycreon, Phanias and Nicanor.  
 Of Piety, one book.  
 Evias, one book.  
 On Times of Crisis, two books.  
 On Relevant Arguments, one book.

Περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς α'.

\* Ἄλλο διάφορον α'.

Περὶ παιδείας ἢ περὶ ἀρετῶν ἢ περὶ σωφροσύνης α'.

[Προτρεπτικὸς α'.]

Περὶ ἀριθμῶν α'.

\* Ὀριστικὰ περὶ λέξεως συλλογισμῶν α'.

Περὶ οὐρανοῦ α'.

Πολιτικοῦ α' β'.

Περὶ φύσεως.

Περὶ καρπῶν.

Περὶ ζώων.

“Α γίνονται στίχων Μ' κ' γ' Β' ω' ἡ' τοσαῦτα  
μὲν οὖν καὶ τῷδε τὰ βιβλία.  
51 Εὖρον δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ διαθήκας τοῦτον ἐχούσας τὸν  
τρόπον·

“Ἔσται μὲν εὖ· ἐὰν δέ τι συμβῇ, τάδε δια-  
τίθεται· τὰ μὲν οἴκοι ὑπάρχοντα πάντα δίδωμι  
Μελάντη καὶ Παγκρέοντι τοῖς υἱοῖς Λέοντος.  
ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν παρ' Ἰππάρχου συμβεβλημένων τάδε  
μοι βούλομαι γενέσθαι· πρῶτον μὲν τὰ περὶ τὸ  
μουσεῖον καὶ τὰς θεὰς συντελεσθῆναι καὶ τι ἄλλο  
ἰσχύη περὶ αὐτὰς ἐπικοσμηθῆναι πρὸς τὸ κάλλιον·  
ἐπειτα τὴν Ἀριστοτέλους εἰκόνα τεθῆναι εἰς τὸ  
ιερόν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀναθήματα ὅσα πρότερον  
ὑπῆρχεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ· εἴτα τὸ στωϊδίων οἰκοδομη-  
θῆναι τὸ πρὸς τῷ μουσεῖῳ μὴ χεῖρον ἢ πρότερον·

<sup>a</sup> i.e. at Eresus.

<sup>b</sup> Mentioned below, §§ 53, 54, 55, 66. We infer that he had been acting as trustee not only for Theophrastus but for the School, which in the eye of the law was a religious foundation.

<sup>c</sup> Evidently the Museum had suffered in some recent political troubles, perhaps the second siege of Athens by

On the Education of Children, one book.

Another treatise with the same title, one book.

Of Education or of the Virtues or of Temperance, one book.

[An Exhortation to Philosophy, one book.]

On Numbers, one book.

Definitions concerning the Diction of Syllogisms, one book.

Of the Heavens, one book.

Concerning Politics, two books.

On Nature.

On Fruits.

On Animals.

In all 232,808 lines. So much for his writings.

I have also come across his will, couched in the following terms:

“All will be well; but in case anything should happen, I make these dispositions. I give and bequeath all my property at home<sup>a</sup> to Melantes and Pancreon, the sons of Leon. It is my wish that out of the trust funds at the disposal of Hipparchus<sup>b</sup> the following appropriations should be made. First, they should be applied to finish the rebuilding of the Museum with the statues of the goddesses, and to add any improvements which seem practicable to beautify them.<sup>c</sup> Secondly, to replace in the temple the bust of Aristotle with the rest of the dedicated offerings which formerly were in the temple. Next, to rebuild the small cloister adjoining the Museum

Demetrius Poliorcetes, 296-294 B.C. Plut. *Demetr.* 33, 34; Paus. i. 25. 8. There was, however, a serious disturbance when Athens revolted from Macedon, 289-287, for which see Plut. *Demetr.* 46, and Paus. i. 25. 2; 26. 1 f. This latter event is nearer to the death of Theophrastus in Ol. 123.

ἀναθεῖναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς πίνακας, ἐν οἷς αἱ τῆς γῆς  
 52 περίοδοί εἰσιν, εἰς τὴν κάτω στοάν· ἐπισκευασθῆναι  
 δὲ καὶ τὸν βωμόν, ὅπως ἔχη τὸ τέλειον καὶ τὸ  
 εὖσχημον. βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Νικομάχου εἰκόνα  
 συντελεσθῆναι ἴσην. τὸ μὲν τῆς πλάσεως ἔχει  
 Πραξιτέλης, τὸ δ' ἄλλο ἀνάλωμα ἀπὸ τούτου  
 γενέσθω. σταθῆναι δὲ ὅπου ἂν δοκῇ τοῖς καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων ἐπιμελουμένοις τῶν ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ γεγραμ-  
 μένων. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα  
 τοῦτον ἐχέτω τὸν τρόπον. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ ἐν  
 Σταγείροις ἡμῖν ὑπάρχον δίδωμι Καλλίνῳ· τὰ δὲ  
 βιβλία πάντα Νηλεΐ. τὸν δὲ κῆπον καὶ τὸν περί-  
 πατον καὶ τὰς οἰκίας τὰς πρὸς τῷ κήπῳ πάσας  
 δίδωμι τῶν γεγραμμένων φίλων ἀεὶ τοῖς βουλο-  
 μένοις συσχολάζειν καὶ συμφιλοσοφεῖν ἐν αὐταῖς,  
 53 ἐπειδὴ περ οὐ δυνατὸν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀεὶ ἐπι-  
 δημεῖν, μήτ' ἐξαλλοτριούσι μήτ' ἐξιδιαζομένου μη-  
 δενός, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν ἱερὸν κοινῇ κεκτημένοις, καὶ τὰ  
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἰκείως καὶ φιλικῶς χρωμένοις,  
 ὥσπερ προσήκον καὶ δίκαιον. ἔστωσαν δὲ οἱ  
 κοινωνοῦντες Ἱππαρχος, Νηλεὺς, Στράτων, Καλ-  
 λίνος, Δημότιμος, Δημάρατος, Καλλισθένης, Μελάν-  
 της, Παγκρέων, Νίκιππος. ἐξεῖναι δὲ βουλομένῳ  
 φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλει τῷ Μητροδώρῳ καὶ  
 Πυθιάδῳ υἱῷ καὶ μετέχειν τούτων· καὶ αὐτοῦ  
 πᾶσαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους,  
 ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα προαχθῇ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν.  
 θαῖψαι δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὅπου ἂν δοκῇ μάλιστα ἀρμόττον

\* Cf. iv. § 70.

at least as handsomely as before, and to replace in  
 the lower cloister the tablets containing maps of the  
 countries traversed by explorers. Further, to repair  
 the altar so that it may be perfect and elegant. It  
 is also my wish that the statue of Nicomachus should  
 be completed of life size. The price agreed upon  
 for the making of the statue itself has been paid to  
 Praxiteles, but the rest of the cost should be defrayed  
 from the source above mentioned. The statue should  
 be set up in whatever place seems desirable to the  
 executors entrusted with carrying out my other  
 testamentary dispositions. Let all that concerns the  
 temple and the offerings set up be arranged in this  
 manner. The estate at Stagira belonging to me I  
 give and bequeath to Callinus. The whole of my  
 library I give to Neleus. The garden and the walk  
 and the houses adjoining the garden, all and sundry,  
 I give and bequeath to such of my friends herein-  
 after named as may wish to study literature and  
 philosophy there in common,\* since it is not possible  
 for all men to be always in residence, on condition  
 that no one alienates the property or devotes it to  
 his private use, but so that they hold it like a temple  
 in joint possession and live, as is right and proper,  
 on terms of familiarity and friendship. Let the  
 community consist of Hipparchus, Neleus, Strato,  
 Callinus, Demotimus, Demaratus, Callisthenes,  
 Melantes, Pancreon, Nicippus. Aristotle, the son  
 of Metrodorus and Pythias, shall also have the right  
 to study and associate with them if he so desire.  
 And the oldest of them shall pay every attention to  
 him, in order to ensure for him the utmost pro-  
 ficiency in philosophy. Let me be buried in any  
 spot in the garden which seems most suitable,

εἶναι τοῦ κήπου, μηδὲν περίεργον μήτε περὶ τὴν  
 54 ταφὴν μήτε περὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ποιούντας. ὅπως  
 δὲ συνείρηται, μετὰ τὰ περὶ ἡμᾶς συμβάντα, τὰ  
 περὶ τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ τὸν κήπον καὶ  
 τὸν περίπατον θεραπευόμενα συνεπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ  
 Πομπύλον τούτων ἐποικουῖντα αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν τῶν  
 ἄλλων ἐπιμέλειαν ποιοῦμενον ἦν καὶ πρότερον·  
 τῆς δὲ λυσιτελείας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς τοὺς  
 ἔχοντας ταῦτα. Πομπύλῳ δὲ καὶ Θρέπτῃ πάλοι  
 ἐλευθέρους οὖσι καὶ ἡμῖν πολλὴν χρεῖαν παρεσχη-  
 μένοις, εἴ τι πρότερον ἔχουσι παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ εἴ τι  
 αὐτοὶ ἐκτήσαντο καὶ ἂν νῦν παρ' Ἱππάρχου αὐτοῖς  
 συντέταχα, δισχιλίᾳ δραχμάς, ἀσφαλῶς οἶμαι δεῖν  
 αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν ταῦτα, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτὸς<sup>1</sup> δι-  
 ελέχθην Μελάντῃ καὶ Παγκρέοντι πλεονάκις καὶ  
 55 Σωματάλῃ τὴν παιδίσκην. τῶν δὲ παίδων Μό-  
 λωνα μὲν καὶ Τίμωνα καὶ Παρμένοντα ἤδη ἐλευθέ-  
 ρους ἀφίημι· Μανῆν δὲ καὶ Καλλίαν παραμείναντας  
 ἔτη τέτταρα ἐν τῷ κήπῳ καὶ συνεργασαμένους καὶ  
 ἀναμαρτήτους γενομένους ἀφίημι ἐλευθέρους. τῶν  
 δὲ οἰκηματικῶν σκευῶν ἀποδιδόντας Πομπύλῳ ὅσ'  
 ἂν δοκῇ τοῖς ἐπιμεληταῖς καλῶς ἔχειν, τὰ λοιπὰ  
 ἐξαργυρίσαι. δίδωμι δὲ καὶ Καρίωνα Δημο-  
 τίμῳ, Δόνακα δὲ Νηλεΐ· Εὐβοῖον δ' ἀποδόσθαι.  
 δότω δ' Ἱππάρχος Καλλίνῳ τρισχιλίᾳ δραχμάς·  
 Μελάντῃ δὲ καὶ Παγκρέοντι εἰ μὲν μὴ ἐωρῶμεν  
 Ἱππάρχον καὶ ἡμῖν πρότερον χρεῖαν παρεσχημένον  
 καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις μάλα νευαναγκότα, προσετά-  
 ξαμεν ἂν μετὰ Μελάντου καὶ Παγκρέοντος ἐξάγειν  
 56 αὐτά. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὗτ' ἐκείνοις ἐώρων ῥάδιον ὄντα

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς codd. : corr. Reiske.

without unnecessary outlay upon my funeral or  
 upon my monument. And according to previous  
 agreement let the charge of attending, after my  
 decease, to the temple and the monument and the  
 garden and the walk be shared by Pompylus in  
 person, living close by as he does, and exercising the  
 same supervision over all other matters as before ;  
 and those who hold the property shall watch over  
 his interests. Pompylus and Threpta have long been  
 emancipated and have done me much service ; and  
 I think that 2000 drachmas certainly ought to belong  
 to them from previous payments made to them by  
 me, from their own earnings, and my present bequest  
 to them to be paid by Hipparchus, as I stated many  
 times in conversation with Melantes and Pancreon  
 themselves, who agreed with me. I give and be-  
 queath to them the maidservant Somatale. And of  
 my slaves I at once emancipate Molon and Timon  
 and Parmeno ; to Manes and Callias I give their  
 freedom on condition that they stay four years in the  
 garden and work there together and that their con-  
 duct is free from blame. Of my household furniture  
 let so much as the executors think right be given to  
 Pompylus and let the rest be sold. I also devise  
 Carion to Demotimus, and Donax to Neleus. But  
 Euboeus must be sold. Let Hipparchus pay to  
 Callinus 3000 drachmas. And if I had not seen that  
 Hipparchus had done great service to Melantes and  
 Pancreon and formerly to me, and that now in his  
 private affairs he has made shipwreck, I would have  
 appointed him jointly with Melantes and Pancreon  
 to carry out my wishes. But, since I saw that it

συνοικονομεῖν λυσιτελέστερόν τ' αὐτοῖς ὑπελάμ-  
 βανον εἶναι τεταγμένον τι λαβεῖν παρὰ Ἰππάρχου,  
 δότω Ἰππάρχος Μελάντη καὶ Παγκρέοντι, ἑκατέρω  
 τάλαντον· διδόναι δ' Ἰππάρχον καὶ τοῖς ἐπιμεληταῖς  
 εἰς τὰ ἀναλώματα τὰ ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ γεγραμμένα  
 κατὰ τοὺς ἑκάστου καιροὺς τῶν δαπανημάτων.  
 οἰκονομήσαντα δὲ ταῦτα Ἰππάρχον ἀπηλλάχθαι τῶν  
 συμβολαίων τῶν πρὸς ἐμὲ πάντων· καὶ εἰ τι ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ ἐμοῦ ὀνόματος συμβέβληκεν Ἰππάρχος ἐν  
 Χαλκίδι, Ἰππάρχου τοῦτο ἐστίν. ἐπιμεληταὶ δὲ  
 ἔστωσαν τῶν ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ γεγραμμένων Ἰππάρχος,  
 Νηλεὺς, Στράτων, Καλλῖνος, Δημότιμος, Καλλι-  
 57 σθένης, Κτήσαρχος. αἱ διαθήκαι κεῖνται ἀντίγραφα  
 τῷ Θεοφράστου δακτυλίῳ σεσημασμένοι, μία μὲν  
 παρὰ Ἠγησίᾳ Ἰππάρχου· μάρτυρες Καλλίππος  
 Παλληνεὺς, Φιλόμηλος Εὐωνυμεύς, Λύσανδρος  
 Ὑβάδης, Φίλων Ἀλωπεκῆθεν. τὴν δ' ἑτέραν ἔχει  
 Ὀλυμπιόδωρος· μάρτυρες δ' οἱ αὐτοί. τὴν δ'  
 ἑτέραν<sup>1</sup> ἔλαβεν Ἀδεΐμαντος, ἀπῆνεγκε δὲ Ἄνδρο-  
 σθένης ὁ υἱός· μάρτυρες Ἀρίμνηστος Κλεοβούλου,  
 Λυσίστρατος Φεΐδωνος Θάσιος, Στράτων Ἀρκεσι-  
 λάου Λαμψακηνός, Θήσιππος Θησίππου ἐκ Κερα-  
 μέων, Διοσκουρίδης Διονυσίου Ἐπικηφίσιος."  
 Ὡς ἔχουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ αἱ διαθήκαι.  
 Ἀκοῦσαι δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἐρασίστρατον τὸν ἱατρὸν  
 εἰσιν οἱ λέγουσι· καὶ εἰκός.

Κεφ. γ'. ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝ

58 Διεδέξατο δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν σχολὴν Στράτων Ἀρκεσι-

<sup>1</sup> τριτὴν R.

was not easy for them to share the management  
 with him, and I thought it more advantageous for  
 them to receive a fixed sum from Hipparchus, let  
 Hipparchus pay Melantes and Pancreon one talent  
 each and let Hipparchus provide funds for the  
 executors to defray the expenses set down in the  
 will, as each disbursement falls due. And when  
 Hipparchus shall have carried out all these injunc-  
 tions, he shall be released in full from his liabilities  
 to me. And any advance that he has made in  
 Chalcis in my name belongs to him alone. Let  
 Hipparchus, Neleus, Strato, Callinus, Demotimus,  
 Callisthenes and Ctesarchus be executors to carry out  
 the terms of the will. One copy of the will, sealed  
 with the signet-ring of Theophrastus, is deposited  
 with Hegesias, the son of Hipparchus, the witnesses  
 being Callippus of Pallene, Philomelus of Euonymaea,  
 Lysander of Hyba, and Philo of Alopece. Olympio-  
 dorus has another copy, the witnesses being the  
 same. The third copy was received by Adeimantus,  
 the bearer being Androsthenes junior; and the  
 witnesses are Arimnestus the son of Cleobulus,  
 Lysistratus the son of Pheidon of Thasos, Strato  
 the son of Arcesilaus of Lampsacus, Thesippus the  
 son of Thesippus of Cerameis, and Dioscurides the  
 son of Dionysius of Epicephisia."

Such is the tenor of his will.

There are some who say that Erasistratus the  
 physician was also a pupil of his, and it is not  
 improbable.

CHAPTER 3. STRATO

(Head of the School 286-268 B.C.)

His successor in the school was Strato, the son of

λάου Λαμψακηνός, οὗ καὶ ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις ἐμνημόνευσεν· ἀνὴρ ἐλλογιμώτατος καὶ φυσικὸς ἐπικληθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ τὴν θεωρίαν ταύτην παρ' ὄντινούν ἐπιμελέστατα διατετριφέναι. ἀλλὰ καὶ καθηγήσατο Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου καὶ ἔλαβε, φασί, παρ' αὐτοῦ τάλαντα ὀγδοήκοντα· σχολαρχεῖν δέ, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς, ἤρξατο τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ καὶ ἑκατοστῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι, τῆς σχολῆς ἀφηγησάμενος ἔτη ὀκτωκαίδεκα.

59 Φέρεται δ' αὐτοῦ βιβλία

Περὶ βασιλείας τρία.  
Περὶ δικαιοσύνης τρία.  
Περὶ τάγαθου γ'.  
Περὶ θεῶν γ'.  
Περὶ ἀρχῶν γ'.  
Περὶ βίων.  
Περὶ εὐδαιμονίας.  
Περὶ βασιλέως φιλοσόφου.  
Περὶ ἀνδρείας.  
Περὶ τοῦ κενοῦ.  
Περὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.  
Περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος.  
Περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρωπίνης.  
Περὶ ζωογονίας.  
Περὶ μίξεως.  
Περὶ ὕπνου.  
Περὶ ἐνυπνίων.  
Περὶ ὄψεως.  
Περὶ αἰσθήσεως.  
Περὶ ἡδονῆς.  
Περὶ χρωμάτων.  
Περὶ νόσων.

° 288-284 B.C.

Arcesilaus, a native of Lampsacus, whom he mentioned in his will; a distinguished man who is generally known as "the physicist," because more than anyone else he devoted himself to the most careful study of nature. Moreover, he taught Ptolemy Philadelphus and received, it is said, 80 talents from him. According to Apollodorus in his *Chronology* he became head of the school in the 123rd Olympiad,<sup>a</sup> and continued to preside over it for eighteen years.

There are extant of his works :

Of Kingship, three books.  
Of Justice, three books.  
Of the Good, three books.  
Of the Gods, three books.  
On First Principles, three books.  
On Various Modes of Life.  
Of Happiness.  
On the Philosopher-King.  
Of Courage.  
On the Void.  
On the Heaven.  
On the Wind.  
Of Human Nature.  
On the Breeding of Animals.  
Of Mixture.  
Of Sleep.  
Of Dreams.  
Of Vision.  
Of Sensation.  
Of Pleasure.  
On Colours.  
Of Diseases.

- Περὶ κρίσεων.  
 Περὶ δυνάμεων.  
 Περὶ τῶν μεταλλικῶν μηχανημάτων.  
 Περὶ λιμοῦ<sup>1</sup> καὶ σκοτώσεων.  
 Περὶ κούφου καὶ βαρέος.  
 Περὶ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ.  
 Περὶ χρόνου.  
 Περὶ τροφῆς καὶ αὐξήσεως.  
 Περὶ τῶν ἀπορουμένων ζῶων.  
 Περὶ τῶν μυθολογούμενων ζῶων.  
 Περὶ αἰτιῶν.  
 Λύσεις ἀπορουμένων.  
 Τόπων προοίμια.  
 Περὶ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος.  
 60 Περὶ τοῦ ὄρου.  
 Περὶ τοῦ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον.  
 Περὶ ἀδίκου.  
 Περὶ τοῦ προτέρου καὶ ὑστέρον  
 Περὶ τοῦ προτέρου γένους.  
 Περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου.  
 Περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος.  
 Εὐρημάτων ἐλεγχοὶ δύο.  
 Ὑπομνήματα, ἃ διατάσσεται.  
 Ἐπιστολαὶ ὧν ἡ ἀρχή· “Στράτων Ἀρσινόῃ εἰ  
 πρᾶττειν.”

Τοῦτόν φασιν οὕτω γενέσθαι λεπτόν ὥς ἀναι-  
 σθητῶς τελευτῆσαι. καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτόν  
 οὕτως ἔχον·

λεπτὸς ἀνὴρ δέμας ἦν, εἴ μοι προσέχεις, ἀπὸ  
 χρισμῶν.<sup>2</sup>  
 Στράτωνα τοῦτόν φημι σοί

<sup>1</sup> λιμοῦ] ἰλιγγου Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> προσέχεις ἀπόχη μοι Stadtmüller.

- Of the Crises in Diseases.  
 On Faculties.  
 On Mining Machinery.  
 Of Starvation and Dizziness.  
 On the Attributes Light and Heavy.  
 Of Enthusiasm or Ecstasy.  
 On Time.  
 On Growth and Nutrition.  
 On Animals the existence of which is questioned.  
 On Animals in Folk-lore or Fable.  
 Of Causes.  
 Solutions of Difficulties.  
 Introduction to Topics.  
 Of Accident.  
 Of Definition.  
 On difference of Degree.  
 Of Injustice.  
 Of the logically Prior and Posterior.  
 Of the Genus of the Prior.  
 Of the Property or Essential Attribute.  
 Of the Future.  
 Examinations of Discoveries, in two books.  
 Lecture-notes, the genuineness of which is doubted.  
 Letters beginning “Strato to Arsinoë greeting.”

Strato is said to have grown so thin that he felt  
 nothing when his end came. And I have written  
 some lines upon him as follows <sup>a</sup> :

A thin, spare man in body, take my word for it, owing  
 to his use of unguents,<sup>b</sup> was this Strato, I at least affirm, to

<sup>a</sup> Anth. Pal. vii. 111.

<sup>b</sup> Or “if you attend to me, I am content,” according to  
 the alternative reading.



Λάμψακος ὃν ποτ' ἔφυσεν· αἰὲ δὲ νόσοισι παλαίῳ  
θνήσκει λαθὼν, οὐδ' ᾗσθετο.

61 Γεγόνασι δὲ Στράτωνες ὁκτὼ· πρῶτος Ἰσοκρά-  
τους ἀκροατὴς· δεύτερος αὐτὸς οὗτος· τρίτος ἰατρός,  
μαθητὴς Ἐρασιστράτου, ὡς δέ τινες, τρόφιμος·  
τέταρτος ἱστορικός, Φιλίππου καὶ Περσέως τῶν  
Ῥωμαίοις πολεμησάντων γεγραφὼς πράξεις· \*\*  
ἕκτος ποιητὴς ἐπιγραμμάτων· ἕβδομος ἰατρός  
ἀρχαῖος, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶν· ὄγδοος περι-  
πατητικός, βεβιωκὼς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ.

Τοῦ δ' οὖν φυσικοῦ φέρονται καὶ διαθήκαι τοῦτον  
ἔχουσαι τὸν τρόπον·

“ Τάδε διατίθεται, ἐάν τι πάσχω· τὰ μὲν οἶκοι  
καταλείπω πάντα Λαμπυρίωνι καὶ Ἀρκεσίλῳ.  
ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀθηνῆσιν ὑπάρχοντός μοι ἀργυρίου  
πρῶτον μὲν οἱ ἐπιμελεῖται τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν  
ἐπιμεληθήτωσαν καὶ ὅσα νομίζεται μετὰ τὴν  
ἐκφορὰν, μηδὲν μῆτε περιέργον ποιοῦντες μῆτ'  
62 ἀνελεύθερον. ἐπιμελεῖται δὲ ἕστωσαν τῶν κατὰ  
τὴν διαθήκην οἷδε· Ὀλύμπιχος, Ἀριστείδης, Μνη-  
σιγένης, Ἱπποκράτης, Ἐπικράτης, Γοργύλος, Διο-  
κλῆς, Λύκων, Ἀθάνης. καταλείπω δὲ τὴν μὲν  
διατριβὴν Λύκωνι, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ μὲν εἰσι  
πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ δὲ ἀσχολοί. καλῶς δ' ἂν ποιοῖεν  
καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ συγκατασκευάζοντες τούτῳ. κατα-  
λείπω δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ βιβλία πάντα, πλὴν ὧν αὐτοὶ  
γεγράφαμεν, καὶ τὰ σκεύη πάντα κατὰ τὸ συσσίτιον  
καὶ τὰ στρώματα καὶ τὰ ποτήρια. δότωσαν δὲ οἱ  
ἐπιμελεῖται Ἐπικράτει πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς καὶ  
63 τῶν παίδων ἓνα ὃν ἂν δοκῇ Ἀρκεσίλῳ. καὶ  
πρῶτον μὲν Λαμπυρίων καὶ Ἀρκεσίλαος ἀράσσω-

whom Lampsacus gave birth. For ever wrestling with  
diseases, he died unawares or ever he felt the hand of death.

There have been eight men who bore the name of  
Strato: (1) a pupil of Isocrates; (2) our subject;  
(3) a physician, a disciple, or, as some say, a foster-  
child, of Erasistratus; (4) a historian, who treated  
of the struggle of Philip and Perseus against the  
Romans; (5) \*\*; (6) a poet who wrote epigrams;  
(7) a physician who lived in ancient times, mentioned  
by Aristotle; (8) a Peripatetic philosopher who lived  
in Alexandria.

But to return to Strato the physicist. His will is  
also extant and it runs as follows:

“ In case anything should happen to me I make  
these dispositions. All the goods in my house I  
give and bequeath to Lampyrio and Arcesilaus.  
From the money belonging to me in Athens, in the  
first place my executors shall provide for my funeral  
and for all that custom requires to be done after the  
funeral, without extravagance on the one hand or  
meanness on the other. The executors of this my  
will shall be Olympichus, Aristides, Mnesigenes,  
Hippocrates, Epicrates, Gorgylus, Diocles, Lyco,  
Athan. I leave the school to Lyco, since of the  
rest some are too old and others too busy. But it  
would be well if the others would co-operate with him.  
I also give and bequeath to him all my books, except  
those of which I am the author, and all the furniture  
in the dining-hall, the cushions and the drinking-cups.  
The trustees shall give Epicrates 500 drachmas and  
one of the servants whom Arcesilaus shall approve.  
And in the first place Lampyrio and Arcesilaus shall

σαν τὰς συνθήκας ὥς ἔθετο Δαίππος ὑπὲρ Ἰραίου· καὶ μηδὲν ὀφείλετω μήτε Λαμπυρίωνι μήτε τοῖς Λαμπυρίωνος κληρονόμοις, ἀλλ' ἀπηλλάχθω παντὸς τοῦ συμβολαίου. δώσωσαν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας καὶ τῶν παίδων ἓνα ὃν ἂν δοκιμάζῃ Ἀρκεσίλαος, ὅπως ἂν πολλὰ συμπεπονηκὼς ἡμῖν καὶ παρεσχημένος χρεῖας ἔχῃ βίον ἱκανὸν καὶ εὐσχήμονα. ἀφήμι δὲ καὶ Διοφάντον ἐλεύθερον καὶ Διοκλέα καὶ Ἀβουν· Σιμίαν δὲ ἀποδίδωμι Ἀρκεσίλαῳ. ἀφήμι δὲ καὶ Δρόμωνα ἐλεύθερον. ἐπειδὴν δὲ παραγένηται Ἀρκεσίλαος, λογισάσθω Ἰραίος μετ' Ὀλυμπίχου καὶ Ἐπικράτους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελητῶν τὸ γεγονὸς ἀνάλωμα εἰς τὴν ἐκφορὰν καὶ τὰλλα τὰ <sup>64</sup> νομιζόμενα. τὸ δὲ περιὸν ἀργύριον κομισάσθω Ἀρκεσίλαος παρ' Ὀλυμπίχου, μηδὲν ἐνοχλῶν αὐτὸν κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τοὺς χρόνους· ἀράσθω δὲ καὶ τὰς συνθήκας Ἀρκεσίλαος ὥς ἔθετο Στράτων πρὸς Ὀλύμπιχον καὶ Ἀμεινίαν, τὰς κειμένας παρὰ Φιλοκράτει Τισαμενοῦ. τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ποιείτωσαν ὥς ἂν δοκῇ Ἀρκεσίλαῳ καὶ Ὀλυμπίχῳ καὶ Λύκωνι."

Καὶ αἰδε μέν εἰσιν αἱ φερόμεναι αὐτοῦ διαθήκαι, καθά που συνήγαγε καὶ Ἀρίστων ὁ Κεῖος.<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Στράτων ἀνὴρ γέγονε, καθὰ καὶ ἄνω δεδήλωται, πολλῆς τῆς ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος, διαπρέψας ἐν παντὶ λόγων εἶδει καὶ μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ

<sup>1</sup> οἰκεῖος vulg.: corr. Zeller.

<sup>a</sup> πολλῆς τῆς ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος. This phrase might be taken as Diogenes Laertius's defence for his inclusion of the Life of Strato. According to the scheme of i. 14, 15, the Peripatetics

cancel the agreement which Daïppus made on behalf of Iraeus. And he shall not owe anything either to Lampyrio or to Lampyrio's heirs, but shall have a full discharge from the whole transaction. Next, the executors shall give him 500 drachmas in money and one of the servants whom Arcesilaus shall approve, so that, in return for all the toil he has shared with me and all the services he has rendered me, he may have the means to maintain himself respectably. Further, I emancipate Diophantus, Diocles and Abus; and Simias I make over to Arcesilaus. I also emancipate Dromo. As soon as Arcesilaus has arrived, Iraeus shall, with Olympichus, Epicrates, and the other executors, prepare an account of the money expended upon the funeral and the other customary charges. Whatever money remains over, Arcesilaus shall take over from Olympichus, without however pressing him as to times and seasons. Arcesilaus shall also cancel the agreement made by Strato with Olympichus and Ameinias and deposited with Philocrates the son of Tisamenus. With regard to my monument they shall make it as Arcesilaus, Olympichus and Lyco shall approve."

Such are the terms of his extant will, according to the Collection of Ariston of Ceos. Strato himself, however, was, as stated above, a man entitled to full approbation,<sup>a</sup> since he excelled in every branch of learning, and most of all in that which is styled

ended with Theophrastus, whose successors were often held to be vastly inferior, and unworthy to rank beside him; see Cicero, *De Fin.* v. §§ 12, 13; Strabo xiii. 609. The latter alleges as the reason for this decline the well-known story that the school was deprived of Aristotle's library, which had been carried away to Scepsis.

φυσικῶ, ὅπερ εἶδος ἀρχαιότερόν τε καὶ σπουδαιότερον.

Κεφ. δ'. ΛΥΚΩΝ

65 Τοῦτον διεδέξατο Λύκων Ἀστυάνακτος Τρωαδούς, φραστικός ἀνὴρ καὶ περὶ παίδων ἀγωγὴν ἄκρως συντεταγμένος.<sup>1</sup> ἔφασκε γὰρ δεῖν παρεξέυχθαι τοῖς παισὶ τὴν αἰδῶ καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ὡς τοῖς ἵπποις μύωπα καὶ χαλινόν. τὸ δ' ἐκφραστικὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ περιγεγωνὸς ἐν τῇ ἐρμηνείᾳ φαίνεται κἀνθένδε· φησὶ γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐπὶ παρθένου πενιχρᾶς· “βαρὺ γὰρ φορτίον πατρὶ κόρη διὰ σπάνιν προικὸς ἐκτρέχουσα τὸν ἀκμαῖον τῆς ἡλικίας καιρόν.” διὸ δὴ καὶ φασιν Ἀντίγονον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, ὡς οὐκ ἦν ὥσπερ μήλου τὴν εὐωδίαν καὶ χάριν ἄλλοθί που μετενεγκεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ δένδρου τῶν λεγομένων  
66 ἕκαστον ἔδει θεωρεῖσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ ὅτι ἐν μὲν τῷ λέγειν γλυκύτατος ἦν· παρὸ καὶ τινες τὸ γάμμα αὐτοῦ τῷ ὀνόματι προσετίθεσαν. ἐν δὲ τῷ γράφειν ἀνόμοιος αὐτῷ. ἀμέλει γοῦν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μεταγινωσκόντων ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἔμαθον ὅτε καιρὸς καὶ εὐχομένων τοῦτον ἐκαλλιλέκτει τὸν τρόπον· ἔλεγεν “αὐτῶν κατηγορεῖν, ἀδυνάτῳ μνηύοντας εὐχῇ μετάνοιαν ἀργίας ἀδιορθώτου.” τοὺς τε βουλευομένους οὐκ ὀρθῶς διαπίπτειν ἔφασκε τῷ λογισμῷ, οἷον εἰ στρεβλῶ κανόνι βασανίζοντας εὐθεῖαν φύσιν ἢ πρόσωπον ὕδατι κλυδαττομένῳ ἢ κατόπτρῳ διεστραμμένῳ. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ στέφανον πολλοὺς ἀπιέναι, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Ὀλυμπιασιν

<sup>1</sup> συντεταγμένος R.

“physics,” a branch of philosophy more ancient and important than the others.

CHAPTER 4. LYCO (299-225 B.C.)

Strato's successor was Lyco, the son of Astyanax of Troas, a master of expression and of the foremost rank in the education of boys. For he used to say that modesty and love of honour were as necessary an equipment for boys as spur and bridle for horses. His eloquence and sonorousness of diction appear from the following fact; he speaks of a penniless maiden as follows: “A grievous burden to a father is a girl, when for lack of a dowry she runs past the flower of her age.” Hence the remark which Antigonius is said to have made about him, that it was not possible to transfer elsewhere the fragrance and charm of the apple, but each separate expression must be contemplated in the speaker himself as every single apple is on the tree. This was because Lyco's voice was exceedingly sweet, so that some persons altered his name to Glyco, by prefixing a G. But in writing he fell off sadly. For instance, those who regretted their neglect to learn when they had the opportunity and wished they had done so he would hit off neatly as follows, remarking that “they were their own accusers, betraying, by vain regret, repentance for an incorrigible laziness.” Those who deliberated wrongly he used to say were out in their calculations, as if they had used a crooked rule to test something straight, or looked at the reflection of a face in troubled water or a distorting mirror. Again, “Many go in search of the garland of the market-place; few or none seek

ἢ ὀλίγους ἢ οὐδένα. πολλάκις τε πολλά συμβουλεύσας Ἀθηναίους, τὰ μέγιστα αὐτοὺς ὠφέλησεν.

67 Ἦν δὲ καὶ καθαρώτατος τὴν στολήν, ὡς ἀνυπερβλήτῳ χρῆσθαι μαλακότητι ἱματίων, καθά φησιν Ἑρμιππος. ἀλλὰ καὶ γυμναστικώτατος ἐγένετο καὶ εὐέκτης τὸ σῶμα τὴν τε πᾶσαν σχέσιν ἀθλητικὴν ἐπιφαίνων, ὠτοθλαδίας καὶ ἐμπνῆς ὢν, καθά φησιν Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος· διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ παλαιαῖσι λέγεται τὰ τ' ἐν τῇ πατρίδι Ἰλίου καὶ σφαιρίσαι. ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος τ' ἦν φίλος τοῖς περὶ Εὐμένην καὶ Ἀτταλον, οἳ καὶ πλείστα ἐπεχορήγουν αὐτῷ. ἐπειράθη δ' αὐτὸν σchein καὶ 68 Ἀντίοχος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔτυχεν. οὕτω δ' ἦν ἐχθρὸς Ἱερωνύμῳ τῷ περιπατητικῷ, ὡς μόνος μὴ ἀπαντᾶν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἐτήσιον ἡμέραν, περὶ ἧς ἐν τῷ Ἀρκεσίλαου βίῳ διειλέγεμθα.

Ἀφηγήσατο δὲ τῆς σχολῆς ἔτη τέτταρα πρὸς τοῖς τετταράκοντα, Στράτωνος αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις καταλιπόντος κατὰ τὴν ἐβδόμην καὶ εἰκοστήν καὶ ἑκατοστήν Ὀλυμπιάδα. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Πανθοίδου διήκουσε τοῦ διαλεκτικοῦ. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ γεγονώς ἔτος τέταρτον καὶ ἑβδομηκοστόν, νόσῳ ποδαγρικῇ καταπονηθείς. καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτόν·

οὐ μὰ τόν, οὐδὲ Λύκωνα παρήσομεν, ὅττι ποδαλγὴς κάτθανε· θαυμάζω τοῦτο μάλιστα δ' ἐγώ, τὴν οὕτως αἰῶδα μακρὴν ὁδὸν εἰ πρὶν ὁ ποσσὶν ἄλλοτριόις βαδίσας ἔδραμε νυκτὶ μιῇ.

69 Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Λύκωνες· πρῶτος Πυθαγορικός, δεύτερος αὐτὸς οὗτος, τρίτος ἐπὶ τὴν ποιητὴς, τέταρτος ἐπιγραμματῶν ποιητὴς.

the crown at Olympia." He often gave the Athenians advice on various subjects and thus conferred on them the greatest benefits.

In his dress he was most immaculate, so that the clothes he wore were unsurpassed for the softness of the material, according to Hermippus. Furthermore, he was well practised in gymnastics and kept himself in condition, displaying all an athlete's habit of body, with battered ears and skin begrimed with oil, so we are told by Antigonos of Carystus. Hence it is said that he not only wrestled but played the game of ball common in his birthplace of Ilium. He was esteemed beyond all other philosophers by Eumenes and Attalus, who also did him very great service. Antiochos too tried to get hold of him, but without success. He was so hostile to Hieronymus the Peripatetic that he alone declined to meet him on the anniversary which we have mentioned in the Life of Arcesilaus.<sup>a</sup>

He presided over the school forty-four years after Strato had bequeathed it to him by his will in the 127th Olympiad.<sup>b</sup> Not but what he also attended the lectures of the logician Panthoides. He died at the age of seventy-four after severe sufferings from gout. This is my epitaph upon him<sup>c</sup>:

Nor, I swear! will I pass over Lyco either, for all that he died of the gout. But this it is which amazes me the most, if he who formerly could walk only with the feet of others, did in a single night traverse the long, long road to Hades.

Other men have borne the name of Lyco: (1) a Pythagorean, (2) our present subject, (3) an epic poet, (4) a poet who wrote epigrams.

<sup>a</sup> iv. 41.<sup>b</sup> 274-270 B.C.<sup>c</sup> Anth. Pal. vii. 112.

Τοῦ δὲ φιλοσόφου καὶ διαθήκαις περιετύχομεν ταῖσδε·

“Τάδε διατίθεται περὶ τῶν κατ’ ἐμαυτόν, ἐὰν μὴ δυνήθω τὴν ἀρρωστίαν ταύτην ὑπενεγκεῖν· τὰ μὲν ἐν οἴκῳ πάντα δίδωμι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς Ἀστύ-  
 ἀνακτι καὶ Λύκωνι. καὶ οἶμαι δεῖν ἀποδοθῆναι ἀπὸ τούτων ὅσα κατακέχρημαι Ἀθήνῃσι παρὰ τινος ἔχων ἢ ἐκπεπραχῶς· καὶ ἃ ἂν εἰς τὴν ἐκφοράν  
 70 ἀναλωθῇ καὶ εἰς τᾶλλα τὰ νομιζόμενα. τὰ δ’ ἐν ἄστει καὶ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δίδωμι Λύκωνι διὰ τὸ καὶ τοῦνομα φέρειν ἡμῶν καὶ συνδιατετριφέναι πλείω χρόνον ἀρεστῶς πάννυ, καθάπερ δίκαιον ἦν τὸν υἱοῦ τάξιν ἐσχχότα. τὸν δὲ περίπατον καταλείπω τῶν γνωρίμων τοῖς βουλομένοις, Βούλωνι, Καλλίνῳ, Ἀρίστωνι, Ἀμφίῳ, Λύκωνι, Πύθωνι, Ἀριστομάχῳ, Ἡρακλείῳ, Λυκομήδει, Λύκωνι τῷ ἀδελφιδῷ. προστησάσθωσαν δ’ αὐτοὶ ὃν ἂν ὑπολαμβάνωσι διαμενεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ πράγματος καὶ συναύξειν μάλιστα δυνήσεσθαι. συγκατασκευαζέτωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ γνώριμοι κάμου καὶ τοῦ τόπου χάριν. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐκφορᾶς καὶ καύσεως ἐπιμεληθήτωσαν Βούλων καὶ Καλλίνος μετὰ τῶν συνήθων, ὅπως  
 71 μὴτ’ ἀνελεύθερος γένηται μήτε περίεργος. τῶν δ’ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ μοι γενομένων μοριῶν μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀπόλυσιν καταχωρισάτω Λύκων τοῖς νεανίσκοις εἰς ἐλαιοχρηστίαν, ὅπως κάμου καὶ τοῦ τιμῆσαντος ἐμὲ μνήμη γένηται διὰ τῆς χρείας αὕτη ἢ προσήκουσα. καὶ ἀνδριάντα ἡμῶν ἀναθέτω τὸν δὲ τόπον, ὅπως ἀρμόττων ἢ τῆς καταστάσεως, ἐπιβλεψάτω καὶ συμπραγματευθήτω Διόφαντος καὶ Ἡρακλείδης Δημητρίου. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐν ἄστει Λύκων ἀποδῶτω πᾶσι παρ’ ὧν τι προεἰλήφα  
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I have also come across this philosopher's will. It is this :

“These are my dispositions concerning my property, in case I should be unable to sustain my present ailment. All the goods in my house I give to my brothers Astyanax and Lyco, and from this source should, I think, be paid all the money I have laid out at Athens, whether by borrowing or by purchase, as well as all the cost of my funeral and the other customary charges. But my property in town and at Aegina I give to Lyco because he bears the same name with me, and has resided for a long time with me to my entire satisfaction, as became one whom I treated as my son. I leave the Peripatus to such of my friends as choose to make use of it, to Bulo, Callinus, Ariston, Amphion, Lyco, Pytho, Aristomachus, Heracleus, Lycomedes, and my nephew Lyco. They shall put over it any such person as in their opinion will persevere in the work of the school and will be most capable of extending it. And all my other friends should co-operate for love of me and of the spot. Bulo and Callinus, together with their colleagues, shall provide for my funeral and cremation, so as to avoid meanness on the one hand and extravagance on the other. After my decease Lyco shall make over, for the use of the young men, the oil from the olive-trees belonging to me in Aegina for the due commemoration—so long as they use it—of myself and the benefactor who did me honour. He shall also set up my statue, and shall choose a convenient site where it shall be erected, with the assistance of Diophantus and Heraclides the son of Demetrius. From my property in town Lyco shall repay all from whom I have

μετὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν τὴν ἐκείνου. παρεχέσθωσαν δὲ Βούλων καὶ Καλλίνος καὶ ἂν εἰς τὴν ἐκφοράν ἀναλωθῇ καὶ τὰλλα τὰ νομιζόμενα. κομισάσθωσαν δὲ ταῦτ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν οἴκῳ κοινῇ καταλειπομένων 72 ἀμφοτέροις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ. τιμησάτωσαν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς Πασίθεμιν καὶ Μηδίαν, ἀξίους ὄντας καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τὴν περὶ ἐμέ καὶ τὴν τέχνην καὶ μείζονος ἔτι τιμῆς. δίδωμι δὲ τῷ Καλλίνῳ, παιδίῳ Θηρικλείῳν ζεύγος, καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Ῥοδιακῶν ζεύγος, ψιλοτάπιδα, ἀμφίταπιν, περίστωμα, προσκεφάλαια δύο τὰ βέλτιστα τῶν καταλειπομένων· ὡς ἂν ἐφ' ὅσον ἀνήκει πρὸς τιμὴν, καὶ τούτων φανῶμεν μὴ ἀμνήμονες ὄντες. περὶ δὲ τῶν θεραπευόντων ἐμαυτὸν οὕτως ἐξάγω· Δημητρίῳ μὲν ἐλευθέρῳ πάλαι ὄντι ἀφήμι τὰ λύτρα καὶ δίδωμι πέντε μνᾶς καὶ ἱμάτιον καὶ χιτῶνα, ἵνα πολλὰ πεπονηκῶς μετ' ἐμοῦ βίον εὐσχήμονα ἔχῃ. Κρίτῳ δὲ Χαλκηδονίῳ, καὶ τούτῳ τὰ λύτρα ἀφήμι καὶ δίδωμι τέτταρας μνᾶς. καὶ τὸν Μίκρον ἀφήμι ἐλεύθερον· καὶ 73 θρεψάτω Λύκων αὐτὸν καὶ παιδευσάτω ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν χρόνου ἐξ ἔτη. καὶ Χάρητα ἀφήμι ἐλεύθερον· καὶ θρεψάτω Λύκων αὐτόν. καὶ δύο μνᾶς αὐτῷ δίδωμι καὶ τὰμὰ βιβλία τὰ ἀεγνωσμένα· τὰ δ' ἀνέκδοτα Καλλίνῳ ὅπως ἐπιμελῶς αὐτὰ ἐκδῶ. δίδωμι δὲ καὶ Σύρῳ ἐλευθέρῳ ὄντι τέτταρας μνᾶς καὶ τὴν Μηνοδώραν δίδωμι· καὶ εἰ τί μοι ὀφείλει, ἀφήμι αὐτῷ. καὶ Ἰλαρᾷ πέντε μνᾶς καὶ ἀμφίταπιν καὶ δύο προσκεφάλαια καὶ περίστωμα καὶ κλίνην ἣν ἂν βούληται. ἀφήμι δ' ἐλευθέραν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Μίκρου μητέρα καὶ Νοήμονα καὶ Δίωνα καὶ Θέωνα καὶ Εὐφράνορα καὶ Ἑρμείαν. καὶ Ἀγά-

borrowed anything after his departure. Bulo and Callinus shall provide the sums expended upon my funeral and other customary charges. These sums they shall recover from the moneys in the house bequeathed by me to them both in common. They shall also remunerate the physicians Pasithemis and Medias who for their attention to me and their skill deserve far higher reward. I bequeath to the child of Callinus a pair of Thericlean cups, and to his wife a pair of Rhodian vessels, a smooth carpet, a rug with nap on both sides, a sofa cover and two cushions the best that are left, that, so far as I have the means of recompensing them, I may prove not ungrateful. With regard to the servants who have waited upon me, my wishes are as follows. To Demetrius I remit the purchase-money for the freedom which he has long enjoyed, and bequeath to him five minas and a suit of clothes to ensure him a decent maintenance, in return for all the toil he has borne with me. To Crito of Chalcedon I also remit the purchase-money for his freedom and bequeath to him four minas. And Micrus I emancipate; and Lyco shall keep him and educate him for the next six years. And Chares I emancipate, and Lyco shall maintain him, and I bequeath him two minas and my published writings, while those which have not been given to the world I entrust to Callinus, that he may carefully edit them. To Syrus who has been set free I give four minas and Menodora, and I remit to him any debt he owes me. And to Hilara I give five minas and a double-napped rug, two cushions, a sofa-cover and a bed, whichever she prefers. I also set free the mother of Micrus as well as Noëmon, Dion, Theon, Euphranor and Hermias. Agathon should be set

θωνα δύο ἔτη παραμείναντα ἀφείσθαι ἐλεύθερον· καὶ τοὺς φορεαφόρους Ὀφελίωνα καὶ Ποσει-  
 74 δώνιον τέτταρα ἔτη παραμείναντας. δίδωμι δὲ καὶ Δημητρίῳ καὶ Κρίτῳ καὶ Σύρῳ κλίνην ἐκάστω καὶ στρώματα τῶν καταλειπομένων ἃ ἂν φαίνεται Λύκῳ καλῶς ἔχειν. ταῦτ' ἔστω αὐτοῖς ἀποδείξασιν ὁρθῶς ἐφ' ὧν ἕκαστοι τεταγ-  
 μένοι εἰσί. περὶ δὲ τῆς ταφῆς ἕαν τ' αὐτοῦ βούληται Λύκῳ θάπτειν, ἕαν τ' ἐν οἴκῳ, οὕτω ποιείτω. πέπεισμαι γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐμοῦ συνορᾶν τὸ εὐσχημον. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα οἰκο-  
 νομήσαντι κυρία ἔστω ἡ δόσις τῶν ἐνταῦθα. μάρ-  
 τυρες Καλλίνος Ἑρμιονεύς, Ἀρίστων Κείος, Εὐ-  
 φρόνιος Παιανιεύς."

Οὕτω μέντοι αὐτῷ συνετῶς τὰ πάντα πράττοντι τὰ τε περὶ παιδείαν καὶ πάντας λόγους, οὐδὲν ἦττον καὶ τὰ τῶν διαθηκῶν τρόπον τινα καὶ σφόδρα ἐπιμελῶς τε καὶ οἰκονομικῶς ἴσχει· ὥστε κἀνταῦθα ζηλωτέος.

### Κεφ. ε'. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ

75 Δημήτριος Φανοστράτου Φαληρεὺς. οὗτος ἦκου-  
 σε μὲν Θεοφράστου· δημηγορῶν δὲ παρ' Ἀθηναίους τῆς πόλεως ἐξηγήσατο ἔτη δέκα, καὶ εἰκόνων ἡξιώθη χαλκῶν ἐξήκοντα πρὸς ταῖς τριακοσίαις, ὧν αἱ πλείους ἐφ' ἵππων ἦσαν καὶ ἀρμάτων καὶ συνωρίδων, συντελεσθεῖσαι ἐν οὐδὲ τριακοσίαις ἡμέραις· τοσοῦτον ἐσπουδάσθη. ἀρξασθαι δ' αὐτὸν τῆς πολιτείας φησὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς  
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free after two years, and the litter-bearers Ophelio and Posidonius after four years' further service. To Demetrius, to Crito and to Syrus I give a bed apiece and such bed-furniture out of my estate as Lyco shall think proper. These shall be given them for properly performing their appointed tasks. As regards my burial, let Lyco bury me here if he chooses, or if he prefers to bury me at home let him do so, for I am persuaded that his regard for propriety is not less than my own. When he has managed all these things, he can dispose of the property there, and such disposition shall be binding. Witnesses are Callinus of Hermione, Ariston of Ceos, Euphronius of Paeania."

Thus while his shrewdness is seen in all his actions, in his teaching and in all his studies, in some ways his will is no less remarkable for carefulness and wise management, so that in this respect also he is to be admired.

### CHAPTER 5. DEMETRIUS (perhaps 350-280 B.C.; supreme in Athens 318-307 B.C.)

Demetrius, the son of Phanostratus, was a native of Phalerum. He was a pupil of Theophrastus, but by his speeches in the Athenian assembly he held the chief power in the State for ten years and was decreed 360 bronze statues, most of them representing him either on horseback or else driving a chariot or a pair of horses. And these statues were completed in less than 300 days, so much was he esteemed. He entered politics, says Demetrius of Magnesia in his work on *Men of the Same Name*,



Ὁμωνύμοις, ὅποτε φυγῶν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς Ἀθήνας  
 ἦκεν Ἀρπαλος. πολλά δὲ καὶ κάλλιστα τῇ πατρίδι  
 ἐπολιτεύσατο. καὶ γὰρ προσόδοις καὶ κατα-  
 σκευαῖς ἠύξῃσε τὴν πόλιν, καίπερ οὐκ εὐγενὴς ὢν.  
 76 ἦν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Κόνωνος οἰκίας, ὡς Φαβωρίνος  
 ἐν πρώτῳ τῶν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων φησίν, ἀλλ'  
 ἀστῇ καὶ εὐγενεῖ συνώκει Λαμία τῇ ἐρωμένῃ,  
 καθάπερ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ φησίν· ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 ὑπὸ Κλέωνος πεπονθέναι ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἱστορεῖ.  
 Δίδυμος δ' ἐν Συμποσιακοῖς καὶ Χαριτοβλέφαρον  
 καὶ Λαμπιτὴν καλεῖσθαι αὐτόν φησιν ἀπὸ τινος<sup>1</sup>  
 ἑταίρας. λέγεται δ' ἀποβαλόντα αὐτὸν τὰς ὄψεις  
 ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, κομίσασθαι αὖθις παρὰ τοῦ  
 Σαράπιδος· ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς παιᾶνας ποιῆσαι τοὺς  
 μέχρι νῦν ᾄδομένους.

Σφόδρα δὲ λαμπρὸς ὢν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις,  
 ὅμως ἐπεσκοπήθη καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ τὰ πάντα  
 77 διεσθίοντος φθόνου. ἐπιβουλευεῖς γὰρ ὑπὸ τινων  
 δίκην θανάτου οὐ παρὼν ὤφλεν. οὐ μὴν ἐκυρίευσαν  
 τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἰὸν ἀπήρυνον εἰς  
 τὸν χαλκόν, κατασπάσαντες αὐτοῦ τὰς εἰκόνας  
 καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀποδόμενοι, τὰς δὲ βυθίσαντες, τὰς  
 δὲ κατακόψαντες εἰς ἅμιδας· λέγεται γὰρ καὶ  
 τοῦτο. μία δὲ μόνη σώζεται ἐν ἀκροπόλει. Φαβω-  
 ρίνος δὲ φησιν ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι  
 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους Δημητρίου κελεύσαντος τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> <ἀντι> Schwartz.

<sup>a</sup> 324 B.C.

<sup>b</sup> The first sentence is paralleled by Aelian, *Var. Hist.*  
 xii. 43 Δημήτριον δὲ τὸν Φαληρέα οἰκότεριβα γενέσθαι λέγουσιν  
 ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς Τιμοθέου καὶ Κόνωνος. The insertion of this  
 reference to the family of Conon has had the effect of

when Harpalus, fleeing from Alexander,<sup>a</sup> came to  
 Athens. As a statesman he rendered his country  
 many splendid services. For he enriched the city  
 with revenues and buildings, though he was not of  
 noble birth. For he was one of Conon's household  
 servants,<sup>b</sup> according to Favorinus in the first book  
 of his *Memorabilia*; yet Lamia, with whom he lived,  
 was a citizen of noble family, as Favorinus also  
 states in his first book. Further, in his second book  
 Favorinus alleges that he suffered violence from  
 Cleon, while Didymus in his *Table-talk* relates how  
 a certain courtesan nicknamed him Charito-Blepharos  
 ("having the eyelids of the Graces"), and Lampito  
 ("of shining eyes"). He is said to have lost his sight  
 when in Alexandria and to have recovered it by the  
 gift of Sarapis; whereupon he composed the paeans  
 which are sung to this day.

For all his popularity with the Athenians he  
 nevertheless suffered eclipse through all-devouring  
 envy. Having been indicted by some persons on a  
 capital charge, he let judgement go by default; and,  
 when his accusers could not get hold of his person,  
 they disgorged their venom on the bronze of his  
 statues. These they tore down from their pedestals;  
 some were sold, some cast into the sea, and others were  
 even, it is said, broken up to make bedroom-utensils.  
 Only one is preserved in the Acropolis. In his  
*Miscellaneous History* Favorinus tells us that the  
 Athenians did this at the bidding of King Demetrius.

separating two clauses which ought to be closely joined:  
 καίπερ οὐκ εὐγενὴς ὢν (the last words of § 75) and ἀστῇ καὶ  
 εὐγενεῖ (in § 76). Hesychius in Suidas emphasizes the  
 beauty of Demetrius. In a modern book the statement that,  
 according to Favorinus, Demetrius was in Conon's family  
 would find a more suitable place in a footnote.



βασιλέως. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἔτει τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπέγραψαν ἀνομίας, ὡς Φαβωρίνος.

78 Φησὶ δ' αὐτὸν Ἑρμιππος μετὰ τὸν Κασάνδρου θάνατον φοβηθέντα Ἀντίγονον παρὰ Πτολεμαῖον ἔλθειν τὸν Σωτῆρα· κακεὶ χρόνον ἱκανὸν διατρίβοντα συμβουλευεῖν τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῖς ἐξ Εὐρυδίκης περιθεῖναι παισὶ. τοῦ δὲ οὐ πεισθέντος, ἀλλὰ παραδόντος τὸ διάδημα τῷ ἐκ Βερενίκης, μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν ἀξιωθῆναι πρὸς τούτου παραφυλάττεσθαι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ μέχρι τι δόξει περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἐνταῦθα ἀθυμότερον διήγε· καὶ πῶς ὑπνώτων ὑπ' ἀσπίδος τὴν χεῖρα δηχθεὶς τὸν βίον μετήκε. καὶ τέθαιπται ἐν τῷ Βουσιρίτῃ νομῷ πλησίον Διοσπόλεως.

79 Καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπεγράψαμεν ἡμεῖς·

ἀνείλεν ἀσπίς τὸν σοφὸν Δημήτριον

ἰὸν ἔχουσα πολὺν

ἄσμηκτον, οὐ στίλβουσα φῶς ἀπ' ὀμμάτων,

ἀλλ' αἰτῶν μέλανα.

Ἡρακλείδης δ' ἐν τῇ ἐπιτομῇ τῶν Σωτίωνος Διαδοχῶν τῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ τὴν βασιλείαν θέλειν ἐκχωρῆσαι τὸν Πτολεμαῖον· τὸν δ' ἀποτρέπειν φάσκοντα, "ἂν ἄλλω δῶς, σὺ οὐχ ἔξεις." ὁπηνίκα δ' ἐσυκοφαντεῖτο ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις—μανθάνω γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο—Μένανδρος ὁ κωμικὸς παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθε κριθῆναι δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὅτι φίλος ἦν αὐτῷ· ἀλλ' αὐτὸν παρητήσατο Τελεσφόρος ὁ ἀνεψιὸς τοῦ Δημητρίου.

80 Πλήθει δὲ βιβλίων καὶ ἀριθμῷ στίχων σχεδὸν ἅπαντας παρελήλακε τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν περιπατητικούς, εὐπαίδευτος ὢν καὶ πολὺπειρος παρ'

And in the official list the year in which he was archon was styled "the year of lawlessness," according to this same Favorinus.

Hermippus tells us that upon the death of Casander, being in fear of Antigonos, he fled to Ptolemy Soter. There he spent a considerable time and advised Ptolemy, among other things, to invest with sovereign power his children by Eurydice. To this Ptolemy would not agree, but bestowed the diadem on his son by Berenice, who, after Ptolemy's death, thought fit to detain Demetrius as a prisoner in the country until some decision should be taken concerning him. There he lived in great dejection, and somehow, in his sleep, received an asp-bite on the hand which proved fatal. He is buried in the district of Busiris near Diospolis.

Here are my lines upon him<sup>a</sup>:

A venomous asp was the death of the wise Demetrius, an asp withal of sticky venom, darting, not light from its eyes, but black death.

Heraclides in his epitome of Sotion's *Successions of Philosophers* says that Ptolemy himself wished to transmit the kingdom to Philadelphus, but that Demetrius tried to dissuade him, saying, "If you give it to another, you will not have it yourself." At the time when he was being continually attacked in Athens, Menander, the Comic poet, as I have also learnt, was very nearly brought to trial for no other cause than that he was a friend of Demetrius. However, Telesphorus, the nephew of Demetrius, begged him off.

In the number of his works and their total length in lines he has surpassed almost all contemporary Peripatetics. For in learning and versatility he has

<sup>a</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 113.

όντινούν· ὧν ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν ἱστορικά, τὰ δὲ πολιτικά,  
τὰ δὲ περὶ ποιητῶν, τὰ δὲ ῥητορικά, δημηγοριῶν  
τε καὶ πρεσβειῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ λόγων Αἰσωπειῶν  
συναγωγαὶ καὶ ἄλλα πλείω. ἔστι δὲ τὰ

- Περὶ τῆς Ἀθήνησι νομοθεσίας α' β' γ' δ' ε'.
- Περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι πολιτειῶν α' β'.
- Περὶ δημαγωγίας α' β'.
- Περὶ πολιτικῶν α' β'.
- Περὶ νόμων α'.
- Περὶ ῥητορικῆς α' β'.
- Στρατηγικῶν α' β'.
- 81 Περὶ Ἰλιάδος α' β'.
- Περὶ Ὀδυσσείας α' β' γ' δ'.
- Πτολεμαῖος α'.
- Ερωτικὸς α'.
- Φαιδώνδας α'.
- Μαίδων α'.
- Κλέων α'.
- Σωκράτης α'.
- Ἀρταξέρξης α'.
- Ὀμηρικὸς α'.
- Ἀριστείδης α'.
- Ἀριστόμαχος α'.
- Προτρεπτικὸς α'.
- Ὑπὲρ τῆς πολιτείας α'.
- Περὶ τῆς δεκαετίας α'.
- Περὶ τῶν ἰώνων α'.
- Πρεσβευτικὸς α'.
- Περὶ πίστεως α'.
- Περὶ χάριτος α'.
- Περὶ τύχης α'.

no equal. Some of these works are historical and others political; there are some dealing with poets, others with rhetoric. Then there are public speeches and reports of embassies, besides collections of Aesop's fables and much else. He wrote:

- Of Legislation at Athens, five books.
- Of the Constitutions of Athens, two books.
- Of Statesmanship, two books.
- On Politics, two books.
- Of Laws, one book.
- On Rhetoric, two books.
- On Military Matters, two books.
- On the Iliad, two books.
- On the Odyssey, four books.

And the following works, each in one book:

- Ptolemy.
- Concerning Love.
- Phaedondas.
- Maedon.
- Cleon.
- Socrates.
- Artaxerxes.
- Concerning Homer.
- Aristides.
- Aristomachus.
- An Exhortation to Philosophy.
- Of the Constitution.
- On the ten years of his own Supremacy.
- Of the Ionians.
- Concerning Embassies.
- Of Belief.
- Of Favour.
- Of Fortune.

Περὶ μεγαλοψυχίας α'.  
 Περὶ γάμου α'.  
 Περὶ τοῦ δοκοῦ α'.  
 Περὶ εἰρήνης α'.  
 Περὶ νόμων α'.  
 Περὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων α'.  
 Περὶ καιροῦ α'.  
 Διονύσιος α'.  
 Χαλκιδικὸς α'.  
 Ἀθηναίων καταδρομὴ α'.  
 Περὶ Ἀντιφάνους α'.  
 Προσίμιον ἱστορικὸν α'.  
 Ἐπιστολαὶ α'.  
 Ἐκκλησία ἑνορκος α'.  
 Περὶ γήρως α'.  
 Δίκαα α'.  
 Αἰσωπείων α'.  
 Χρειῶν α'.

82 Χαράκτηρ δὲ φιλόσοφος, εὐτονία ῥητορικῇ καὶ  
 δυνάμει κεκραμένος. οὗτος ἀκούσας ὅτι τὰς εἰ-  
 κόνας αὐτοῦ κατέστρεψαν Ἀθηναῖοι, "ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν  
 ἀρετὴν," ἔφη, "δι' ἣν ἐκείνας ἀνέστησαν." ἔλεγε  
 μικρὸν μὲν εἶναι μέρος τὰς ὀφρῦς, ὅλῳ δ' ἐπι-  
 σκοτῆσαι τῷ βίῳ δύνασθαι. οὐ μόνον τὸν πλοῦτον  
 ἔφη τυφλόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὀδηγοῦσαν αὐτὸν τύχην.  
 ὅσον ἐν πολέμῳ δύνασθαι σίδηρον, τοσοῦτον ἐν  
 πολιτείᾳ ἰσχύειν λόγον. ἰδὼν ποτε νεανίσκον  
 ἄσῳτον, "ἰδοῦ," ἔφη, "τετράγωνος Ἑρμῆς ἔχων  
 σύρμα,<sup>1</sup> κοιλίαν, αἰδοῖον, πύγωνα." τῶν τετυ-

<sup>1</sup> σύρμα] στέμα Reiske: στέμα deleto aldoion D. S. Robertson.

Of Magnanimity.  
 Of Marriage.  
 Of the Beam in the Sky.\*  
 Of Peace.  
 On Laws.  
 On Customs.  
 Of Opportunity.  
 Dionysius.  
 Concerning Chalcis.  
 A Denunciation of the Athenians.  
 On Antiphanes.  
 Historical Introduction.  
 Letters.  
 A Sworn Assembly.  
 Of Old Age.  
 Rights.  
 Aesop's Fables.  
 Anecdotes.

His style is philosophical, with an admixture of rhetorical vigour and force. When he heard that the Athenians had destroyed his statues, "That they may do," said he, "but the merits which caused them to be erected they cannot destroy." He used to say that the eyebrows formed but a small part of the face, and yet they can darken the whole of life by the scorn they express. Again, he said that not only was Plutus blind, but his guide, Fortune, as well; that all that steel could achieve in war was won in politics by eloquence. On seeing a young dandy, "There," quoth he, "is a four-square Hermes for you, with trailing robe, belly, beard and

\* "Of the Beam in the Sky." Some render this "Of Opinion," but the word used in this sense is *δόκησις*: cf. Schäf. *Schol. Par. Ap. Rh.* ii. 1088.

φωμένων ἀνδρῶν ἔφη τὸ μὲν ὕψος δεῖν περιαιρεῖν, τὸ δὲ φρόνημα καταλείπειν. τοὺς νέους ἔφη δεῖν ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς οἰκίας τοὺς γονέας αἰδεῖσθαι, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὁδοῖς τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐρημίαις  
83 ἑαυτούς. τοὺς φίλους ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ ἀγαθὰ παρακαλουμένους ἀπιέναι, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτομάτους. τοσαῦτα καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἀναφέρεισθαι δοκεῖ.

Γεγόνασι δὲ Δημήτριοι ἀξιόλογοι εἴκοσι· πρῶτος Χαλκηδόνιος, ρήτωρ καὶ Θρασυμάχου πρεσβύτερος· δεύτερος αὐτὸς οὗτος· τρίτος Βυζάντιος, περιπατητικός· τέταρτος καλούμενος Γραφικός καὶ σαφὴς διηγήσασθαι· ἦν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ ζωγράφος· πέμπτος Ἀσπένδιος, μαθητὴς Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Σολέως· ἕκτος Καλλατιανός, ὁ γεγραφὼς περὶ Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης εἴκοσι βιβλίοις· ἑβδομος Βυζάντιος, ἐν τρισκαίδεκα βιβλίοις γεγραφὼς τὴν Γαλατῶν διάβασιν ἐξ Εὐρώπης εἰς Ἀσίαν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ὀκτὼ τὰ περὶ Ἀντίοχον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον καὶ τὴν τῆς Λιβύης ὑπ' αὐτῶν δι-  
84 οἰκίσιν· ὄγδοος ὁ διατρίψας ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ σοφιστῆς, τέχνας γεγραφὼς ῥητορικός· ἕνατος Ἀδραμυττηνὸς γραμματικός, ἐπικληθεὶς Ἰξίων διὰ τὸ ἀδικῆσαι τι δοκεῖν περὶ τὴν Ἥραν· δέκατος Κυρηναῖος, γραμματικός, ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Στάμνος, ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος· ἐνδέκατος Σκήψιος, πλούσιος καὶ εὐγενὴς ἄνθρωπος καὶ φιλόλογος ἄκρως· οὗτος καὶ Μητροδωρον προεβίβασε τὸν πολίτην. δωδέκατος γραμματικὸς Ἐρυθραῖος, πολιτογρα-

\* Since Herms at Athens show neither drapery nor belly, but archaic hair, this saying would seem either to be incorrectly reported or to need a fresh interpretation. It has been suggested that a long lock pendent over the shoulder may lurk under *σούα* (*cf. Anth. Pal. v. 12. 2 σύμμα μένει*

all."\* When men are haughty and arrogant, he declared we should cut down their tall stature and leave them their spirit unimpaired. Children should honour their parents at home, out-of-doors everyone they meet, and in solitude themselves. In prosperity friends do not leave you unless desired, whereas in adversity they stay away of their own accord. All these sayings seem to be set down to his credit.

There have been twenty noteworthy men called Demetrius: (1) a rhetorician of Chalcedon, older than Thrasymachus; (2) the subject of this notice; (3) a Peripatetic of Byzantium; (4) one called the graphic writer, clear in narrative; he was also a painter; (5) a native of Aspendus, a pupil of Apollonius of Soli; (6) a native of Callatis, who wrote a geography of Asia and Europe in twenty books; (7) a Byzantine, who wrote a history of the migration of the Gauls from Europe into Asia in thirteen books, and another work in eight books dealing with Antiochus and Ptolemy and their settlement of Libya; (8) the sophist who lived at Alexandria, author of handbooks of rhetoric; (9) a grammarian of Adramyttium, surnamed Ixion because he was thought to be unjust to Hera; (10) a grammarian of Cyrene, surnamed Wine-jar, an eminent man; (11) a native of Scepsis, a man of wealth and good birth, ardently devoted to learning; he was also the means of bringing his countryman Metrodorus into prominence; (12) a grammarian of Erythrae enrolled as a citizen of

πλοκάμων, and Ael. *Var. Hist.* xii. 14 τὴν μὲν γὰρ κόμην ἀνασεύσθαι), or that a Herm might sometimes have been made by cutting down a larger, draped, statue; or perhaps on festal days Herms were decked with robes. In Stobaeus, *Flor.* iv. 68, Philip is credited with a sneer to the same effect on Athenians at large.

φθείς ἐν τῇ Μνῷ· τρισκαίδεκατος Βιθυνὸς Διφίλου τοῦ στωϊκοῦ υἱός, μαθητῆς δὲ Παναιτίου τοῦ  
85 'Ροδίου· τεσσαρεσκαίδεκατος ῥήτωρ Συμυρναῖος. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν λογικοί. ποιηταὶ δὲ πρῶτος ἀρχαίαν κωμωδίαν πεποιηκώς· δεύτερος ἐπῶν ποιητής, οὗ μόνον σώζεται πρὸς τοὺς φθονεροὺς εἰρημένα τάδε·

ζῶν ἀτιμήσαντες ἀποφθίμενον ποθέουσι·  
καὶ ποθ' ὑπὲρ τύμβοιο καὶ ἀπνόου εἰδῶλοιο  
ἄστυα νείκος ἐπῆλθεν, ἔριν δ' ἐστήσατο λαός.

τρίτος Ταρσικὸς σατυρογράφος· τέταρτος ἰάμβους γεγραφώς, πικρὸς ἀνὴρ· πέμπτος ἀνδριαντοποιός, οὗ μέμνηται Πολέμων· ἕκτος 'Ερυθραῖος, ποικιλογράφος ἄνθρωπος, ὃς καὶ ἱστορικὰ καὶ ῥητορικὰ πεποίηκε βιβλία.

### Κεφ. 5'. ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ

86 'Ηρακλείδης Εὐθύφρονος 'Ηρακλεώτης τοῦ Πόντου, ἀνὴρ πλούσιος. 'Αθήνῃσι δὲ παρέβαλε πρῶτον μὲν Σπενσίππῳ· ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων διήκουσε καὶ τὰ Πλάτωνος ἐζηλώκει· καὶ ὕστερον ἤκουσεν 'Αριστοτέλους, ὡς φησι Σωτίων ἐν Διαδοχαῖς. οὗτος ἐσθῆτί τε μαλακῇ ἐχρήτο καὶ ὑπερογκος ἦν τὸ σῶμα, ὥστ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν 'Αττικῶν μὴ Ποντικὸν ἀλλὰ Πομπικὸν καλεῖσθαι. πρῶτος τ' ἦν τὸ βλέμμα καὶ ἡμενός. φέρεται δ' αὐτοῦ συγγράμματα κάλλιστά τε καὶ ἀριστα· διάλογοι, ὧν ἠθικά μὲν

\* That Heraclides was a member of the Academy is established beyond all doubt by the fact that he was a candidate for the headship of the School on the death of

Mnos; (13) a Bithynian, son of Diphilus the Stoic and pupil of Panaetius of Rhodes; (14) a rhetorician of Smyrna. The foregoing were prose authors. Of poets bearing this name the first belonged to the Old Comedy; the second was an epic poet whose lines to the envious alone survive:

While he lives they scorn the man whom they regret when he is gone; yet, some day, for the honour of his tomb and lifeless image, contention seizes cities and the people set up strife;

the third of Tarsus, writer of satires; the fourth, a writer of lampoons, in a bitter style; the fifth, a sculptor mentioned by Polemo; the sixth, of Erythrae, a versatile man, who also wrote historical and rhetorical works.

### CHAPTER 6. HERACLIDES (*floruit* 360 B.C.)

Heraclides, son of Euthyphro, born at Heraclea in the Pontus, was a wealthy man. At Athens he first attached himself to Speusippus. He also attended the lectures of the Pythagoreans and admired the writings of Plato. Last of all he became a pupil of Aristotle, as Sotion says in his *Successions of Philosophers*.<sup>a</sup> He wore fine soft clothes, and he was extremely corpulent, which made the Athenians call him Pompicus rather than Ponticus. He was mild and dignified of aspect. Works by him survive of great beauty and excellence. There are ethical dialogues:

Speusippus: *Index Acad.* p. 38 Mekler. However, not only does Diogenes Laertius make him, on Sotion's authority, a pupil of Aristotle, but Aëtius also seems, iii. 2. 5, to associate him with the Peripatetics (καθάπερ ἀμείλει πάντες οἱ Περιπατητικοί).

- Περὶ δικαιοσύνης γ'.  
 "Εν δὲ περὶ σωφροσύνης  
 Περὶ τ' εὐσεβείας ε' καὶ  
 Περὶ ἀνδρείας α'.  
 Κοινῶς τε περὶ ἀρετῆς α' καὶ ἄλλου.  
 Περὶ εὐδαιμονίας α'.  
 87 Περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς α' καὶ  
 Νόμων α' καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν τούτοις.  
 Περὶ ὀνομάτων α'.  
 Συνθῆκαι α'.  
 Ἀκούσιος α'.  
 Ἑρωτικὸς καὶ Κλεινίας α'.

Φυσικὰ δὲ

- Περὶ νοῦ.  
 Περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ  
 Περὶ φύσεως καὶ  
 Περὶ εἰδώλων.  
 Πρὸς Δημόκριτον.  
 Περὶ τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ α'.  
 Περὶ τῶν ἐν ᾄδου.  
 Περὶ βίων α' β'.  
 Αἰτίαι περὶ νόσων α'.  
 Περὶ τὰ γαθοῦ α'.  
 Πρὸς τὰ Ζήνωνος α'.  
 Πρὸς τὰ Μήτρωνος α'.

Γραμματικὰ δὲ

- Περὶ τῆς Ὀμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου ἡλικίας α' β'.  
 Περὶ Ἀρχιλόχου καὶ Ὀμήρου α' β'.

Καὶ μουσικὰ δὲ

- Περὶ τῶν παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ καὶ Σοφοκλεῖ α' β' γ'.

- Of Justice, three books.  
 Of Temperance, one book.  
 Of Piety, five books.  
 Of Courage, one book.  
 Of Virtue in general, one book.  
 A second with the same title.  
 Of Happiness, one book.  
 Of Government, one book.  
 On Laws, one book, and on subjects kindred to these.  
 Of Names, one book.  
 Agreements, one book.  
 On the Involuntary, one book.  
 Concerning Love, and Clinias, one book.

Others are physical treatises :

- Of Reason.  
 Of the Soul, and a separate treatise with the same title.  
 Of Nature.  
 Of Images.  
 Against Democritus.  
 Of Celestial Phenomena, one book.  
 Of Things in the Under-world.  
 On Various Ways of Life, two books.  
 The Causes of Diseases, one book.  
 Of the Good, one book.  
 Against Zeno's Doctrines, one book.  
 A Reply to Metron's Doctrines, one book.

To grammar and criticism belong :

- Of the Age of Homer and Hesiod, two books  
 Of Archilochus and Homer, two books.

Of a literary nature are :

- A work on passages in Euripides and Sophocles, three books.

Περὶ μουσικῆς α' β'.

88 Λύσεων Ὀμηρικῶν α' β'.

Θεωρηματικὸν α'.

Περὶ τῶν τριῶν τραγῳδοποιῶν α'.

Χαρακτῆρες α'.

Περὶ ποιητικῆς καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν α'.

Περὶ στοχασμοῦ α'.

Προοπτικὸν α'.

Ἡρακλείτου ἐξηγήσεις δ'.

Πρὸς τὸν Δημόκριτον ἐξηγήσεις α'.

Λύσεων ἐριστικῶν α' β'.

Ἀξίωμα α'.

Περὶ εἰδῶν α'.

Λύσεις α'.

Ὑποθήκαι α'.

Πρὸς Διονύσιον α'.

Ῥητορικὰ δέ

Περὶ τοῦ ῥητορεύειν ἢ Πρωταγόρας.

Ἱστορικά.

Περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων καὶ

Περὶ εὐρημάτων.

Τούτων τὰ μὲν κωμικῶς πέπλακεν, ὡς τὸ Περὶ ἡδονῆς καὶ Περὶ σωφροσύνης· τὰ δὲ τραγικῶς, ὡς τὸ Περὶ τῶν καθ' ἕξιν καὶ τὸ Περὶ εὐσεβείας καὶ τὸ Περὶ ἐξουσίας.

89 Ἔστι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ μεσότης τις ὀμιλητικῆ φιλοσόφων τε καὶ στρατηγικῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαλεγομένων. ἀλλὰ καὶ γεωμετρικά ἐστιν αὐτοῦ καὶ διαλεκτικά. ἄλλως τ' ἐν ἅπασιν ποικίλος τε καὶ διηρημένος τὴν λέξιν ἐστὶ καὶ ψυχαγωγεῖν ἱκανῶς δυνάμενος.

On Music, two books.

Solutions of Homeric Problems, two books.

Of Theorems, one book.

On the Three Tragic Poets, one book.

Characters, one book.

Of Poetry and Poets, one book.

Of Conjecture, one book.

Concerning Prevision, one book.

Expositions of Heraclitus, four books.

Expositions in Reply to Democritus, one book.

Solutions of Eristic Problems, two books.

Logical Proposition, one book.

Of Species, one book.

Solutions, one book.

Admonitions, one book.

A Reply to Dionysius, one book.

To rhetoric belongs :

Of Public Speaking, or Protagoras.

To history :

On the Pythagoreans.

Of Discoveries.

Some of these works are in the style of comedy, for instance the tracts On Pleasure and On Temperance ; others in the style of tragedy, as the books entitled Of those in Hades, Of Piety, and Of Authority.

Again, he has a sort of intermediate style of conversation which he employs when philosophers, generals and statesmen converse with each other. Furthermore, he wrote geometrical and dialectical works, and is, besides, everywhere versatile and lofty in diction, and a great adept at charming the reader's mind.

Δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα τυραννουμένην ἐλευ-  
 θερῶσαι, τὸν μόναρχον κτείνας, ὡς φησι Δημήτριος  
 ὁ Μάγνης ἐν Ὁμωνύμοις. ὃς καὶ τοιόνδε ἱστορεῖ  
 περὶ αὐτοῦ· "θρέψαι αὐτὸν δράκοντα ἐκ νέου καὶ  
 αὐξήθεντα, ἐπειδὴ τελευτᾶν ἐμελλε, κελεύσαι τινι  
 τῶν πιστῶν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα κατακρύψαι, τὸν  
 δὲ δράκοντα ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης θεῖναι, ἵνα δόξειεν  
 εἰς θεοὺς μεταβηκέναι. ἐγένετο δὲ πάντα.  
 καὶ μετὰ παραπεμπόντων Ἡρακλείδην τῶν  
 πολιτῶν καὶ εὐφημούντων, ὁ δράκων ἀκούσας  
 τῆς ἐπιβοῆς ἐξέδυν τῶν ἱματίων καὶ διετάραξε  
 τοὺς πλείστους. ὕστερον μὲντοι ἐξεκαλύφθη πάντα  
 καὶ ὥφθη Ἡρακλείδης οὐχ οἷος ἐδόκει, ἀλλ'  
 οἷος ἦν."

Καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχον·

ἤθελες ἀνθρώποις λιπεῖν φάτιν, Ἡρακλείδη,  
 ὥς ῥα θανὼν ἐγένου ζωὸς ἅπασιν<sup>1</sup> δράκων.  
 ἀλλὰ διεψεύσθης, σεσοφισμένε· δὴ γὰρ ὁ μὲν θῆρ  
 ἦε δράκων, σὺ δὲ θῆρ, οὐ σοφὸς ὢν, ἐάλως.

ταῦτα δὲ φησι καὶ Ἱππόβοτος.

91 Ἑρμιππος δὲ λιμοῦ κατασχόντος τὴν χώραν  
 φησὶν αἰτεῖν τοὺς Ἡρακλέωτας τὴν Πυθίαν λύσειν.  
 τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλείδην διαφθεῖραι χρήμασι τοὺς τε  
 θεωροὺς καὶ τὴν προειρημένην, ὥστ' ἀναιπεῖν ἀπ-  
 αλλαγῆσεσθαι τοῦ κακοῦ, εἰ ζῶν μὲν Ἡρακλείδης  
 ὁ Εὐθύφρωνος χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ στεφανωθείη πρὸς  
 αὐτῶν, ἀποθανὼν δὲ ὡς ἦρωες τιμῶτο. ἐκομίσθη  
 ὁ δῆθεν χρησμός καὶ οὐδὲν ὦναντο οἱ πλάσαντες  
 αὐτόν. αὐτίκα γὰρ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ στεφανούμενος

<sup>1</sup> ἅπασιν] ἀπαρτι Reiske.

It seems that he delivered his native city from  
 oppressions by assassinating its ruler, as is stated  
 in his work on *Men of the Same Name* by Demetrius  
 of Magnesia, who also tells the following story about  
 him: "As a boy, and when he grew up, he kept a  
 pet snake, and, being at the point of death, he ordered  
 a trusted attendant to conceal the corpse but to  
 place the snake on his bier, that he might seem to  
 have departed to the gods. All this was done. But  
 while the citizens were in the very midst of the  
 procession and were loud in his praise, the snake,  
 hearing the uproar, popped up out of the shroud,  
 creating widespread confusion. Subsequently, how-  
 ever, all was revealed, and they saw Heracles, not  
 as he appeared, but as he really was."

I have written of him as follows<sup>a</sup>:

You wished, Heracles, to leave to all mankind a reputa-  
 tion that after death you lived as a snake.<sup>b</sup> But you were  
 deceived, you sophist, for the snake was really a brute beast,  
 and you were detected as more of a beast than a sage.

Hippobotus too has this tale.

Hermippus relates that, when their territory was  
 visited by famine, the people of Heraclea besought  
 the Pythian priestess for relief, but Heracles bribed  
 the sacred envoys as well as the aforesaid priestess  
 to reply that they would be rid of the calamity if  
 Heracles, the son of Euthyphro, were crowned with  
 a crown of gold in his lifetime and after his death  
 received heroic honours. The pretended oracle was  
 brought home, but its forgers got nothing by it.  
 For directly Heracles was crowned in the theatre,

<sup>a</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 104.

<sup>b</sup> Or, reading ἀπαρτι for ἅπασιν, "wished to leave a report  
 behind you that immediately after death you became a  
 living snake."



ὁ Ἡρακλείδης ἀπόπληκτος ἐγένετο, οἱ τε θεωροὶ καταλευσθέντες διεφθάρσαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Πυθία τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν κατιούσα ἐς τὸ ἄδντον καὶ ἐπιστάσα ἐνὶ τῶν δρακόντων δηχθεῖσα παραχρῆμα ἀπέπνευσε. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ τοσαῦτα.

- 92 Φησὶ δ' Ἀριστοξένος ὁ μουσικὸς καὶ τραγωδίας αὐτὸν ποιεῖν καὶ Θέσπιδος αὐτὰς ἐπιγράφειν. Χαμαιλέον τε τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ φησι κλέψαντα αὐτὸν τὰ περὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ὀμήρου γράφαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ Αὐτόδωρος ὁ Ἐπικούρειος ἐπιτιμᾷ αὐτῷ, τοῖς περὶ δικαιοσύνης ἀντιλέγων. ἔτι καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Μεταθέμενος (ἢ Σπίνθαρος, ὡς ἔνιοι) γράψας τὸν Παρθενοπαῖον ἐπέγραψε Σοφοκλέους. ὁ δὲ πιστεύσας εἰς τι τῶν ἰδίων συγγραμμάτων ἐχρήτο μαρτυρίοις  
93 ὡς Σοφοκλέους. αἰσθόμενος δ' ὁ Διονύσιος ἐμήνυσεν αὐτῷ τὸ γεγονός· τοῦ δ' ἀρνούμενου καὶ ἀπιστοῦντος ἐπέστειλεν ἰδεῖν τὴν παραστιχίδα· καὶ εἶχε Πάγκαλος. οὗτος δ' ἦν ἐρώμενος Διονυσίου· ὡς δ' ἔτι ἀπιστῶν ἔλεγε κατὰ τὴν τύχην ἐνδέχεσθαι οὕτως ἔχειν, πάλιν ἀντεπέστειλεν ὁ Διονύσιος ὅτι  
“ καὶ ταῦτα εὐρήσεις·

α. γέρων πίθηκος οὐχ ἀλίσκεται πάγῃ·

β. ἀλίσκεται μὲν, μετὰ χρόνον δ' ἀλίσκεται.”

καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις· “ Ἡρακλείδης γράμματα οὐκ ἐπίσταται οὐδ' ἡσχύνθη.”

- Γεγόνασι δ' Ἡρακλείδαι τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα· πρῶτος αὐτὸς οὗτος· δεύτερος πολίτης αὐτοῦ, πυρρίχας  
94 καὶ φλυαρίας συντεταγμένος· τρίτος Κυμαῖος,

° We should say, “ An old bird is not caught with chaff.”

° Von Arnim's emendation (ὁ δὲ) gives a different turn to

he was seized with apoplexy, whereupon the envoys to the oracle were stoned to death. Moreover, at the very same time the Pythian priestess, after she had gone down to the shrine and taken her seat, was bitten by one of the snakes and died instantly. Such are the tales told about his death.

Aristoxenus the musician asserts that Heraclides also composed tragedies, inscribing upon them the name of Thespis. Chamaeleon complains that Heraclides' treatise on the works of Homer and Hesiod was plagiarized from his own. Furthermore, Autodorus the Epicurean criticizes him in a polemic against his tract *Of Justice*. Again, Dionysius the Renegade, or, as some people call him, the “ Spark,” when he wrote the *Parthenopaeus*, entitled it a play of Sophocles; and Heraclides, such was his credulity, in one of his own works drew upon this forged play as Sophoclean evidence. Dionysius, on perceiving this, confessed what he had done; and, when the other denied the fact and would not believe him, called his attention to the acrostic which gave the name of Pancalus, of whom Dionysius was very fond. Heraclides was still unconvinced. Such a thing, he said, might very well happen by chance. To this Dionysius, “ You will also find these lines :

α. An old monkey is not caught by a trap.<sup>a</sup>

β. Oh yes, he's caught at last, but it takes time.”

And this besides : “ Heraclides is ignorant of letters and not ashamed of his ignorance.”<sup>b</sup>

Fourteen persons have borne the name of Heraclides : (1) the subject of this notice ; (2) a fellow-citizen of his, author of Pyrrhic verses and tales ; the story, viz. “ And this besides : “ Heraclides is ignorant of letters.” This made Heraclides blush.”

γεγραφώς Περσικὰ ἐν πέντε βιβλίοις· τέταρτος  
 Κυμαῖος, ῥήτωρ τέχνας γεγραφώς· πέμπτος Καλ-  
 λατιανὸς ἢ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, γεγραφώς τὴν Διαδοχὴν  
 ἐν ἑξ βιβλίοις καὶ Λεμβευτικὸν λόγον, ὅθεν καὶ  
 Λέμβος ἐκαλεῖτο· ἕκτος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, γεγραφώς  
 τὰ Περσικὰ ἰδιώματα· ἕβδομος διαλεκτικὸς Βαργυ-  
 λήτης, κατ' Ἐπικούρου γεγραφώς· ὄγδοος ἰατρὸς  
 τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰκεσίου· ἕνατος ἰατρὸς Ταραντῖνος, ἐμ-  
 πειρικὸς· δέκατος ποιητικὸς, παραινέσεις γεγραφώς·  
 ἐνδέκατος ἀνδριαντοποῖος Φωκαεὺς· δωδέκατος  
 ἐπιγραμματῶν ποιητὴς λιγυρὸς· τρισκαδέκατος  
 Μάγνης, Μιθραδατικά γεγραφώς· τεσσαρεσκαί-  
 δέκατος ἀστρολογούμενα συγγεγραφώς.

(3) a native of Cyme, who wrote of Persia in five  
 books; (4) another native of Cyme, who wrote  
 rhetorical textbooks; (5) of Callatis or Alexandria,  
 author of the *Succession of Philosophers* in six books  
 and a work entitled *Lembenticus*, from which he got  
 the surname of Lembus (a fast boat or scout); (6)  
 an Alexandrian who wrote on the Persian national  
 character; (7) a dialectician of Bargylis, who wrote  
 against Epicurus; (8) a physician of the school of  
 Hicesius; (9) another physician of Tarentum, an  
 empiric; (10) a poet who was the author of ad-  
 monitions; (11) a sculptor of Phocaea; (12) a  
 Ligurian poet, author of epigrams; (13) Heraclides  
 of Magnesia, who wrote a history of Mithradates;  
 (14) the compiler of an Astronomy.